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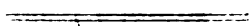
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FOR

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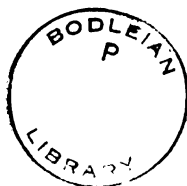
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PREFACE.

IN compliance with what is now a time-honoured custom, we close our volume for the year with a brief address to our readers. We have endeavoured to maintain the same principles which, from the first Number until now, have been made prominent in the *Christian Observer*, and in the same catholic spirit. And we have no reason to complain of the treatment we have met with. We have many opponents, whose errors we deplore, but, so far as we know, no personal enemies. We have endeavoured to speak the truth; but, as the Apostle teaches, to speak the truth in love. It is one happy symptom of the times, that Christian men can now carry on theological warfare without personalities and without bitterness. At the same time, it is instructive to observe, that the further men secede from the truth, the more personal and bitter they become. Popery has witnessed no improvement in this respect, and modern infidelity can still sneer with all its ancient vulgarity.

Yet our task has been a painful one. Amongst the ranks of those who now swell an apostasy to Rome, either open and avowed, or the more dangerous to its victims because concealed under a professed attachment to the Church of England, are many who did walk well. And even amongst those who have accepted Dr. Colenso as their leader, there are some, chiefly very young men, who were reared in Christian families, and once made a profession of Evangelical religion. During the past year, both of these parties have displayed great zeal, and

made, we fear, considerable progress ; and many of our pages, which we would gladly have seen otherwise occupied, have been sacrificed to a refutation of their pernicious errors. We are afraid that it must be so still. The conflict shall not cease on our side until peace returns to the Church of God, and of this we have no hope at present. We are rather led to the conclusion, that the time is at hand, when an infidel-popery and a popish-infidelity shall shake hands together, and join in one common league against the Lord and against His Christ.

Yet the pure religion of the Gospel spreads amongst us. Among the laity, we believe, to a wide extent ; and amongst our younger clergy, a noble band are not ashamed of the Gospel of Christ. There are, we confess, some few things which have led us to fear that, without more decision, they will fall behind the high standard of their forefathers. The older clergy often remark with pain, that amongst their younger brethren in the ministry there is a want, not so much of courage, certainly not of diligence, as of a well-defined doctrinal teaching. They are less disposed to call any man master after the flesh, and in this we commend them ; they do but obey a divine injunction. They are less systematic. In this, too, they are perhaps to be commended. It was one of Cecil's fine remarks, that "in the Bible there is a grandeur which seems to say, I am above all your systems." But then they should beware lest, under an affectation of freedom from human trammels, they are not in bondage to a system of their own. It is certain that a new school has arisen, professing to be of evangelical *sentiments*, (the word is not ill-chosen in this instance,) who seldom treat of doctrines of the highest importance. Take, for instance, the righteousness of God, or the holiness of God ; how little either seem to be understood ; while on the mercy of God, or the benevolence of God, and the love of Christ to sinners, they are profuse, though still often misty and uncertain. They seem to be almost strangers to those rich portions of the word of God, the third and fourth chapters of the Epistle to the Romans, so full of "the right-

eousness of God which is by faith of Jesus Christ unto all, and upon all them that believe." We trust they will take in good part the admonitions of their elder brethren, who remember how Stowell began his course; how Hambleton ran his race, holding fast to a few great principles like these; how Henry Elliot, with a grace and elegance of language never surpassed, "a perfect master of sentences," trusted nothing to his enchanting words of man's wisdom, but laid them down his offering to God, a very pleasant instrument on which one note resounded above all others, even the name and offices of the Lord Jesus; and how the venerable Maitland delighted to proclaim the doctrines which some men professing evangelical *sentiments* seem almost disposed to set aside as too difficult for the pulpit, or as unnecessary in the general course of ministerial instruction. Hence their work is incomplete, and hence the vagueness of which their hearers too frequently complain. Sinners are not converted, and the Church is not built up or "edified."

On other points we have little to add. New periodicals, candidates for the favour of Evangelical churchmen, rise up around us, but none of them occupy our ground, or exactly suit our class of readers. They are produced more cheaply than our own, and introduce a lighter kind of literature; consequently they can be afforded at a cheaper rate. Compared with the best of our standard periodicals, we are not dear,* nor have we reason to believe that our subscribers wish the price to be reduced. Our sale is not affected by the new competition that has arisen; and unless it were that we should be glad to place our magazine within the reach of our sorely underpaid curates, we should have no motive for making a change, which, unless our sale were vastly increased, would be so injurious to ourselves.

We shall resume our labours another year with little change, and yet we hope with some improvement; and hoping that many will join with us in the prayer which, if appropriate when

* Blackwood, for instance, is 2s. 6d.; Fraser, 2s. 6d., &c.

used with reference to the alms of the Gentile Churches, sent by Epaphroditus, ought not surely to be inappropriate when applied to the Christian Observer, "That we may be an odour of a sweet smell, a sacrifice well-pleasing to God."

EDITOR.

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THE CHRISTIAN OBSERVER.

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JANUARY.

[1865.]

A COMMENTARY ON THE EPISTLE TO THE EPHESIANS.*

By DANIEL BAGOT, B.D., Dean of Dromore, &c.

CHAPTER I.

1. *Paul, an apostle of Jesus Christ by the will of God, to the saints which are at Ephesus, and to the faithful in Christ Jesus:*

2. *Grace be to you, and peace, from God our Father, and from the Lord Jesus Christ.*

THE Epistle to the Ephesians has ever been regarded as one of the richest portions of the Word of God. It was written by the apostle Paul when he was a prisoner at Rome, about the year 64, and is referred to by himself in chapter iii., verses 3 and 4, as containing in its written statements a clear and distinct evidence of his "knowledge in the mystery of Christ." He had preached the Gospel in person at Ephesus on two different occasions, as we learn by referring to Acts xviii. 19, and xix. 8—10; and being anxious, as every faithful minister must always be, for the spiritual progress and welfare of those whose conversion he had been the instrument of effecting, he addressed to them this epistle, to promote their advancement in holiness and their growth in grace. How delightful to contemplate the apostle rising above his own personal trials and dangers, and occupied entirely by an ardent anxiety for the prosperity of the Church!

He commences by stating his *name*, his *office*, and his *commission*. His original name was Saul; he was a Jew by

* NOTE.—[There is a remarkable absence of good commentaries on the Epistle to the Ephesians. Whatever may be the cause, we possess few, if any, of ancient or modern date, which aspire to a high degree of excellence, or display a master's hand. We are therefore the more indebted to the

Dean of Dromore for his outlines of a series of Lectures on this most precious portion of the Word of God. They will extend through a great part of the year, and will, we believe, be gladly received by our readers.—
EDITOR.]

descent, of the tribe of Benjamin, and a Roman citizen by birth, having been born in Tarsus, a city of Cilicia. It has been supposed by some that he assumed the name of Paul out of compliment to Sergius Paulus, who is mentioned in Acts xiii. 7, 12. But it is, perhaps, more likely that he laid aside the Hebrew name of Saul, and assumed the Roman name of Paul, in order to meet the prejudices of Gentiles among whom he was specially appointed to labour. (Eph. iii. 8.) There would be no deception in this, as he was fully entitled to a Roman appellation. In matters which do not involve or require a sacrifice of principle or a compromise of truth, it is often better to consult or to submit to the prejudices of others, with the view of promoting their everlasting interests, than to expend our time in protracted or useless endeavours to overcome them. (1 Cor. ix. 19—23.)

The office which Paul sustained was that of an *apostle*. This word signifies one who is sent, and in this general sense it is applicable to all persons who are invested with a commission to go forth upon any embassy. Thus Christ is called an "apostle," as well as the "high-priest of our profession," because he was sent by the Father to be the Redeemer and the Saviour of sinners. (Heb. iii. 1.) This title, however, is generally restricted in its application to those who were specially chosen by Christ to be the witnesses to the world of His resurrection from the dead. The truth of the record which God has given of His Son is supported and established by the evidence which the resurrection of Christ affords. (1 Cor. xv. 14—17.) But the resurrection of Christ, as a question of historical fact, is to be proved by the testimony of witnesses; and the apostles were specially selected and appointed to give this testimony. (Acts i. 8, 22; ii. 32; iii. 15.) Now, it is evident that to render them competent and reliable witnesses of His resurrection, it was necessary that they should have seen him after that event, in order that they might be able to testify to the identity of the risen Saviour with Jesus of Nazareth, who had been crucified. Hence, at the election of a successor into the apostleship, from which Judas by transgression fell, Peter expressly states that the person to be chosen should be one "who had companied with them all the time that the Lord Jesus went in and out among them, beginning from the baptism of John unto that same day that he was taken up from them into heaven." (Acts i. 21, 22.) Hence also Christ manifested Himself to Paul in His glorified humanity. (Acts ix. 3—5.) In reference to which he subsequently asks—"Am I not an apostle? am I not free? have I not seen Jesus Christ our Lord?" (1 Cor. ix. 1.) From all this we may observe how unwarranted are the pretensions of those who claim to be successors of the apostles. The apostles, as such, could have

had no successors. They still continue, and shall continue until the close of this dispensation, to discharge their peculiar and assigned office of bearing witness to the resurrection of Christ. During their lifetime, they delivered their testimony in person by word of mouth; but because they could not live until the end of the world, their testimony has been placed upon record and registered in the New Testament by the inspiration of the Holy Ghost; and that record has been entrusted to the Church for safe custody, and to be handed down from age to age; and we now believe in the truth of the resurrection of Christ, not upon the ground of the present testimony of the Church of our day, but upon the ground of the transmitted testimony of the original witnesses, which, we can easily show, has been safely kept and faithfully handed down by the Church from the beginning.

But Paul was an apostle of *Jesus Christ*. He and Barnabas were chosen to be apostles to the Gentiles some years after the conversion of the former. (Acts xiii. 2.) And here he introduces himself in this high capacity, as well to give authority to his words, as to ensure for this epistle a welcome reception amongst all to whom Christ was precious; for by this introduction he gives a pledge that he is about to treat of the excellency and the glory of the Saviour, of which every believer will delight to hear. Paul did not forfeit his office because of his trials and persecutions. He was in prison, yet still an apostle of Jesus Christ. Christ is not ashamed to acknowledge His people in their afflictions and distress.

He was an apostle "*by the will of God.*" Every office in the Church is filled by the great Head of the Church, and no man has any right to intrude into the sacred office of the ministry unless he be called of God, as was Aaron. Paul did not assume to himself the functions of an apostle, nor merit the office by any superior righteousness of his own, nor procure it by any partiality on the part of his brethren; but he was "an apostle by the will of God—of God the Father, who raised the Saviour from the dead" (Gal. i. 1);—of God the Son, who appeared to him on his way to Damascus and said, "He is a chosen vessel unto me to bear my name before the Gentiles and kings and children of Israel" (Acts ix. 15);—and of God the Holy Ghost, who said, "Separate me Barnabas and Saul for the work whereunto I have called them." (Acts xiii. 2.) It is an encouragement and a consolation to the ministers of Christ, to know that they have a Divine commission. Thus will their instructions be invested with authority, and command a deferential attention and respect.

The superscription of the Epistle follows after the name of the author. It is addressed "*to the Saints that are at Ephesus,*

and to the faithful in Christ Jesus." This constitutes the dignity, the excellency, and the blessedness of Christians, that they are saints, and believers in Jesus. These titles imply a real spiritual nobility that shall survive all the fancied honours and distinctions of time; and when the emperors and the monarchs of the world shall have ceased to wield a sceptre, the saints and faithful in Christ Jesus shall reign as kings and priests for ever with Him in glory. Their character is also denoted by these titles. All believers are saints; or, as the word implies, separated by the grace of God to the service of their Redeemer: and all saints have faith in Christ Jesus; for they can say with Paul, "The life which I now live in the flesh I live by the faith of the Son of God, who loved me and gave Himself for me." Their faith is only valuable as it connects them with the saving power of Christ.

Ephesus was a city in Asia Minor, remarkable for idolatry of the grossest kind, especially for the worship of the heathen goddess Diana. (Acts ix. 35.) We cannot too much admire the abounding efficacy of Divine grace in establishing Christian Churches in the very capitals of Satan's empire so soon after the crucifixion of Christ. In Rome, where every species of idolatry was countenanced and supported by the ruling powers; in Corinth, where sensuality and impurity of the most revolting description prevailed; and in Ephesus, where the depraved passions of human nature revelled and rioted in the most unrestrained licentiousness, the tree of life was planted within a few years after the ascension of Christ, and brought forth abundant fruit to the praise and glory of God. And yet the ostensible agents of its establishment were a few obscure individuals, without any visible power, or influence, or rank. Nothing but the determination of God to fulfil His purposes of mercy to the world, by the intervention of His omnipotence, can account for such rapid and surprising results.

The *second* verse may be regarded either as a salutation or a prayer. In a salutation we express a desire that our friends may enjoy those blessings which we prize as the first and best. Paul does not give utterance to a wish that the Christians at Ephesus might be distinguished by worldly dignities, nor by the acquisition of corruptible things, such as silver and gold; but by the attainment and enjoyment of the unsearchable riches of Christ, which the world can neither give nor take away. And so will every believer, who has learned to set his affection on things above, desire for himself and for his friends, and for all mankind, the possession of those spiritual blessings which alone are worthy of the ambition of an immortal being; and though they may be amongst the saints and faithful in Christ Jesus, yet he knows that there can never

be a time in the experience of any believer in which he can say that he is satisfied with that measure of spiritual blessings which he has already received. Such, indeed, is the very nature of spiritual blessings, that they always produce a hunger and a thirst for more; and hence, in order to satisfy the desires of the believer, it hath pleased the Father that *all* fulness should dwell in Christ, in order that His people might receive, out of His fulness, not merely grace at some particular time, but grace for grace—even grace to help in every time of need.

If we regard this verse as a prayer, it is an equally suitable exordium to the apostle's letter; and what stronger proof could he have afforded that Christ was regarded by the Church, in the days of Paul, as worthy to be associated with the Father as the object of prayer and the dispenser of the highest spiritual gifts? Our blessed Saviour possesses a oneness of prerogative and ability with the Father to confer the blessings which are here specified by the apostle.

And what are these blessings?—Grace and Peace. By the former we are to understand free sovereign and unmerited mercy under every form and modification in which mercy can be extended to man; for the word “grace” is employed in Scripture as a general designation of every spiritual blessing which a sinner can receive through Christ. Sometimes it is applied to the Gospel as it is “the grace of God, which bringeth salvation.” (Titus ii. 11.) Sometimes to the happy position which the justified sinner occupies, as in Rom. v. 2—“By whom also we have access by faith into this grace wherein we stand.” And it is constantly used in the sense just stated as the name of any and every blessing which God confers. The literal import of this word is extremely expressive of the liberality of God upon the one hand, and of the indigence of the sinner upon the other. It denotes whatever is given *gratuitously*: and when we recollect that there is not only no constraint upon God to show mercy, but every reason in justice why He should withhold it on account of our rebellion, if He had entered into judgment with us, and that there is not only no merit on the part of man, but sins sufficient to deserve everlasting punishment, if we had been made personally responsible for them; we have reason to magnify that GRACE by which, while the requirements of God's character are fully vindicated, the necessities of man as a sinner are fully supplied. The praises of a ransomed and redeemed Church throughout eternity will not be sufficient adequately to celebrate the exceeding riches of Divine grace!

By “Peace” we understand the inward enjoyment of reconciliation with God, and of all the mercies which the believer receives from the Saviour. This peace is founded

upon, and rises out of, a knowledge by faith of our justification on the ground of the righteousness and sacrifice of Christ, for "being justified by faith we have peace with God through our Lord Jesus Christ." It is one of the fruits of the Spirit, to whom we are indebted for its possession and enjoyment. It is an abiding privilege, which the world can neither give nor take away.

We should attend to the order in which these blessings are conferred: Grace is first given, and peace is produced as the consequence. We should also attend to their connection: wherever grace reigns, peace is enjoyed. Without grace as the stem, growing out of a knowledge of Christ as the root, no fruits of peace can exist. These two blessings go hand in hand; not like the two ministers of wrath that were sent to destroy Sodom, but like the two angels whom Mary saw sitting in the Saviour's sepulchre, the one at the head and the other at the feet, where the body of Jesus had lain, and who directed her to her risen and triumphant Redeemer. Grace and peace are as inseparably united in the purpose of God and in the happy experience of the believer, as the Father and the Son, who are dispensers of these blessings, are united in power and prerogative and glory. They come from God as "our Father," and are sacred pledges of His paternal love. They come also from "the Lord Jesus Christ, who is associated with the Father in communicating all spiritual gifts, through the agency of the Holy Spirit, to man. Thus we learn where and how to obtain these blessings, which constitute the very atmosphere that we should breathe for the support of our spiritual life, and the heavenly manna by feeding on which our spiritual strength can alone be recruited and sustained." "Let us therefore come with boldness to a throne of grace, that we may obtain mercy and find grace to help in time of need."

3. *Blessed be the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who hath blessed us with all spiritual blessings in heavenly places in Christ.*

This verse may be regarded as a general introduction to those which follow, as it states that all spiritual blessings come down from God the Father, and are deposited in Christ for the supply of His people; and these blessings are enumerated in detail in the next fifteen verses. There could not have been a more suitable introduction to such a subject than an earnest expression of solemn thanksgiving to God. We should never speak of the mercies of Providence, much less of the mercies of Redemption, without feeling the deepest and most intense gratitude to Him "who is the Father of lights," more especially the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who is pre-eminently the light of the world, and "from whom cometh

down every good and every perfect gift." If God has blessed us with all spiritual blessings, how reasonable is it that we should bless Him, and call upon our souls and all that is within us to praise His holy name. And surely, of all the blessings that God can confer, a heart impressed with a thankful recognition of His constant goodness and loving kindness towards us, is not the least important or desirable. Without this it cannot be said that He has blessed us with *all* spiritual blessings.

The author and originating dispenser of all spiritual blessings is "*the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ.*" They do not come to us from God, abstractedly considered, or by a direct and immediate dispensation; for out of Christ He is a consuming fire. As we are to send up our prayers to the Father through the Son, so He sends down His answers to our prayers through the same medium of communication; for there is one God and one Mediator between God and men, the Man Christ Jesus." How cheering and delightful to recognize God in this interesting character, and at the same time to remember that He stands in the very same endearing relationship of God and Father to all those who believe in Jesus; for, when speaking of His ascension, our blessed Redeemer said,— "I ascend unto my Father and your Father, and to my God and your God." (John xx. 17.)

It may be necessary to observe here, that the Father is "the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ," only in respect of that relationship which Christ sustains towards His people. In reference to the Saviour's abstract and independent glory as "the Word which was God," He and the Father are one in the possession of every attribute, and in the exercise of every prerogative, which is the peculiar characteristic of true and essential godhead.

We have here the three leading designations of the Saviour, which correspond with His three offices of King, Priest, and Prophet. As "Lord," he exercises dominion; as "Jesus" the Saviour, He offered upon Calvary the sacrifice by which He has made a full atonement for sin, and perfected for ever them that are sanctified; and as "Christ," He has been anointed by the Father "to proclaim liberty to the captives, and the opening of the prison to them that are bound; to proclaim the acceptable year of the Lord." These three offices were never united in one person, except in the Lord Jesus Christ. Melchizedec was both priest and king (Gen. xiv. 18); and on this account was a more eminent type of Christ than Aaron, who was only a priest; but, as Melchizedec was superior to Aaron, so the Lord Jesus Christ is superior to Melchizedec, as He unites in His person the three offices of Prophet, Priest, and King.

The Church is privileged to speak of Christ as "*our Lord*"

Jesus Christ." He gave himself *for* his Church when he died to redeem her, and he gives himself *to* his Church when he enables her to recognize him by faith as her living head. Christ is the property of his Church, as the Church is the property of Christ. He is also the property of every individual believer, inasmuch as everyone who lives a life of faith in him can say with Job, "I know that *my* Redeemer liveth"; or with Paul, "He loved *me*, and gave himself for me."

The apostle here specifies the grounds of the believer's thankfulness to God—even that he "*hath blessed us with all spiritual blessings in heavenly places in Christ.*" The blessings here referred to are called spiritual, in contrast with those which are temporal. The former are peculiar to the people of God; the latter are enjoyed by men of the world and members of the Church indiscriminately, as the free gifts of that beneficent Being who causeth His sun to shine on the evil and the good, and sendeth His rain upon the just and the unjust. In the disposal of temporal mercies, He gives some to one, and some to another; but in reference to spiritual blessings, to whomsoever He gives any, he gives all. He blesses with *all* spiritual blessings; for "whom he did foreknow, them he did predestinate; whom he did predestinate, them he also called; whom he called, them he also justified; whom he justified, them he also glorified." The apostle does not here omit to refer to temporal mercies, as if they were unworthy of our grateful acknowledgments, but because his more immediate subject is a contemplation of those higher and everlasting benefits which the sinner receives through Christ. While all temporal mercies shall exist only in the grateful memories of redeemed and glorified saints, the inestimable blessings which have been procured by the Saviour for His people shall constitute their satisfying portion; they shall have entered upon the paths of glory, and shall live in the light of the smile of His countenance, "in whose presence is fulness of joy, and at whose right hand there are pleasures for evermore." Let it ever be the Christian's aim and object to "covet earnestly the best gifts," and to seek with Mary "that good part which shall not be taken away." In reference to spiritual blessings, we can never be too diffuse and minute in our petitions at a throne of grace, or too anxious to have the enjoyment of them all. In reference to temporal blessings, we should "cast all our care upon Him who careth for us": we should "take no thought for the morrow," but rest implicitly upon the gracious promise of our covenant God, who has said that He will "withhold no good thing from him that walketh uprightly."

There is no word in the original corresponding with the word "places" in the translation, so that we are at equal liberty to supply the word "*things*"—"Who hath blessed us

with all spiritual blessings amongst or connected with heavenly things." These words refer to the blessings and privileges of the Gospel, which are styled in Heb. vi. 4, "the heavenly gift," and which are enumerated in the succeeding verses of this chapter. The believer's election, predestination, and adoption, and his being sealed by the Spirit, are not intended to make him meet for any state of earthly elevation or distinction, but to prepare and preserve him for that future inheritance of glory which is reserved for him in heaven.

The phrase, "in Christ," occurs very frequently in the New Testament, and is peculiarly expressive and emphatic. All spiritual blessings are "in" or *by* Christ, as they have been procured by Him for the benefit of His people, as the result of His mediation and the purchase of His blood. Or this expression may refer to Christ as the trustee in whom is vested, or the depository in which is lodged, every mercy for the sinner and every blessing for the believer. God the Father has placed, as it were, in this spiritual bank, an inexhaustible supply of all spiritual blessings; for it hath pleased the Father that in Him should all fulness dwell, and He has given to us the promises of the Gospel as so many drafts with which we are to come to the Saviour, that we may "receive out of His fulness, and grace for grace." Blessed be God! these drafts will never be dishonoured; for they are written with the blood of Christ, and are all "yea and amen" in Him, and may well be designated, in the language of Peter, "exceeding great and precious promises!"

Or we might illustrate the phrase, "in Christ," as if it referred to the Ark of the Covenant which was deposited in the Holy of Holies in the temple of Solomon, and which contained the two tables of the Law, the golden pot of manna, Aaron's rod, and a copy of the five books of Moses. This ark was a striking type of Christ our propitiation or mercy-seat, who is not entered into the holy places made with hands, but into heaven itself, which is their antitype, and in whom, as the end of the Law, the believer has a perfect righteousness, and a full supply of spiritual sustenance and strength, and, in the example and commandments which He has left to His people, a complete exposition and illustration of the will of God. As then the Jews could say that God had blessed them with typical blessings in earthly places in the Ark of the Covenant, so the believer may say, in an infinitely higher and more important sense, "He hath blessed us with all spiritual blessings in heavenly places (or, in connection with heavenly things) in Christ."

4. *According as He hath chosen us in Him before the founda-*

tion of the world, that we should be holy and without blame before Him in love :

Here the original source of all our spiritual blessings is traced back to the electing love of God—"Inasmuch as He hath chosen us in Christ before the foundation of the world." As Adam is the head and representative of man in a natural sense, so Christ is the head and representative of man in a spiritual sense; not only when He suffered for our transgressions upon the cross, but also in the adjustment of the great plan of salvation before the world was created. Believers are never contemplated by God independently of Christ, but always in connexion with Him, as their surety and their living head. They were chosen *in Christ* before they could have performed any work to merit so great a distinction. The new creation is vastly more glorious than the visible creation of the heaven and the earth, and therefore it occupied the attention of God long before this world was commanded into existence. What an amazing mystery of love have we here!—that our election in Christ should belong to the annals of a past eternity before this earth was formed and fashioned by the plastic omnipotence of God; and even before the sun itself was stationed in the heavens as the material shadow of the immaterial reality of its Creator's glory! Well may we adopt the language of the Psalmist, and exclaim,—“Lord, what is man, that thou art mindful of him; or the son of man, that thou so regardest him!”

The grand and ultimate object that God had in view in thus choosing us, is here stated—"That we should be holy and without blame before Him." The words, "in love," do not belong to this sentence: they should properly be connected with the commencement of the next verse, thus,—“Having in love predestinated us unto the adoption of children.” This purpose of God in the election of His people is explained by the parallel statement in Rom. viii. 4,—“That the righteousness of the law might be fulfilled in us;” and the declaration of it involves a refutation of two leading errors that have been associated with this subject. The one is the error of those who, seeing that they cannot evade the doctrine of Election in some sense, since the fact is so often mentioned in Scripture, maintain that God elected sinners to eternal life, because He foresaw that they would be holy. In opposition to which, this verse represents holiness as the *end* and *object*, and not in any way as the moving *cause* of God's electing us. He has chosen us, not because He foresaw that we would be holy, but in order that we might be holy. The other error is contained in the objection so frequently urged against the doctrine of which we are speaking, that if we are elected to salvation, we shall be saved independently of the acquisition of holiness altogether.

In opposition to which, this passage declares, that the very design of God in election is to make us holy. In fact, in choosing us unto eternal life as the *end*, He has chosen us unto faith and holiness as the way that leads to it; as is elsewhere expressed by the Apostle—"God hath from the beginning chosen you to salvation through sanctification of the Spirit and belief of the truth." (2 Thess. ii. 13.)

The expression "*before him*" shows that holiness is here spoken of as to its perfect consummation, as it refers to that future time when the redeemed shall stand before Christ, displaying that completeness of moral beauty which is indicated in the book of the Revelation by their being clothed in white robes. This phrase might also be explained in the sense of their being holy in *His estimation*. To be thus holy and without blame, is necessarily to be morally pure and spotless, and entirely free from the slightest blemish or taint of sin. We should ever look upon this state of moral perfection as the highest personal distinction that awaits us. We speak of glory and immortality, and the blessedness of a future life, as privileges, and so they are; but holiness is the greatest distinction that God can confer upon His creatures, for this is a resemblance to His own nature. And what a glorious privilege!—to be "holy as God is holy, to be perfect as our Father in heaven is perfect,"—to be "holy and without blame before Him," who chargeth His angels with folly, and in whose sight the very heavens are not clean!

(*To be continued.*)

THE FUTURE OF MEXICO, FROM A CHURCH POINT OF VIEW.

Michel Chevalier's Mexique. Paris. 1863.

WHAT man has done, man may do; and as, in the hands of an inferior race, the table land of Mexico became the seat of the most flourishing empire in the New World, we may certainly augur favourably of its future, when it once gets a settled government, and has at last a short breathing time from its many revolutions. There must be something genial in the soil and climate; and this adaptation of the country to man is no small thing to start with. Iceland could never be the home of a powerful nation; even the Norseman, with his vast energy, his wonderful power of adapting himself to different climes, has degenerated there. But "Mexico is a glorious climate—the unhealthy coastline excepted, for which future culture may do much to mitigate its unwholesomeness . . . when men shall have become more intent on subduing the earth, and less on subduing one another;—and it must have a glorious future before it." "These new

lands have not yet done their work," says the philosopher who thinks he has the key to the earth's riddle in his own theory of final causes; but without insisting that the world must last until every country has had its turn, and set its mark on the page of history, we always feel that (humanly speaking) this dispensation would be incomplete, did things come to an end while so much of the vast western continents remains a blank. Mr. Bates, (in his *Amazons*,) speaking of the unsuspected delights of tropical climates, and how full the sense of life and enjoyment is for those with whom they do not disagree, hazards the opinion, that "that great race that is to be" will be an intertropical race, (preserved, we suppose, from the degeneracy which has befallen the Aryans in India,) occupying the great river basins of South America, and doubtless stretching north to Mexico. But to come back to sober realities. It was not likely Mexico would do much under Spain. Dependence (terribly different from the free genial relation of England and Australia, for instance) did not tend to bring out its resources. It was worked by the Spaniards solely for Spain's advantage. Dependence is like protection; it may suit the childhood of a state, but it never helps it in asserting a bold progressive manhood. And Spain was always a cruel stepmother, not an affectionate parent encouraging the spontaneous efforts of her dependencies, and guiding them tenderly and considerately. She did not even leave her colonies alone—treatment which some hold to be the next best thing to judicious guidance; while many, believing apparently that colonies come into the world full grown and fully developed, hold it to be far better than any guidance, however judicious. She fretted by continual interference, just where interference was sure to do harm. To take one instance: in Mexico, where cotton is indigenous, and was manufactured in a variety of ways long before the arrival of the Spaniards, the old cotton trade still flourished late in the 17th century; the province of Puebla especially was full of factories; and a large quantity of goods was exported to Peru, which province sent out wine and other productions in exchange. Some persons, interested in putting a stop to this cotton trade, represented to the Court of Madrid that it gave the English and Dutch an opportunity of smuggling in Chinese stuffs; and so, instead of increasing the vigilance of its custom-house officers, the Spanish government limited the traffic between Mexico and Peru to two ships' cargoes a year (a cargo not to exceed 200,000 ducats in value). By and by only a certain quality of goods were admitted; and before long all trade between the two colonies was prohibited. No European country has been faultless in its colonial relations. Our own headstrong conduct lost us the United States; and the French Antilles have a sad tale to tell of "experiments in governing," each more ruinous than the one which preceded

it. But surely, if we have the merit of first throwing overboard the old restrictive system, the Spaniards can claim the honour of having been far more *thorough* protectionists than either we or the French ever thought of being. Take this instance of suicidal policy. Because the banana, with little labour, produces a larger amount of food than any other vegetable, they tried to prohibit its culture, "with the view of making the natives more hardworking." Many of their absurd restrictions were in this way enacted through regard for the welfare of the Indians. Thus, if the wine trade of Peru was ruined, and the vines through Mexico actually rooted up, it was done "because the drink was found too heady for the Indians,"—though there was a strong suspicion in many minds, that the desire of forcing a market for Spanish wines had at least as much to do with the whole policy as care for the native race.

There were only two ports in the whole country, Acapulco for the Eastern trade, Vera Cruz for Spain; and only two Spanish towns, Cadiz and Seville, were permitted to trade with Mexico. Once every three or four years a convoy, called "the fleet," sailed from Cadiz, carrying goods which had been previously sold to some dozen Mexican houses. When "the fleet" arrived, a grand fair was held at Xalapa, for every one was interested in the cargoes, seeing that native manufactures were almost entirely prohibited. Indeed, except what they made at home, and what they got by smuggling, which thrived here as in every other Spanish dependency, all manufactured goods came from the mother country. On the other side, the trade to Europe was limited (so long as Spain held Mexico) to one ship yearly—"the galleon" of 1500 tons. "The commercial regulations," says M. Chevalier, "were framed and arranged in that worrying spirit which sets itself the impossible task of foreseeing everything; and which, stubbornly and ruinously consistent, ends by denying free-will to the governed." But Spain was not jealous of foreign traders only; no stranger was allowed to travel in the country. So late as when Humboldt wished to visit the South American provinces, he had to go to Aranjuez and get a special royal permit; and M. Lucas Alaman, a recent Mexican writer, regrets that the great German traveller was permitted to gather the materials for his "political essay on New Spain," inasmuch as his book helped to bring on the war of Independence "by giving the Mexicans an overweening idea of the riches of their country." It is surely a little premature for England and France to force upon China and Japan the so-called axiom, that *no country has a right to cut itself off from the commonwealth of nations*, when, till within a few years ago, one of the "European powers" showed as restrictive a spirit as the Prince of Nagato himself.

One great hindrance to the growth of the colony was the almost entire absence of any decent schools. Mr. Bates, in his *Amazons*, gives some amusing notices of the state of education in Brazil. In a school which he examined, they seemed still to be taught the old *trivium*, and nothing more. With childish rudimentary notions of physics and geography they united a training in rhetoric and dialectics, which insured their fitness to become good lawyers at any rate. In Mexico things were much worse. The Jesuits had done a great deal to keep up the educational standard. M. Chevalier, though he is throughout anti-Popish, as becomes an ex-Saint-Simonian, and quondam pupil of the late père Enfantin, (indeed no recent French work shows the dark side of Popery more than does this, in a quiet philosophical way,) thinks the Jesuits "promoted the cause of civilization in Mexico," and that their suppression was an evil for Spanish America; "for," says he, "out here they would have confined themselves chiefly to missionary work, and have acted as admirable intermediaries between the native and the European." Here again our author agrees with Mr. Bates, who often passed the ruins of Jesuit mission villages, and says the Indians lost in these Fathers their best protectors, and the only men patient enough gradually to civilize them. One of the first acts, we may remark, of the Congress of Independence, sitting in 1813, was to readmit the Jesuits, "that Christian instruction may be secured to the youth, and that zealous missionaries may be provided for California and the northern frontier." When Charles III., in 1767, abolished the Jesuits, he replaced their seminaries by schools; but they were very poor ones. Their literature too must have been limited, when every book, besides running the gauntlet of the civil and ecclesiastical authorities, and being further examined by the Inquisition, had also to pass the *Council of the Indies*. Hence books on America were very rare. The Council disliked publicity; and "Clavigero, a harmless ecclesiastic, had to get his history of Mexico translated into Italian, and published in Italy." The Indians were worse off. If the tales about them are true, they had a very fair national system of education when the Spaniards came. The nobles, indeed, were admirably taught all the learning of their time. But the Spanish plan was to depress these nobles as far as possible: hence the foundation of native colleges, to replace those about which Bernal Diaz tells us, was violently opposed by the Government; and the descendants of the caciques, deprived of any interest in life, forced each to live within the circle of his own village, were permitted, or rather encouraged, to sink to the lowest level of the native population. All the teaching they got was a little catechizing from the priest. Still, dark as they were in Mexico, they saw some sparks from the mighty fire which had burst out in our British Colonies.

After that, the Government (instead of taking the good advice which one of the viceroys gave, and settling the Spanish provinces as monarchies under young Spanish princes) grew fiercer and more restrictive. They actually put in irons a man who received a French newspaper in *the way of general business*. The Indians were in fact dealt with and managed like children; the very laws for their protection being adroitly turned against them. The creole population was systematically kept down, all high offices being reserved for Spaniards born; of the nine bishoprics, all but one were held by Spaniards at the time of the war of Independence. These Spaniards clung together; and it was policy of the home government to keep the two classes of whites separate in feelings and interests. Such a population was naturally ripe for revolt. Spain was not taken unawares; more than one viceroy had memorialized government on the dangerous and unsatisfactory state of things; but Spain under Ferdinand VII. was not likely to mend matters; and the liberal party, full of exaggerated notions of their country's wealth, and the ease with which it would right itself financially, raised their standard in 1810. Iturrigaray, the last viceroy, had been deposed by the Spanish party, on a charge of heresy, but really because he was a friend to progress; and the Spanish-born viceroy had behaved so insolently as to make an appeal to arms absolutely indispensable.

We do not mean to go through the events of the insurrectionary war. It is remarkable for the number of priests who were leaders on the popular side. Hidalgo, who headed the first outbreak, Matamoros, Morelos, and several more, forsook their parishes, to fight the battles for freedom. The cruelties on both sides were frightful, though in this the Spanish had rather the superiority. At last independence is won, not by the sword, for the tide turns strongly against the insurgents; but by the conversion of a creole, Iturbide, who sees that the minds of his countrymen are for liberty, though their arms cannot conquer it. Iturbide proclaims independence, and straightway brings every one over to his views. He makes himself Emperor into the bargain, and holds the office till the rise of Santa Anna, in 1829. M. Chevalier's justification of Santa Anna is one of the weakest parts of the book. The simple facts, that Mexico lost during Santa Anna's time more than half of her land to the United States, and that she became bankrupt and impoverished, whereas under Spain she had always had a large surplus revenue, are enough to condemn his administration. The wretched state of the country, and the certainty that the United States would sooner or later swallow up the rest of it, led to the French expedition. France went, as M. Chevalier is at great pains to prove, not for selfish ends,

but as the champion of the Latin race, "which must be preserved in its colonies, since, unhappily, it does not increase in Europe so rapidly as do the Germanic races." After some brilliant chapters on the resources and probable future of the country—most interesting because the writer is enthusiastic in his subject—M. Chevalier goes at length into the question of French interference. Of the English share in the expedition he says nothing; of the Spanish, little except that it was well they went home again, seeing how implacably the Mexicans hate them. He treats of the Monroe doctrine, so absurdly misused by the present generation of Americans; of the settled design of the South to annex Mexico, and form it into a set of slave states; of the duty of France as *head of the Latin races*; of her difficulties in the expedition, and the valuable results which she may leave behind her after her needful term of occupation is over. He then deals with the all-important question, "Will it pay?" Will Mexico be able, within any reasonable number of years, to support her own government, and meet the expenses of the French occupation? Entering at full length into this question, he answers it in the affirmative, but is not very sanguine in his affirmation; indeed the present state of Mexican finances and credit is such as to make every one but an enthusiast despair. The last fifty pages are perhaps the most interesting in the book. They refer to the probable conduct of the court of Rome in reference to the new Mexican government. M. Chevalier is justly very severe on the Papacy. He shews, in a historical summary, how it has been always at war with the intellect of mankind and the progress of society. He shews the gratuitous folly of this line of conduct, and points out how easily religion and liberty might have gone hand in hand. He supposes the Pope (suddenly liberalized) saying, "You nations of modern Europe owe your progress to the Church. All the arts and sciences were preserved under the shelter of monasteries and basilicas. Help to the weak against the strong was what the clergy gave in those dark times when they alone could give it. European civilization is the child of religion. Where would modern industry be, had not the Church put an end to slavery and serfdom? What influence purified your manners, and raised the tone of your fine arts? Even your sceptical philosophers owe to the Church those very sentiments of love for mankind on which they based their systems. Why should not religion and progress be once more at one?" So the Pope *might* speak; but M. Chevalier does not think there is much chance of his doing so, and therein we fully agree with him. Clearly, indeed, in summing up the obstacles to Mexico's prosperity, he is more afraid of Pope and Clergy than of any amount of temporary debt. That will right itself in time. The exchequer has got into difficulties, simply because,

when Spanish rule came to an end, no Mexican knew the least about finance. Clerical obstinacy may bring about a permanent dead lock. Our author ends his work with a hope—in which every Christian would share, did he not know how vain it must be—that the court of Rome may act more generously than heretofore; and, instead of anathematizing all progress, and opposing everything like development, may join with the new ruler in setting forward the prosperity of the country. Is not this expecting the Ethiopian to change his skin? We cannot tell how far the Italian Convention may alter the Pope's nature and habits. At present, judging by his allocutions, (M. Chevalier quotes several, those of 1853 and 1861 for instance, specially bearing on Mexico,) we cannot expect him to do anything in the right direction. To do so, would be to deny his own words, and give the lie to his own infallibility. Since, then, the higher Mexican clergy are in the interests of the Vatican, we fear we may look for the *Question Romaine* to reappear across the Atlantic; the only hope of better things being, as M. Chevalier hints, the establishment of a Church which, throwing off *distinctive* Romanist doctrines, shall be, even more than the Gallican Church, independent in organisation.

In this rapid review of M. Chevalier's book, we have said nothing about the old Aztec civilization; nor yet about that wonderful epic, the overthrow of their empire by Cortez and his few followers. Both are tempting subjects. Whence the subjects of Montezuma derived that culture which took the invaders by surprise; how they attained, for instance, to such a knowledge of astronomy as to have a calendar almost as perfect as the Gregorian; how, at the same time, there existed, along with their polished manners and pleasing customs, an undercurrent of perhaps the darkest and cruellest superstition which the world has ever seen—all these are most interesting questions. There is less need for us to enter upon them, because they have been discussed in the "Robertson," who was the delight of our boyhood; in the "Prescott," who, with greater light and fuller information, has since treated of the subject. What we wished to confine ourselves to was not what Mexico has been, but what it is, and what there is yet hope that it may become.

. If a statement in the *Siècle*, which has just found its way into our papers, is true, the religious state of Mexico must be dark indeed. There is, we are told, a yearly *lottery of masses* in the convent of San Lorenzo. "The entrance money is *half a real for each soul*. The winning souls have the masses said on their behalf the day after the drawing. Part of the masses are also applied to the souls named by those who, having taken part in

the lottery, have not gained prizes. The drawing is on the eve of the Octave of the Ascension."

No wonder M. Chevalier could speak of wholesale conversions of Indians in the days of Cortez. The change was, as he observes, merely formal. With all its absurdities and horrors, the Aztec mythology could not have contained anything more revolting to Christian feelings than such a profane mockery as that described above. "The money is received by the porter." In this point the modern system has the advantage over its heathen predecessor,—it has a keener eye to the main chance.

The famous letter-box of the Virgin, which cost so many lives at Santiago last year, was ridiculous enough; but we almost incline to give the palm for impudent profanity to the San Lorenzo lottery.

WILBERFORCE AND HIS CONTEMPORARIES: MR. ELIOT,
LORD MUNCASTER, AND JOHN BOWDLER.

BESIDES the older friends who influenced Mr. Wilberforce, through their character and experience, there were others of his own age, with whom he lived in intimacy; and among them we place in the first rank two who felt for him almost as brothers, and were in return cherished with brotherly attachment. We speak of Mr. Eliot and Lord Muncaster.

The Hon. Edward Eliot had been an early friend of Mr. Pitt; and in 1783, when Mr. Wilberforce, then in close relations with Pitt, joined him in his tour to France, Eliot met them at Mr. Bankes's, and formed one of the united and merry trio who invaded Rheims and Paris. The year after, when Pitt formed his government, he placed Eliot in one of the Lordships of the Treasury; and Eliot continued, as we see from his letter written in 1784, in intimate relations with Wilberforce, who was then abroad. The next autumn, Mr. Eliot drew closer his connexion with Pitt by marriage with his sister, Lady Harriot, to whom Pitt was tenderly attached; and the influence, which both by this tie and by his character he exercised over Pitt, became useful to Wilberforce when their views on religious questions changed and became in unison. This occurred when, little more than a twelvemonth after this auspicious marriage, Eliot was plunged into the deepest sorrow by the death of his wife. The blow was keenly felt by Pitt, and made him for several days shut himself up from his nearest friends, but in him the necessities of his position, and the engrossing calls of business, blunted its edge. On the sensitive mind of Eliot the blow told with lasting force. He lived henceforth with Pitt, but his spirits never recovered the grief, and he carried the wound unhealed to an early

grave. In 1787, when Mr. Wilberforce embarked in his benevolent labours, and was starting the Association for the Discouragement of Vice, Eliot writes to him with hearty concurrence, and expresses sentiments which showed how materially his character had changed:—"For me, I am not only willing, but desirous of joining myself to your plan. I have every day less fear of my temper of mind being thought a transitory effect of grief. I feel as if every day looking upon my condition here with more steadiness and resignation, and to a future life with more earnestness and desire. God bless you, and make you happy here as well as hereafter. You have that claim to it, if I may so speak, that you have not required a visitation of Providence to turn you to your God." In the delicate negotiations which often arose between the Premier and the philanthropist, Eliot formed the link to draw them together, and he was enabled, by his constant access to Mr. Pitt, to influence him in favour of Mr. Wilberforce's plans. Still more, when a difference arose between them on the French war, Eliot was able to moderate the feelings of both, and explain to each the motives of the other; and thus, by an effectual influence, to prevent the difference from widening into variance.

But this gentle character loved the shade. From the more ostensible duties of public business he shrank with modest reserve; and, though fitted to take a part in them, both by his abilities and character, he greatly preferred the walk of unobtrusive influence. When he was not in London, where he lived in Pitt's house, he remained at Battersea Rise, where he had fixed himself in the neighbourhood of Mr. Thornton, that he might enjoy the congenial society both of him and of Mr. Wilberforce. With the latter he lived in close intimacy. They attended the Lock Chapel together, received the Sacrament together, and with fullest confidence of friendship opened to each other their thoughts. The qualities of Eliot's mind were little known to the public. After his death, Wilberforce wrote of him:—"Perhaps no one but myself knew him thoroughly; he was so modest, retiring, and unassuming. Neither in point of understanding, nor of religious and moral character, did he generally possess his proper estimation." Wilberforce, however, who knew and trusted him, profited much by his counsels. "Except Henry Thornton," he writes, "there is no one living with whom I was so much in the habit of consulting, and whose death so breaks in with all my plans in all directions. We were engaged in a multitude of pursuits together; he was a bond of connexion, which was sure never to fail, between me and Pitt."

Eliot, on the other hand, profited by Wilberforce's piety; and in writing of his death, Mr. Grant says to Wilberforce,—“You suffer at many points—I feel for the public and the Church

There being but few such characters, his removal is both a misfortune and a dark omen. He however, I trust, has made a happy exchange. He experiences, we may hope, the ineffable joy of entering into a safe and a blissful eternity. You have one grateful reflection, I believe, in the midst of your distress, that you contributed to make him think betimes of the things of his peace." In 1797 it appeared likely that Mr. Eliot's character would become known to the world. A vacancy occurred in one of the most important posts which Government has to bestow, and the retirement of Lord Cornwallis made it necessary to seek a successor for the Governor-Generalship in India. For this high post Pitt destined Eliot; and Dundas and the Directors approved the appointment. But, just as it was about to be made public, a severe illness came on; and, in place of mounting the vice-regal throne, and ruling swarthy millions, Eliot was carried to the stillness of his own chamber, to commune with himself, and to learn in sickness the hard lesson to obtain a mastery over his own heart. The letter in which he communicated to Wilberforce the feelings which this check had caused, showed that the teaching had been effectual, and that the discipline of the sick room had matured the spirit for a higher elevation. Commenting on the bereavement which had made Wilberforce's sister a widow, he refers to his own sorrow:—"When a similar calamity befel me, I now think I was little better than an infidel; but it pleased God to sanctify His visitation, and gradually to draw me by it to a better mind. My present infirmity, I am well nigh convinced, is sent upon the same errand; the necessity for it I sincerely submit to His wisdom—but the effects I certainly feel, and willingly acknowledge, to have been spiritually beneficial. My thoughts have been much more settled, less disposed to wander and to dwell upon the world, or the enjoyments of sense, and my imagination much less uncontrollable than heretofore. For all this I am truly thankful; and though not quite free from the remains of my complaints, I do not pray to God to relieve me from them, if it is to be at the expense of these more substantial blessings."

Such thoughts were the precursors, as they were the preparations, of his change. In September of that year in which the Premier hoped to see him Governor-General of India, Pitt received the unexpected intelligence of his death. He was supposed to be recovering, and the blow was the more unlooked for. It quite stunned Mr. Pitt. A friend who was present when he received the tidings, said he never witnessed such overpowering grief. Wilberforce, who loved him with almost equal tenderness, found in the thought of his happiness a soothing consolation. "He was," he says, "I verily believe, a real Christian; and it is a singular satisfaction to me, to have received, a little before his departure, a letter from him, breathing

a spirit of the truest humility and resignation." "I can truly say," he writes to Lord Muncaster, "that I scarcely know any one whose loss I have so much cause to regret. But I have the solid satisfaction of knowing that his mind was just in the state I could have wished, had I been aware of the awful change which awaited him. Peace be with him! May my last end be like his!"

The other intimate friend, whose friendship dated from their college life, was Lord Muncaster. This friendship, which was close as that of Eliot, was happily continued longer, till Lord Muncaster's death, in 1813. Lord Muncaster sat in Parliament for the borough of Colchester, and on all the great questions which engage parliamentary men he acted with Wilberforce. He joined in the struggle for the abolition of the slave trade; he shared Wilberforce's esteem for Mr. Pitt; when Mr. Wilberforce separated from Pitt on the question of peace with France, Lord Muncaster approved his course. The mossy brows and shady glades of Muncaster Castle were often visited by Wilberforce, and he contrasts them in his letters with the dust of London and the hot pavements of Bath. In all the incidents of his career, public and private, he writes to Lord Muncaster; and that *abandon* which with him is so natural, is to be traced vividly in these letters, written hastily, giving the gossip of the day, politics, his opinions, his criticisms on the debates, the spirit and temper of public men. He tells him of his conflicts in Parliament—his labours—his defeats—his mortification—Pitt's delay—his rising hopes and brightening prospects. With these he mixes the incidents of private life—his marriage—his comforts—his hours of rest—his flight from London—his quiet walks "by the hoarse resounding shore, meditating better things than purblind Homer knew or sung"—his sports and games of marbles with his boys, which, he says, would make him an object of ridicule in the House of Commons, but which he does not shrink from confessing to his familiar friend. But he intersperses with this domestic chat words of affection, or a touch of seriousness. "In spite of hurry, lassitude, and weak eyes, I must reply," he writes, "to your kind inquiries. I believe you and I are tuned in the same key, as the musicians speak, and that we strike therefore in unison. Is it a proof of it, that I feel your pouring out to me your joy in the prospect of a visit from your father, as a stronger proof of your affection than all your expressions of solicitude about myself? To make me thus a partner of your joys, is truly kind." Again, eight years later, reporting the death of a common friend, he says:—"Though I do not see you, my dear Muncaster, on a Sunday, I believe I may truly say, I never pass one over without thinking of you. May God bless you, is the hearty wish and frequent prayer of your affectionate and faithful friend." Again, in 1803,

reporting Napoleon's threatened invasion from Boulogne:—"Well, my friend, it is my only comfort that all human affairs are in higher hands than ours, and we are assured that all things shall work together for good to them that love God. Be it our care to secure this, and then we may exclaim, in the triumphant language of the Psalmist, (Ps. xlv. 11.) Farewell, my friend, I wish I were with you,—my mouth waters to think of your rocks, and mountains, and shady walks."

But it is ever thus: the appeals of Clarkson, the attacks of the Pro-Slavery party, the passions of politics, the ambition, the excitement, and the bitterness of politicians, his own anxieties about the war—his first idea of opposition to Pitt—his sufferings under the estrangement—his private meetings with Pitt—his intervention after Pitt's duel—his personal prospects—his marriage—the illness of his wife—the birth of children—his health—his longing for retirement—his work—his writings in the *Christian Observer*—his boxes of unanswered letters—the death of friends—the darkness of public affairs—why he voted, and why he abstained—his anxieties on the distresses of the country—the wavering fortunes of the Abolition cause—the changes of Government—the growing variance between Pitt and Addington—the negotiations between the King and Pitt—the case of Lord Melville—the victory of Trafalgar, and the dark reverse of Austerlitz—the heavy blow, the illness of Pitt—Pitt's death and debts—his engrossing labours at Broomfield or Palace Yard—his intended rest—all these pass before us in this diorama of friendship, with their rapidly dissolving views. He contrasts his busy life with Lord Muncaster's leisure in the happy valley of the North, and he flies in a moment on the wings of fancy from the slopes of Clapham or the shore of the Channel, to the woods and forest glades which shaded "Julius Cæsar's old castle in Eskdale."

Again (1800), replying to his inquiry about Parliamentary business, and commenting on Lord Grenville's irritating despatches, he mixes with these disturbing thoughts his own happier tone:—"Alas, Muncaster, my heart aches! However, there is a perfect home of love, and peace, and happiness; and we are invited to the enjoyment of it. Let every fresh proof, therefore, of the unsatisfactoriness of human things have the effect of urging us forwards towards this one true point of rest with renewed energy."

In 1804, while detailing to his friend the circumstances of Pitt's second administration, he speaks of himself as enjoying the first greetings of summer and the voices of the nightingales at Broomfield, looking up through nature to its God, and still more thankfully recognizing Him as the God of grace and consolation. "Happy they who pursue those paths which, even here, are alone paths of peace, and which alone will at length conduct us to permanent and solid happiness. Oh! my dear

Muncaster, press forward in these ways; the Scriptures, prayer, with humble reliance on our Redeemer and Intercessor, and on the aids of His promised Spirit—these are the sure means of progress.”

Answering Lord Muncaster's wise and Christian thoughts, in 1809, he says of politics,—“Oh! it is a gloomy sky; but there is a sun behind the clouds. In one particular I quite agree with you, in ascribing all the great events which are taking place to a higher hand. Indeed, He is always the supreme Agent; but there are times, and this seems to be one of them, when His arm is lifted up and His hand displayed with more than common plainness. This consideration administers the greatest comfort to my mind. For, being persuaded that there are many among us who still love and fear and serve the Great Governor of the universe, I cannot but hope that, though justly deserving the vengeance, we shall still experience the mercy, of Heaven.” And speaking, in 1811, of the bankruptcy of a common friend, the blow it had struck on his pleasures, and the expansion it had given to his spirit, he says, “I cannot help thinking that in this I see the hand of God. It will lead him to clear away the rubbish, and cleave to the foundation; his spiritual sun, which the fogs and vapours of worldly bustle obscured, will shine out at the close of his natural day. In truth, my dear friend, we are all too apt to forget that the time is short, and that the fashion of this world passeth away, and that here we are but strangers and pilgrims. Farewell, my dear Muncaster; I will not apologize for the serious strain into which I have just given. I know you wish me to say what is uppermost; to pour forth the effusions of the heart. Farewell once more, and may God bless you. When that is said sincerely as I say it, well may it be added, in the phrase of the Orientals, ‘What can I say more?’”

The last two letters, which closed this long and close friendship, were written, one from Sandgate, in October, 1812, the other a week before Lord Muncaster's death, in September, 1813. In the one he playfully congratulates his friend on the birth of a grandson and heir. “Before I plunged into the *mare magnum* (of London) I was determined to sail up the river Esk, and pay my respects to the new-born future occupant of the Luck of Muncaster.” In the second letter, while observing on the improvement in the character of the clergy and of public men, he turns, as was his wont, from that general reflection, to more personal thoughts; and with a prophecy not realized in his own case, but soon to be fulfilled in that of his friend, he says,—“However, my dear Muncaster, neither your race nor mine can be much longer. May we both be prepared for the close of life; all else is comparatively insignificant. . . . As we grow nearer the great change, it is well to make still ampler prepa-

ration for it, though it is not necessary that we should for this end retire altogether from public service; but to live under a more abiding impression of the uncertainty of life, and with dispositions better fitted for that condition of being into which we are probably ere long to enter, must certainly be right. For this end, I find nothing more effectual than private prayer and the serious perusal of the New Testament."

On the other hand, the letters of Lord Muncaster show a temper congenial with that of his friend. Nothing can be more touching than the short letter in which he tells the destruction of his hopes in the death of his only son. His help was always ready in the long anti-slavery conflict. He wrote ably on the question; he supplied help, from the books which he had in his library, to the pamphlet of Zachary Macaulay. He breathes his feelings of affection and thoughtfulness in his last bequests to his friends, Mr. Duncombe "and to my truly valued and much regarded friend, William Wilberforce, Esq., as a small proof and testimony of the very sincere friendship I felt towards them during the time I walked with them in this vale of tears and sorrowing." These things show that he was not seduced by the glare of the world, but took life in its true aspect, a passage of toil and tears.

Next almost in intimacy we must place one who for some years was associated with Wilberforce, though he was a youth when the statesman had passed the meridian of life. He, indeed, soon disappeared, torn from his side by an early death—"Ostendunt terris hunc tantum." He entered the circle of friends like a gleam of sunshine; and so bright was the light, that the luminary, in its brief transit, left a line of glory behind. For, indeed, John Bowdler had rare qualities. "He is really," writes Mr. Wilberforce, "take him altogether, one of the most extraordinary young men I ever knew," and "the tenderest, the humblest, and the most self-forgetting." Thus he appeared to the statesman when he first entered his circle. Thus he spoke of him when, in 1815, he had passed away;—a clear discernment, great powers of analysis, a vigorous memory, a correct taste, the balance of exact judgment, a vigorous expression of his thoughts; but the flashes of intellect were softened by the gentleness of his feelings, and by that self-forgetfulness which sought and loved retirement.

Let us retrace for a moment the records of this short but interesting career. We cannot look at Bowdler's portrait without decyphering his character. The dress of the day was stiff and unbecoming; but the dress is soon forgotten in the expression of the countenance. The eye pensive and full, the forehead large and high, reverence distinctly marked, decision in the compressed lips; the face youthful, but with little trace of thoughtlessness, settled early into the calmness which

succeeds, in a strong mind, the struggles and conflicts of thought; and which leaves behind, on the features, the marks of the struggle which is past. If we had heard nothing of him, we should be curious to ask his history; and here it is.

John Bowdler was born in London, in February, 1783. He was a thoughtful child from early years: fond of being alone; of sitting absorbed in day-dreams, forgetting external objects, lost in reverie. Yet fancy was not the only characteristic. He relished calculations; he followed eagerly abstract thoughts. He had the qualities which make leaders of men—ambition, a high spirit, an indomitable courage, a vehement but irritable temper.

His father was resident at Sevenoaks, and in the grammar school there the boy received the rudiments of education. Thence he went to Winchester, and derived advantage from the judicious teaching of its master. His profession was now to be fixed; and a lucrative branch of the law, that of proctor, was suggested to him. But this branch does not open to the woolsack; and to the woolsack his young ambition soared. He would have greatly liked to go to college, to acquire the classical knowledge for which he thirsted. But his father's circumstances forbade it; and he was articled to a London solicitor, to lodge and work in the heart of the city. In a position so unfavourable to accomplishments, and so fatal to romance, he yet, by indomitable energy, managed to master the classics, and he ploughed his way far into philosophy and letters.

The description of the manner in which his day was spent, accounts for his future illness. Writing to a friend in the summer of 1801, in his nineteenth year, he says,—“My eyes are nearly out, for it is past ten at night, and I have written this between sleeping and waking, having been at work almost unremittingly since half-past nine in the morning, which is my daily dose.” (Remains, ii. 536, 537.) To show the labours which he undertook in addition to the routine of an office, he says,—“I have just begun to learn a law book by heart: it contains 30,000 lines, and I hope to get through it twice in six months; but it is most dry, and like learning so many proper names.” Yet, not content with this, he must master the classics. “For myself,” he writes in the spring of 1802, “I go on much in my old routine, fagging hard at classics and harder at law. I have lately been attacking ‘Trojani belli Scriptorem,’ have nearly read through eight books, and have learnt *Α’*, which is a very long one, by heart. I have lately also read Juvenal, with some of Perseus, through, two or three times, and learnt about 1300 lines, which, though certainly nothing to be named as real labour, yet is fair enough for the lighter hours of a stupid illiterate quill-driver, bending over a desk in these regions of Cimmerian darkness.” Thus,

while the hours of a long day are engaged in "mortgages, releases, and assumpsits," he taxes brains and memory in the study and learning by heart of the longed-for classics; dispelling, by their flights of fancy, "*the tædia vitæ*," and breaking, by their sunny gleams of poetic light, the twilight gloom of the dull city. But, though natural for the ardent mind, and pleasant for the fettered genius, to rise out of its prison-cell, on fancy's wings, into the light of heaven, the poor body was forgotten; and as Dr. John Brown in our day has truly said, the Bible of the body is as sure as the Bible of the soul. So it fell out. Nature, driven and overtaken, exacted and had her revenge. A terrible fever was the result, and that fever left behind it the germs of disease. Slowly, indeed, he recovered; a mother's tenderness, a father's care, were effectual. He rallied, and resumed his work. Removing from the solicitor's office, he entered as pupil with a Chancery barrister; and after a year spent with him, was, in 1807, called to the Bar. But though he had gained his ostensible object, and had only reached his 26th year, it was by a road fatal to his prospects. He had cultivated his mind more than if he had passed three years at the university. In that energetic course of self-culture he had acquired vigorous habits and knowledge of a wider range. It might be said of him, as he said of Henry Thornton, that his irregular education had given his mind a firmer cast and broader field of thought. But instead of reaching the Bar with powers of work unimpaired, and vaulting, by a strong will and soaring genius, over the perils of those pitfalls into which so many sink and disappear, he reached his profession broken and feeble, with his constitution undermined. The mischief, indeed, was not at once apparent. His prospects were bright. For after a short pause of disappointment, his voice was heard in the Courts, and business flowed in freely; pupils offered themselves; the appointment of auditor to a large estate secured an income. The talents which he had so largely cultivated, became known in his profession, and beyond it. The warmth of his affections secured him friends. The two Grants, Mr. Inglis, Lord Calthorpe, attached themselves to him as contemporaries. Grant, Wilberforce, Thornton, and Macaulay were older and more experienced friends. They threw open to him their houses, resorts of a mixed but intelligent society. The slopes of Battersea Rise, and its well-known gardens; the house at Kensington Gore, with its streams of guests; in these none were more welcome than the youth whose humility and tenderness were so attractive, from whose genius there might be expected so rich a harvest. "To be remembered at Battersea Rise," Bowdler writes, "with interest and affection, is, I can truly say, in my estimation, a happiness that would overbalance much severer sufferings and privations than those which I have been called on to support."

"I shall think, during my absence from England," he writes to Mr. Wilberforce, "with peculiar pleasure of the few days passed at Kensington Gore. It was a sort of connecting link between the scenes of past happiness to which my mind often reverts, and those which are yet but images in the land of hope and futurity." "The hours which I have passed under your roof have been among the happiest of my life, and I shall ever esteem the advantages and opportunities of improvement which I have there enjoyed as among the choicest blessings which the mercy of a most merciful Father has showered upon me."

To Mr. Inglis he says,—*"I left you and Mrs. Inglis with a heavy heart: only that it is somewhat unmanly to allow of heaviness in an ordinary separation from friends. In truth I know not when I have passed three days more delightfully than those which were spent under your roof; and the delight, I trust, was not wholly selfish. It arose, in part at least, from witnessing the solid and durable happiness you enjoy. . . . I hope my short visit has in some measure advanced our acquaintance into friendship."*

Another friend showed his value for Bowdler by conveying him some hundred miles in his carriage to his destination.

The source of the warm affection felt by his friends towards him is to be found in his own disposition to them. He was quick to discern excellence, and generous to appreciate it. He enjoyed his friends' society; he was grateful for their acts of kindness; he entered into their joys, and their sorrows became his own. In mentioning the name of one whom he had known in happier days, but who had since fallen under the cloud which obscures the reason and faculties,—*"That name I can neither write nor think of without great pain. It is, indeed,*

*'For ever loved, for ever dear;
Still breath'd with sighs, still uttered with a tear.'*

I do not know what I should do, if brought to the test; but I feel as if I could walk round the world barefoot to restore that noble soul to life and happiness."

But this sympathy with others, and this disinterested affection, grew out of a deeper soil than earth supplies. His father remarks, that from his earliest years religion had engaged his thoughts. As he advanced in life, his inquiries became more earnest, and his views grew more clear.

Writing to a friend in his nineteenth year, he condemns the folly of those who wrap themselves in the interests of the present time, and do not look forward to immortality. Comforting another friend under a severe disappointment, he refers to his own mortification, which had blasted his plan of a

university career ; and he urges on him the lesson taught to himself by his father, to look at the motives of his efforts, and to aim not at human approbation, but at the final sentence "of the all-wise and righteous Judge." The next year his views became more defined. He speaks to an intimate friend of his mental struggles, the conflicts with his own feelings and temptations, his reliance on that fountain which can wash away the darkest sins, and his looking to Jesus Christ as "meek and lowly of spirit, the author and finisher of our faith."

When he had reached the sanguine age of twenty-two, and as yet his hopes were unclouded, he says, it is a short-sighted ambition which is satisfied with the applause of Parliament, or guineas of gold. "The only solid ambition is that which presses forward to a glory lasting as our immortal soul, and extensive as its powers. The only avarice which can never satiate is an avarice of virtue and knowledge, in the perfection of our moral and intellectual principles. A new year should be the commencement of a new life ; and what a new life should be, sense and revelation, time and eternity, will testify. May, then, this season be to you the season of present felicity, and the augury of future happiness and honour in every varied situation of your existence."

Two years after, we find him engaged in the study of anatomy ; but from its marvels, delighted as he is, he turns to the higher theme which is always near his thoughts. "Yet these are not His glory. The creation of an immortal soul is beyond it all, and the mysteries of redeeming mercy infinitely removed above that. These are awful subjects for a letter ; but it is good to accustom the mind to contemplate great things. It exalts and refines it. It raises us above the low passions and pursuits of a sordid and grovelling world. It is the parent of the true sublime in action as well as imagination. My good friend, redeem your time."

Writing the same year to Mr. Inglis, and congratulating him on his matrimonial prospects, he says that it formed a suitable period to take "a survey of his earthly existence ; a survey we are too apt to neglect," &c. "Let not us do so, my friend. The mortality of the last year may surely have taught us how fleeting are the shadows, how shifting the scenes of the world. . . . The way such lives as Pitt and Fox came to their close, has impressed me with feelings of the vanity of earthly honours, and even of splendid talents and endowments. These will only heighten their responsibility in that world to which they are gone ; and it would be a happy check to vanity if, whenever a feeling of superiority crosses the mind, we could consider it as a memento of the duties we have to perform, and the means we enjoy of performing them."

To the same friend, who had consulted him on the subject of

ecclesiastical history, after recommending various authors, he says,—“To the humble conscientious Christian, ecclesiastical history is full of instruction. He who first published the glad tidings of salvation to man has ever watched over His servants with the tenderest love. His eye is now on me who write, and on you who read. I pray God, we and all who are dear to us may continually become more and more sensible of this. I have great need to pray this for myself; and hope, my friend, that you will have the kindness at all times to lend me your assistance.”

Again, when sending him a *résumé* of the books he had been reading—a wide range—and criticising, with discriminating acuteness, the different styles of authors, English and Scotch, and admitting his own preference for poetry over politics, literature over law, he winds up,—“But this world was not intended as a theatre of amusement, however our pilgrimage here may be cheered with varied pleasures. . . . Life, I have often thought, is like a well-contrived drama. There is much of varied entertainment; there are sentiments, and characters, and shifting scenes; and even underplots, if cautiously managed, may be admitted; but there is only one great end, and whatever does not tend, either directly or by more distant consequence, to advance the main plot and work out the crisis, must be rejected as improper.”

After the severe illness which darkened his prospects, his tone becomes more tender and true. To a friend he says—“This will be a very heavy blow. It must greatly injure my professional prospects, and may prove entirely fatal to them. Yet I know not why I should feel uneasy, and am sure I ought not to repine; for He, who has made and governs us, certainly must know what is best for His creatures. . . . My mind, I thank God, has been, through my whole confinement, and continues to be, perfectly tranquil and cheerful.”

To a clerical friend he says, on the same occasion,—“It has pleased God to send me what, in common language, would be called a severe affliction; but I cannot but humbly hope it is rather a dispensation of mercy. . . . It is, indeed, my friend, but too probable that an improper eagerness after advancement may have rendered this chastisement necessary, and I sincerely thank you for the faithfulness and honesty of the suggestion. May it work at least in me an humble disposition; and then I shall have little cause to lament any worldly losses it may occasion.”

To Mr. Henry Thornton he writes, in reference to some judicious advice offered by his wife respecting tranquillity of mind,—“Though my practice is not as yet worthy of my precepts, it has pleased God to bless me with considerable serenity of mind during my late trials:” to preserve him from anxiety

for the future ; and though he felt uneasiness on a review of the past, yet this feeling was subdued and calmed by "reposing with some confidence on the mercy and merits of his Redeemer."

From Malta, 1812, he writes again to the same friend, that the experience of the last winter, and the observation of many incidents, both pleasant and painful, directed to his comfort, have strengthened his trust in the goodness and watchful providence of God. "I have been often struck with the indications of the wisdom, justice, and goodness of God, which are furnished in the passing events of this life ; How He defeats the wishes, yet satisfies the wants, of His creatures ; how He punishes their sins in ways they little feared, yet makes the way prescribed so to abound with mercy, that it becomes not only a school of instruction, but a source of every grateful affection."

"In his religion there was a manliness and a strength peculiarly his own. Thus, in speaking of affliction, he says we must not rely on the affections, which are then perplexed and disturbed, but ride by the "sheet-anchor of the soul, a deeply-rooted and settled intellectual conviction of the wisdom and goodness of God." As a guard against relapse or retrograding in the Christian life, he says "the fear of God is the great barrier planted behind us." Gradually his mind opens more to the tenderness of the Divine character. The terms in which Scripture speaks of the goodness of God, prove "a benevolence which vastly transcends a mere readiness to reward those who obey Him. Are we not justified in saying, that where there is but a willingness to obey—aye, perhaps, but a faint willingness—He will watch, and cherish, and encourage, and improve it, and wait to be gracious, and bear with many infirmities, and finally abandon no one till every hope of reformation is past." "The more I see and feel, the more deeply I am persuaded that the only true wisdom, virtue, and happiness of man is to be founded in the absolute surrender of himself, and everything that can affect him, into the hands of his Creator ; accepting His will as the law of his life with a cheerful humility, and resting on Him with implicit confidence for the bestowal of whatever is good."

Writing to a very dear friend, speaking of his own feeble health, the sadness of separation from others, and his hopes of improvement in health, he says,—“Life is made up of adieux : and thus hope travels on, one of our kindest companions in this land of shadows.” Speaking of our blindness, and the uncertainty of future things,—“This would be a heavy world, notwithstanding the soft scenes of fancy and joy that here surround us, were there no brighter hopes beyond. The disproportion between our faculties and our powers of enjoyment would produce a sort of continual disappointment ; but the

prospect of an everlasting rest makes the little distractions of this world seem to be a passing cloud." "Oh! what should we be without a Saviour! Surely, if that source of hope and consolation were withdrawn, it would be almost as fearful to taste the mercy of God as to feel His chastisements."

While thus under the discipline of trial, his character was matured, his intellectual powers also grew with rapid development. After his death, both the great Reviews (the *Edinburgh* and the *Quarterly*) gave an article of emphatic commendation to his life and labours. To one of these, if not to both, he had been a contributor. The *Quarterly* compared him to Kirke White, but adjudged him the palm. The article in the *Edinburgh Review* is attributed to Lord Brougham: both writers bear witness to the versatility and strength of his intellect. The two Essays which are preserved in his Remains—the one, an analysis of Dugald Stewart's *Philosophy*; the other, a sketch of French Literature—treat two very distinct subjects with masterly power. To them we may add the Essays on his favourite theme of religion, among which, those on the "Supposed Connexion between Religion and Melancholy," on the "Eternity of Future Penalties," and on the "Atonement of Christ," may be read with profit in the present day. His Essays on "Submission to God," on "Trust in God," on the "Love of God," on "Faith," on "Hope," on "Spiritual Mindedness," on "Humility," on "Thankfulness," and on "Prayer," touch the hinges of the Christian's life, and give to them a various and rich illustration.

His poetry was unequal. There are, however, in his pieces of later years, verses of great beauty. Those referring to his illness, the "Lines to his Mother," the fragment which begins,—

"Children of God, who pacing slow
Your pilgrim path pursue," &c.

will satisfy the most correct taste. His Paraphrases of the 42nd and the 123rd Psalms, and his lines beginning,

"Child of man, whose seed below,"

have long been admitted among the choicest hymns of English literature. These efforts, we must bear in mind, were made when he was under thirty years of age, and when he was staggering under the disease which had sown the seeds of decay in the suffering body. To have overcome the languor of illness, and to have risen high in the regions of fancy and thought, was no mean achievement of a buoyant faith. For ourselves, while fully accepting the truth on which he relied, that all is done aright by Him who rules our destiny, we may mourn that a life was not prolonged which was so remarkably fitted to adorn and instruct mankind.

We revert to his history. In 1807 he was called to the Bar. In 1810, his sister, to whom he was tenderly attached, and who had long been a sufferer, drew near her end. The watchful friendship of Mr. Wilberforce detected in Bowdler himself symptoms of pulmonary disease. On consulting a physician, these auguries were confirmed. An insidious inflammation was in progress; and the remedies prescribed necessarily weakened the patient. He was directed at once to suspend his profession; and to go abroad for the winter. He came back to England in August, 1811; but was forced in October to return to the Mediterranean, and between Malta and Sicily he spent that winter and spring. In the summer of 1812 he was too weak to resume his labours in the Courts, and, weary of exile, he spent the next winter near Portsmouth, under the roof of an affectionate relative. Her tender nursing restored him more than a foreign climate, and he was enabled to resume his profession with some vigour, and he continued his efforts through the succeeding year (1814). A gleam of hope then broke upon him, and beyond it a brighter prospect. Before his health gave way, he had met at Kensington Gore, and afterwards under her father's roof, one who seemed every way fitted to share and cheer his home. He was attracted to her by her many qualities; while the genius and affection, which had made for him so many warm friends, awakened, as was natural, in the one whom he admired a deeper and more absorbing attachment. Before either party was aware, the affections of both were engaged; but the realities of life often dispel its romance, and the difficulty of a pecuniary provision intervened to blight the hopes of both. Before these could be removed, Bowdler's health had given way; and then, with the disinterestedness of his character, he resolved that, with health so broken and prospects so precarious, he ought not to involve one who might fairly aspire to brighter fortunes. He tried to escape meetings which might be hazardous; and when they met, he endeavoured to conceal his feelings in what he fancied was an impenetrable reserve. But such feelings, where there is an attachment on both sides, are not to be disguised. The eyes which are most interested detect the secret. At all events, he was silent. But returning health revived his hopes, and the constancy of affection triumphed over the difficulties of finance. Parental opposition was withdrawn; and the path of happiness seemed at length to open before him.

Just at this moment, when for the first time in his life his domestic prospects seemed assured, there fell upon him a sudden, to his friends a saddening, revulsion. Years of intimacy, unity of tastes, many acts of kindness, had endeared to him the character and the family of Henry Thornton.

But in the autumn of the year 1814 Mr. Thornton's health gave way. By his sick bed, none of his many friends were more assiduous than John Bowdler. He felt how much he owed him for the guidance of life—what wise counsels, what a sustaining example; what recourse, under every difficulty, to his clear and upright mind. Under his roof he had passed his happiest hours; in his family circle he had met with an unfailing cheerfulness; to his partner he had turned for the tenderest sympathy. And when all this was suddenly changed; when he saw such a life arrested in its prime; so wide a sphere of usefulness abruptly broken; a blow so heavy inflicted on so large a circle of devoted friends; above all, when he saw the light of a large domestic sphere suddenly struck down, and the shadow of a great grief falling on a sunny home; the prospect darkening slowly, opening with gleams of hope that made the returning disappointment more severe; the uncertainty, the doubt, the growing anxiety, the sickness of hope deferred; the silence, the stillness; the gay voices hushed, the steps muffled; the blithe gaiety gone; the smiles succeeded by tears; the fears and the anguish of one devoted heart;—all these things seen daily, and dwelt upon constantly, by one who intensely sympathised, tore up, as by a sharp knife, the heart strings of a sensitive soul.

After weeks of watching and intervals of doubt, in the middle of June (1815) Henry Thornton died. On the 24th, Bowdler followed the body of his friend to the grave. On the next day he was summoned to comfort and advise his widow. In that office of friendship he met Mr. Wilberforce at Kensington Gore, where Henry Thornton had died; and they spent the evening together in that desolate home, under the shadow of that great grief. On the following morning Mr. Wilberforce carried Bowdler to London, and they parted for the last time on earth. The long anxiety and the harassing excitement had interrupted the state of rest so necessary for Bowdler's recovery, and had done their work. Now, with one sharp stroke, the strings of life gave way. At one on the following morning, when Bowdler was alone in his chambers, a blood-vessel burst in the lungs. He lay for hours helpless, without the power of obtaining assistance. Then medical aid came, and all that skill could do was done. On the 31st the disease seemed to have abated, and the immediate danger was supposed to have passed. The next day he was gone: the chastened spirit fled to its home. Apparently a melancholy issue; for it blighted the fairest prospects, and dashed at once a devoted affection and the hopes of many friends. Yet not sad to the sufferer; for he whispered to an intimate friend, that, during the long hours which elapsed while he lay alone and helpless, before assistance came, to his spirit the Saviour appeared so near and

so loving, that all thoughts of care or fear or grief were lost in that sublime affection. We can enter the better into the feelings of Mr. Wilberforce, when, reflecting on their last meeting at Kensington Gore, and standing mournfully by the side of his "lifeless and ghastly frame," he says—"Oh ! sit anima mecum Bowdler !" "

There remains in connexion with Bowdler a question of some interest. Considering his training, we may feel surprise at finding him the confidential inmate of Mr. Wilberforce's circle. He had been brought up from childhood "in the strictest High Church principles of the Church of England." (Correspondence, vol. i. pp. 210, 211.) He had been taught equally to avoid a Papist and a Presbyterian. The views of the Nonjurors on the settlement of the Revolution and on the deposition of the Stuarts, were his views. "His opinions," as he says, "were fixed ;" and from these opinions his judgment never swerved. No doubt, in his view of the great verities of Christianity, he concurred with Wilberforce. The confession of his faith, and the ground of his hope, were the same. But when Wilberforce, relying on this agreement, placed in his hands the writings of the Puritan divines, which he especially valued, Bowdler received them with a smile which marked his courtesy and his convictions ; hopeful, he said, that their piety might help forward his practice, sure that their views of truth would not change his.

Still the fact remains, that, in the houses of Battersea Rise and Kensington Gore, Bowdler was a constant and a welcome guest ; that, on all questions which occupied or disturbed him, the judgment he first sought was that of Henry Thornton ; that for sympathy of feeling, and social refreshment, he turned to the host and hostess of Battersea Rise, and to the genial lord of Kensington Gore. Under their roofs he passed his happiest hours ; to their society he turned as the well-spring of his fullest joy.

"Among the temporal blessings," he writes in 1810, to Mrs. Henry Thornton, "for which I may still hope, there is none which engrosses my anxiety or affects my feelings more strongly than the continuance of your health, and Mr. Henry Thornton's." "I cannot well describe," he writes in 1812, "to you the mingled feelings which I experience on visiting Battersea Rise, the delight and improvement I enjoy in Mr. Henry Thornton's conversation and in yours, the innocent and infectious gaiety of all the young people."

To Mr. Wilberforce he writes (1810),—"I owe you a great deal for all your kindness and affection ;"—and just on the point of leaving England, when the heart was full and the pen spoke the thoughts, he wrote (Life, vol. iii. p. 468) :—"My dear Sir,—We shall probably not meet again for many months,

and it may be the will of God that in this world we shall meet no more; let me assure you that you and Mrs. Wilberforce, and your little circle too, will be very very often present to my thoughts, and never without feelings of the warmest gratitude and affection. The hours which I have passed under your roof have been among the happiest of my life, and I shall ever esteem the advantages and opportunities of improvement which I have there enjoyed as amongst the choicest blessings which the mercy of a most merciful Father has showered on me."

In 1811, when he was about to sail for Sicily, he writes thus to Mr. Wilberforce:—"I shall think, during my absence from England, with peculiar pleasure of the few days passed at Kensington Gore. It was a sort of connecting link between the scenes of past happiness, to which my mind often reverts, and those which are yet but images in the land of hope and futurity. *Aeneas* amused himself, when he was much busier than I am, with watching the shades of his expected progeny, and hearing what wonderful things they were to perform on earth. Why may not I amuse and solace the moments of languor by visions as innocent at least, and, if not associated with the hopes of worldly grandeur, connected with those dispositions and affections which are best fitted to brighten and tranquillize this life, and prepare us for a better." And again, when asking Mr. Wilberforce to mention to him his faults, he says,—“I think I could bear reproofs from you, as the veriest cur will take a whipping contentedly from the hand he loves.”

No doubt, Mr. Wilberforce had attracted Bowdler, as he attracted so many, by his genial disposition and the warmth of his sympathy. It is, as Bowdler remarked, so “inexpressibly delightful to feel oneself beloved; to feel and to be the object of every benevolent affection, is surely among the purest and best of earthly satisfactions. I had rather enjoy the affection of one person, than the applause of a thousand.” That Mr. Wilberforce’s affection for him was strong, we learn, not only from their intimacy, but from his own words. When Bowdler first went abroad, Wilberforce wrote to Lord Muncaster, that his heart was heavy at the loss of so dear a friend. “But for my being married, I have thought that I would go as his companion.” And after his death, he says,—“I loved him so warmly, that it quite delights me to find him estimated at his true value.” Bowdler’s correspondence with Mr. and Mrs. Henry Thornton proves how much he was valued by both, and how his opinion was sought on the most delicate questions of Mr. Thornton’s political life. In every great transaction in which he and Mr. Wilberforce were engaged—the various fortunes of the Abolition conflict, the struggle to open India to missionaries, and the incidents of home politics—Bowdler was the head to which they went

for counsel, and the pen employed to draw up their opinions. Still, when we consider that Bowdler's tastes were for literature and philosophy,—that for politics, and the busy action in which these members of Parliament were engaged, he had little inclination,—we are the more surprised that the intimacy was so entire; for it is usual that the contemplative man regards the man of action with some distaste. He thinks his course too restless, and too full of a troubled excitement. When, besides this, the active man is of a distinct religious school, we might predict that there would be regard between such persons, but no intimacy. Yet the intimacy was complete.

How it came about that Bowdler entered this circle, and remained there, we learn from another case in which the character and opinions resembled his own. Reginald Heber was a man of refined pursuits and elegant tastes. He had long watched the course of Wilberforce from his quiet Rectory at Hodnet. He had not been led to sympathize with him. Heber was of a different school; attached to Church discipline, to the ritual of the Church and its order. He regarded Wilberforce as honest, but enthusiastic; earnest in his convictions, but extreme—over-valuing one part of the Church's work, under-valuing the other; sincere, but erratic. With such feelings he had little sympathy; nor did he relish so bustling and engaged a life. But on one occasion he was drawn by chance into the circle, and he saw close before him the real man. It was a testing moment. Along with one of the Thorntons he entered Wilberforce's house in Palace Yard, just after the decisive vote in the House of Commons had yielded a large majority in favour of the Abolition Bill. Crowds were pouring into the house to congratulate its owner. Members of Parliament, friends, strangers, all pressed in, mingling under a common sympathy, and overcoming the pruderies of society under the impulse of a great excitement. There they were, meeting and talking, shaking hands and rejoicing. It was like the escape of a swarm from a hive on a hot summer day; but the central figure, whom everyone wished to reach, was found, in this heat, perfectly calm. He was busily writing beside a table covered with papers, kneeling on one knee on a chair—no thought of himself, no sign of boasting, not a word of vehement exultation; but thankfulness, and gentleness, and a still quietness. Once, indeed, he interfered in the conversation, but for a characteristic object. Two hundred and eighty-three members had voted for the Bill; sixteen against it. "Let us make out the names of these sixteen miscreants," said one of his eager friends. "I have four of them." At once Wilberforce stopped his writing, and looked up. "Never mind the miserable sixteen, let us think of our

glorious two hundred and eighty-three"; and then, turning to the faithful friend with whom from the outset he had walked, who had taken counsel together and grieved and rejoiced together—"Well, Henry, what shall we abolish next?" No wonder that, as he thoughtfully retired from this scene, Heber said—"An hour's conversation can dissolve the prejudice of years."

But with Bowdler it was not the conversation of an hour. He saw Wilberforce daily, and in domestic life. He had been drawn early into his circle, and had seen him near. The philanthropist had taken kindly to the youth, and had appreciated his qualities. In that pleasant garden of Broomfield, which stretched along Henry Thornton's domain, and melted into one their united shrubberies, Bowdler had seen the statesman, disengaged and free, in playful intercourse with his children and his friends. Here memorials were drawn up, and deputations were planned, and petitions were arranged for Parliament, and appeals were prepared for the country, and motions for committees were decided on; and deputies were sent to explore facts and move foreign governments, and evidence was collected from every corner of the earth; pamphlets were ordered from ready pens, and in this busy workshop the hammers were plied that were to mould or break the public mind. Into this *officina gentium* Bowdler was admitted, and he was able, by close observation, to judge of the work and the workmen.

He saw Mr. Wilberforce in his house in Palace Yard, where every sort of person, on every sort of errand, used to go—Premiers and Home Secretaries, and Secretaries of the Treasury, and members of the Independent party, and active leaders of Opposition, and colonists and foreigners, churchmen and dissenters, all with some object, used there to find their way. Hard-working men from the City or the country settled there to hunt up evidence, examine witnesses, read through Blue Books, pick out the kernels, and arrange them for the House and the country. Copper-coloured philanthropists from the West Indies, Lascars from the East, woolly-haired, mahogany-coloured Negroes from Africa; Baptists and Methodists from Calcutta, Jamaica, and Sydney; long-headed merchants from the City, beaming philanthropists from Coleman's Buildings or Lincoln's Inn Fields; broad-brimmed Quakers from Norfolk, men of broad-cloth and broader dialect from Bradford and Leeds, expected or unlooked-for, invited or uninvited, morning or evening, at breakfast, or after breakfast—all flocked there to see the Member for Yorkshire, and to gain his ear for their special scheme. Each wanted to catch and fix the mercurial statesman. He mean-

while, darting, like a sunbeam, out of his room, where he had spent a still morning hour engaged in reading Scripture and absorbed in prayer, came out refreshed, and ready for the work of the day. His voice like music, his smile beaming cheerily, a kindly word for each, and a courteous greeting, he met and welcomed all. As soon as the slight form appeared, there was a stir and a rush; each tried to reach him and to put in his claim to be heard. For each had a case that was the most important in the world; so he that could, buttoned the statesman, and poured his budget into his ear:—

“He holds him with his skinny hand;
He cannot choose but hear.”

Not so; for though the speaker might hold him tight, it was rare that he succeeded in making “the wedding guest stand still;” for Wilberforce moved, as some one said, with the look of an angel and the agility of a monkey. Both mind and body, flexible and lively, turned with quick gyrations; like the creatures that we see in a sunbeam, now here, now there, now settling, now with wings poised, now in flight; to follow them with our eye is difficult; to catch them, vain. For though Wilberforce’s mind was rapid, and active both to read and observe, it was desultory. The thoughts were so many, the perceptions so quick, that the instant a subject was opened, the mind started on the wing—it seized the idea as by intuition, and flew off with it. Discovering at a glance the subjects that branched out of it, it passed rapidly to these; perching now on one, then on another, it flitted with nimble bound from spray to spray—so that you might readily determine at what point of a subject you would begin, but it was hard to say where you would end. Still, as each visitor came up and had his turn, he went away contented; for each poured his story into a willing ear. Tedious or brief, good tidings or bad; tales of virtue, tales of crime, wrongs endured, rights withheld, the tyrant’s rod, the victim’s pangs—all passed before him; and as the speaker looked down on the changing and eager countenance, he saw reflected there the answering sympathies. The look, the start, the gesture and the word, betrayed the feelings of the man; and before the tale was told, the emotions had risen—sorrow or joy, pity or wonder, thankfulness or regret, chased each other across his face, as clouds pursued by storms drift across an autumn sky. So the speaker went away satisfied that he had left an impression. And to Wilberforce it mattered not who it was, and whence he came; if they had a wrong to tell, or a plan of good to offer, they were welcome there. No race so out-cast, that he would not give them his sympathy; no child of man fallen so low, that he would not stretch to him the

helping hand. So they came in troops ; and he welcomed all. And on this curious diorama our young spectator Bowdler looked, wondering.

Wearied with his work, Wilberforce fled from his house in Palace Yard. On the slopes of Battersea Rise he pitched his tent ;—there was no rest for him there. Clapham was known and near, and to Clapham the throng of petitioners flocked. Clapham became intolerable. He gave up Broomfield, and fled. He moved his tent to Kensington Gore ; there surely he would find rest, for that was a quiet suburb far from the stream of London life. No pretentious squares in those days, no ambitious crescents, no stately equipages rolling along spacious roads ; but an easy slope spread itself to the southern sun, with groves and shades and forest trees. There the veteran could dream pleasantly of the distant landscape of his youth,* his favourite woods and hills of the North ; for there the rooks wheeled, and walnut trees grew, and mulberries of thick foliage, and poplars and shady elms :

“ *Qua pinus ingens albaque populus
Umbram hospitalem consociare amant
Ramis.*”

There, far from smoke, the veteran thought he could rest, sit calmly under his favourite tree, and read and write at his ease. Vain hope ! No sooner settled there, than the concourse came. His rooms were filled by crowds which beset his table, and overflowed into his verandah and garden ; they came from every quarter, of every creed and tongue. Mahomedans and Christians, Yankees with nasal twang, the functionaries of Baptist committees, big burly Baptist ministers, to complain of the wrongs done to their brethren in India—ill treated clergymen from New South Wales—ex-governors from the balmy shores of Ceylon, and the imperial throne of the Government-house in Calcutta—Lascars, to present in person the story of their wrongs—Canadian travellers, to plead the havoc brought on the North American Indians by the greed of our traders—Moravian missionaries from Greenland, to pray that he would lay their case before Mr. Rose at the Treasury—Methodists from Jersey, to complain of the Sunday drills ordered by Dundas—Germans, to sue for suffering German refugees—foreigners, in broken English to plead for distressed and imprisoned Russians—members of the African Institute, to remind him of the necessities of Sierra Leone—Sir Alexander Johnson, to detail the wants of Madagascar—Quakers, to interest him in the better system of managing lunatic asylums—Allen, to

* His busy fancy traced in Kensington Gore a resemblance to the landscape of the Westmoreland lakes.

explain the plans of Lancastrian schools—benevolent ladies, to plead for the introduction of religious instruction to convicts in our prisons—benevolent gentlemen, to ask him to bring in a Bill for the relief of small debtors—Sir Francis Burdett, with vehement eloquence to rouse him on the state of the Cold Bath Fields prison—Jeremy Bentham, to explain to him a model of a perfect penitentiary—the chemists, endangered by the apothecaries, to state their case, and ask his mediation with the government—the Nonconformists, endangered by Lord Sidmouth's Bill on conventicles, to entreat his interference—Monk Lewis, to ask his counsel for the management of his Jamaica slaves—Lord Belgrave, to take his advice on his Bill to limit Sunday trading—Dr. Buchanan, fresh from the East, to discuss the prospects of India—Macaulay, on his return from Sierra Leone, to settle with him the fate of Africa—Blanco White from a Spanish monastery—Wordsworth from his home on the Lake of Rydal—Spurzheim, to interest him in bumps and skulls—the blind Arthur Young, to hear the musical voice which enlivened and softened his sorrow—a runaway daughter of a noble house, to ask his powerful intercession.

Nor was the levee confined to visitors on public concerns; private troubles brought to him hosts of applicants, of all ranks. One to beg a small loan of £100;—the Duke of Kent, to occupy his morning with details of his private affairs;—lads beginning business, to ask a loan of capital;—a sick youth starting for Madeira, to get books selected for him by Wilberforce. The emperor of the brief Haytian empire writes for schoolmasters and professors. To him come the gentle ladies who teach the savage outcasts on the hills of Somerset; to him come the struggling pastors who feed their flocks on the hills of Cumberland. Yet, while he is writing to emperors, and dictating letters to the subtle Talleyrand, he finds time to travel miles to comfort a mourning widow, and he sits down to pray and sympathise by the bedside of a dying servant. Letters come in clouds, fall on his table thick as snow-drifts. Lafayette asks his interference from the depths of an Austrian dungeon. A sufferer writes from Yarmouth, and his case engrosses him for a day. A boy is unlawfully enlisted: his release must be got from the War Office. A colonist is injured: Wilberforce must see both Pitt and Dundas. One man writes forlorn and friendless, but he is sure Wilberforce will be his friend. Another is wronged by Government: Wilberforce must go to Perceval to get him righted. A convict is under sentence of death: Wilberforce must fly to the Secretary Ryder to beg a reprieve. General Boyd has a grievance: Wilberforce must move the House for a Committee. A Massachusetts

negro wants a licence for a shop : Wilberforce must procure it. Sailors are in dire distress : he must get relief for them from the Premier Addington.

In vain do his friends murmur, and argue, and entreat. The stout old Dean writes scolding letters from Cambridge ; Lord Muncaster remonstrates from Cumberland ; Stephen comes to reprimand and warn him ; Hannah More is sure he will kill himself ; Gisborne and Babington shake their heads and protest. A frame of iron, with nerves of brass, cannot stand this incessant wear and tear. In vain. He hears, but he goes on. Duties press ; sympathies rise ; he must work till he drops. So the daily round continues, and the levee never ends. As some go, others come, till it stops by exhaustion ; not that the visitors cease, but that the host has fled. But he is gone only to fresh engagements ; to the Board Room of the African Institution ; to his place in the Parliamentary Committee Room ; to a conference with some philanthropists ; to a crowded meeting of Members of Parliament ; to introduce a bevy of Yorkshire manufacturers at the Board of Trade ; to head a deputation of Abolitionists to the First Lord of the Treasury ; to argue and remonstrate at the Home Office ; to see the Premier, and press for a squadron on the coast of Africa ; to get an Order of Council, long promised, for the West Indies ; to snatch a moment, while he waits in the Minister's ante-room, in order to write a kind note to an absent friend, or to send a word of loving caution to his boy at school ; to take his seat in a Committee on the state of the poor ; to join in examining the witnesses ; at intervals to glance at one of the huge bundle of unread letters which swell his pocket, and to dash off a reply. Then away to Freemasons' Hall, to say a few words of cheering encouragement to assembled Christians ; or else to the Mansion House, to stir up royal dukes and wealthy peers to head a needful subscription for distressed foreigners. In these labours the day is spent and drops into evening, and night finds him in his usual place, by old Bankes, in the House, ready to speak and vote on the questions of the night.

So the round goes on ; and through it the fragile being toils, and plods, and wades, till the Sabbath comes and sets him free, and blithe as a lark he rises into the heavens, and carols loud his song of joyous praise. At length autumn appears, and sends the worn labourer to his holiday ; and there, as he has seen him at work, Bowdler visits him at play.

"Mr. Wilberforce enjoys his parsonage as much as possible ; certainly he is as happy as I ever beheld a human being." One day at Wotton, another at Stowe. "Mr. Wilberforce made the shades resound to his voice, singing like a blackbird, wherever he went. He always has the spirits of a boy."

The orthodox Bankes looked in on this sphere of labour, and these groups of odd acquaintances, and pronounced it a strange menagerie: "What odd people Wilberforce collects about him." Bowdler looked in, and understood the scene. "Kept by Mr. Wilberforce much longer than I intended; but he is like the old man in Sinbad's voyage, woe be to the traveller that falls into his grasp; it required a considerable effort to disengage myself." In one thing they agreed, the young man and the old: both had learned the same lesson, which a German poet has sung in verses worthy of remembrance:—

"Hallelujah! I believe;
Now, O Love, I know thy power;
Thine no false or fragile fetters,
Not the rose-wreaths of an hour.
Christian bonds of holy union
Death itself does not destroy;
Yes, to live and love for ever
Is our heritage of joy."

CITIES "DESOLATE, WITHOUT AN INHABITANT."

To the Editor of the Christian Observer.

MY DEAR SIR,—A detailed account of the principal buildings of Gerasa would hardly interest your readers; I think that it is perhaps better to leave them with that general impression of the place which I endeavoured to convey in my last letter. Yet I must add one last word about the temples—the great glory of Gerasa. Their position upon the hill-side is so picturesque, that at a distance they look as if they would rival the classical shrines of antiquity; but, on a nearer approach, they are seen to lack that beauty of proportion, and exquisite finish, which have made the temples of Greece and Italy famous for all time. Even when the decoration is abundant, it is of a kind which shows ingenuity and labour, rather than the genius which immortalizes, and which cannot be imitated. The most striking feature is the forest of columns which encloses the sacred cell; though many are fallen, enough remain intact to enable the imagination to restore the rest. While puzzling ourselves over some broken inscriptions, B—— came up to us, and with a smile, as if he could hardly believe his own story, declared that a column in front of the Temple of the Sun was waving in the wind. As it was not the first of the month, I went to look, and, climbing to the top of the cell-wall, lay down at full length, and, motionless myself, watched for the quaker. Nine of the stone giants were standing near together. Mighty and well-proportioned giants they were, about forty-five feet

high, and five in diameter. A dull, slow, clinking noise, that sounded at first somewhat startling, told me where to look, and there, true enough, when a puff of wind more than commonly strong swept by, I could see that one of these beautiful monuments swayed to and fro, as if it bore on its lofty head the foliage which the chiselled capital represents.

In a "Review of Dr. Stanley's Lectures on the History of the Jewish Church," there is a passage which, if it means anything, must, as it seems to me, mean that the writer of the Review is not aware of any mention of earthquakes in the Old Testament. As most people possess a Concordance, I am surprised that such a slip (if it was a slip) should have been made, and I wish that the author of the pamphlet could have stood with us on the hill-side by Gerasa, where he would have had ample evidence that "the Jordan valley, from Gennesareth down to the Dead Sea," has, since the close of the Scripture canon at all events, been visited by the terrible leveller. One of the temples has a cell—in other words, the enclosed body of the building—which is seventy feet long by fifty broad, and this was once encircled by guardian columns in single file, the sentinels being doubled before the portico. But, of all this band, the *decus et tutamen* of the holy place, one alone stands erect in the peristyle, as if still on duty: the rest, in ranks shattered and grey, measure their length "adown the steep incline"; overthrown by the same shock, they lie as they fell, side by side, their huge, disjointed fragments pressing heavily into a patch-work bed of scarlet poppies and other wild flowers.

When the shadows began to lengthen, L—— and I mounted our horses and made the circuit of the city without the walls. Empty sarcophagi were scattered about in abundance, proving how thoroughly the principle of extramural interment had been adopted by the people of Gerasa. Mother earth would have been a more faithful keeper than these imposing cases, which were covered with sculptured wreaths and flowers, as if joy and gladness, rather than sorrow and gloom, had been associated with them.

We have had a truly oriental interview with the Sheik who is to escort us to Tiberias. He is an ill-looking Bluebeard. I have been interested in reading of the impression made by him upon the French party who visited his territory a few days afterwards. "*Faisons connaissance avec le cheikh de Suf. Il se nomme Yousef, ses vêtements sont sales et usés; ses yeux sont assez intelligens; mais il a le malheur de posséder un nez si énorme et une face si burlesque qu'il suffit de le regarder pour entrer en belle humeur.*" Now I am quite ready to confess that Sheik Yousef had a ludicrous side to his character and appearance, but I think that the ferocious pre-

dominated. Retreating forehead, protruding eyes looking like two white balls, a nose such as I had never seen on human face before; so long, so hooked, so marvellously beyond all proportion, that when he turned towards you, it was difficult to see anything but nose, or to think of Sheik Yousef except as one enormous nose. His lower jaw, however, was almost equally striking and prominent; whilst the two canine teeth, which could not be hid, recalled the "wild boar of Ardennes." The *tout ensemble* of such a physiognomy fascinated while it repelled, and prepared us for all that followed. He invited our confidence, by placing in our hands a collection of very dirty documents, which he declared to be testimonials in his favour written by travellers who from time to time had crossed his district. I can see his restless eyes glaring fearfully upon us as we handed the treasured evidences from one to the other, and it was hard to keep grave looks when we found them to be indignant comments upon the Sheik's faithlessness and rapacity. They had been apparently handed over to his keeping as the sole punishment which his victims could inflict. We gave them back unmoved, and most complacently were they replaced in a fold of his raiment. It was indeed a ludicrous notion, that the unscrupulous old vagabond should go stalking about seeking whom he might devour, guarding, in blissful ignorance of their contents, these vouchers for his worthlessness, and displaying them with all simplicity, as traps to catch the unwary. "Surely," we might have said to him, "the net is spread in vain in the sight of any bird!" However, we had no choice but to go forward boldly into the net, prepared to cut the meshes when it fell upon us. The Sheik of course began by assuring us that he would escort us safely to Tiberias; and as to the price, would he not take us for nothing! for the pure love and honour of the thing! But if such a paltry thing as money must be mentioned, why—"My lord, hearken unto me; the protection is worth fifteen hundred piastres; what is that betwixt me and thee? go thy way!" But this sum was twice as much as the duty deserved; and remembering what we had read, we did not imitate the acquiescence of Abraham, though nearly as helpless, but beat our Ephron down to eight hundred piastres, half of which was not to be given till we reached Tiberias. He protested vehemently; foreseeing, no doubt, already that "great cry and little wool" awaited his intended plucking of us; he left the tent, returned, quite forgot the suave and passionless courtesy of Arab etiquette, retired again to take counsel with his cousins of different degrees, and finally gave in. Contact with these natives, *au naturel*, throws light on many a Bible scene. Esau with his "I have enough, my brother;" Zebah and Zalmunna complimentary in the face of death,—“As thou art, so were they, each one resembled the

children of a king ;"—and Mephibosheth mulcted of half his property, yet saying, "Yea, let him take all," are lively illustrations of the tone of oriental dialogues in the present day. A delightful man is the Arab when he is on his good behaviour ; but if his excellence is only skin-deep, and you happen to scratch him, you catch a Tartar. In such a case, I think one would be painfully tempted to apply to him certain epithets by which a well-known lady described some unenlightened rustics, her husband's parishioners, in the West of England. Her sweeping condemnation was thus worded ;—they were "a greedy, guzzling, grinding, grumbling, grasping, graceless, godless set !"

The sons of Sheik Yousef seemed to be no better than their father. A general uproar called us from our tents in the evening, and the account we received was, that one of these young gentlemen had been recognized by the kinsmen of some man whom he had killed, and that he had fled for protection to our encampment, followed by stones, sticks, and curses.

We have taken a very friendly farewell of Abd-er-Rhazy and his people ; we cannot but feel grateful to them for the faithfulness with which they have kept their contract, and they appeared to be very well content with the manner in which our gratitude found expression. But now that Sheik Yousef is our guardian, we take precautions which we had not thought of before. Our dragoman has given loud notice that any one approaching the tents after dark, and not answering to a thrice-repeated summons, will be shot ; the grey horse which I have ridden all the way from Beyrout, is tethered to his owner's waist ; our valuables are piled up in the centre of the tent ; and the last movement before going to sleep is to feel that our revolvers are ready to our hand.

Tuesday, April 24.—Leaving Gerasa in good time, it was still early morning when we passed by the first village which we have seen this side Jordan. As it belonged to Sheik Yousef, we were not surprised at seeing nothing more than a collection of low, squalid hovels, which did not invite close inspection. But the pleasant and novel scenery upon which we soon entered, put us into good humour with everything and everybody. The country became mountainous, and was covered with thick forests of oak ; our path followed for the most part the windings of the glens, and the soft and shady glades were all that a horseman could desire,—save that at times the gnarled and tortuous branches interlaced across the ride, and threatened the heedless traveller with Absalom's fate. For, after all, is there any evidence for the popular view, that Absalom was caught and suspended by his *hair* ? He was escaping by a forest-path, when he came suddenly upon a party of David's soldiers ; in blind haste he turned aside to force his

way through the thicket, and then, to use the translation of Gesenius, "his head stuck fast in the terebinth." Is it not more natural to suppose that he got wedged in the fork of a tree, or between two stiff branches, and, being half stunned by the shock, was unable to extricate himself, than that his hair so entangled itself in the boughs as to take him off his mule and hold him hanging until the arrival of Joab?

The green lane sometimes expanded into a broad open dingle, where we could enjoy securely the relief of a gallop, and in one of these hollows we came upon a large camp where Sheik Yousef had preceded us to smooth our way. The men came out from the tent-doors, and pressed us to dismount and rest awhile; but the hours of daylight were precious, and we preferred pushing on.

A somewhat romantic incident had disturbed the relations between Sheik Yousef and this tribe. A young man of his clan went to live amongst them about four years ago, and exchanged hearts with a daughter of the ruling house. The light of civilization, and the wise saws of modern society, cannot have exercised an enlightening influence upon this far-off land; yet Belgravia will be gratified to hear that such a mésalliance as the union between poverty and riches is held in abhorrence by this primitive people no less than by herself. But though an honest heart and stout hands were not a sufficient portion for a Sheik's daughter, they were potent enough to bring about a midnight start and a moonlight ride, and we were told that the lovers had been living "very happy ever afterwards" within the walls of Ramoth Gilead. We smiled at the thought of the old city of refuge, beneath whose towers so many a hot chase may have ended in Old Testament days, becoming, in the nineteenth century, a Gretna Green for the Lochinvars of the desert.

The injured Sheik made a raid into the territory of Sheik Yousef, carried off two hundred sheep, required cattle, camels, guns, and I know not what, as an equivalent for his daughter, and now declares that all the kith and kin of the offender shall be hewers of wood and drawers of water to his people for ever and ever. To this resolution, if Sheik Yousef be included in the relationship, we heartily wished that he might remain steadfast; for that *facile princeps* of all deceivers came up whilst we were lying on the grass at lunch, and squatting affably by our side, delivered himself of the following piece of intelligence. (In justice to him let it be said that he did so with all ingenuousness and composure, as if he were enunciating some abstract principle which could in no way affect our material interests.) Best friends must part! He was indeed grieved to separate from the Englishmen so soon, but he could not accompany them any further; a blood-feud existed between

himself and the Beni Sacher, whose tents were scattered thickly over the Gadara district ; so far from his presence being a protection, it would be the signal for an immediate collision ; he would hand his friends over to another chief, with whom his recommendation to mercy would have weight ; to him they might pay the remaining half of the stipulated black-mail, and your obedient servant will ever pray, &c. &c. The story of the blood-fend was perhaps correct ; at all events, within a week of this time one of Abd-er-Rhazy's chief fighting-men, in consort most probably with Sheik Yousef, made a thorough "razzia" of the Beni Sacher country, leaving it, I believe, without horn or hoof. With this little episode impending, it would doubtless be highly undesirable for Sheik Yousef to show himself in the camp of his intended victims ; but we were very indignant at the deliberate way in which he had undertaken to escort us to Tiberias, having all the while not the slightest intention of carrying out the engagement. Our knowledge of the Arab vocabulary was far too small for us to do justice to our feelings in language intelligible to our escort ; but travellers learn by experience that, for the purposes of invective and reproach, it is not in the least necessary to be intelligible. The opening lines of the *Iliad*, or *Æneid*, or "My name is Norval," or "Ruin seize thee," accompanied by judicious emphasis and appropriate gesticulation, leave nothing to be desired in an emergency like the present. Moreover, such a mode of expressing righteous indignation has the advantage of being less subversive of one's own equanimity than strong language in the vulgar tongue, or consciously imperfect attempts at strong language in the vernacular of the defendant. To one of my companions the resource was neither strange nor new. I well remember one bitter Christmas Eve, which found us, after a long day's travel through wind and snow, in a quiet village beyond the Rhine. Eager for warmth and rest, we soon disappeared below those enormous inflations which lie on every German couch, and the sight of which always suggested to me the idea of vaccination for nightmare. Suddenly, in spite of the untimely hour, were heard sounds of splashing, stamping, scrubbing, as if every scheme for washing a blackamoor white was receiving a fair trial in the court below. The following dialogue ensued :—"Do call out to them, my dear fellow, as you are nearest the window." "What shall I say?" "Canst thou not speak Greek?" The next instant the window was flung up, and, wan and weird-like, a long white figure stretched itself out into the deep clear moonlight. Never before had such a midnight cry disturbed the slumberers of G——: Τὸν δ' ἀπαμβόμενος προσέφη, From that moment all was still ; the efforts, whatever may have been their nature, for the public weal were abandoned, and we slept in peace.

On the present occasion, I can assure my readers, that, however polyglot may have been the expression of our wrath, it sufficed to dissipate the nonchalance of the Sheik. He "glowr'd, amazed and curious," as if unable to understand why the unveiling of his innocent stratagem should make the dragomen noisy, and the Englishmen furious:—"I trust in God your way may be pleasant, . . . I am responsible if anything happens to you," were the consolations which from time to time he ventured to offer; but he omitted to inform us in what court we might sue for redress if we came to grief through his desertion of us. We replied that we were ashamed of our connection with people who did not keep their word; that we believed we should be safer without them than with them; that we neither wanted their friends, nor cared for their enemies; that, if opposed, we should fight our way, or pay our way with the money which was due to them; and then, having finished our meal, and seeing anything but friendliness in the looks and gestures of the bystanders, we mounted our horses and went our way. But although, as a matter of policy, we appeared to make light of our situation, we were quite aware that it behoved us to be on our guard. So no straggling was allowed; a very orderly line of march was observed, and a vigilant look-out kept, lest we should come unawares upon a stray party of freebooters. Our course henceforward we knew to be due west, so that the sun was a sufficient guide; and before he disappeared, we looked down once more upon the valley of the Jordan. A little to our left, on one of the many peaks of Gilead, was a small straggling village of Fellaheen, and by this we determined to encamp. The head man, who came out to meet us, must have been much surprised at the approach of the unprotected caravan, since he told the French party, on their return from Gerasa a few days later, that the district which we had traversed was not safe for two hundred armed horsemen. We gave him the privilege of providing for our safety during the night, and assured him that, if he allowed us to be molested, we should get Akiel Aga, a powerful chief and friendly to Europeans, who lives near Tiberias, to cross the Jordan and burn El Taybeh to the ground. Having come to this understanding with him, we were soon on excellent terms. Indeed, the object of the threat was to secure ourselves against petty spoliation on the part of the villagers, rather than to bespeak their active aid against the Arabs, in case we should be attacked; for these native agriculturists, who live in settled habitations, are spiritless and poverty-stricken, and could not be expected to strike a blow for the stranger, seeing that they would hardly dare to do so in their own defence. The constant exactions and petty annoyances which the Bedaween inflict upon them, oblige them to live from hand to mouth, and they can hardly say that their lives are

their own, much less the scanty crops, which they sow in tears, and reap with trembling.

The Arabs are much given to gratuitous teasing. Unless engaged on some cattle-lifting expedition, their life is one long playtime; and because their cares are so few, and their interests so small, they acquire a childish skill in worrying, and a power of devoting themselves to trifles, which is quite feminine. We may perhaps see in these peculiarities a clue to the credit which David claimed for himself and his young men in respect to their treatment of Nabal's shepherds. The Septuagint translator at all events uses a word which suggests the idea of laying vexatious commands upon any one.

As an illustration of the alarm which the Arabs inspire, I may mention that in the course of this day's ride we met a boy leading a donkey, which bore upon its back one of the rude ploughs of the country. Directly the boy perceived our party, he made as though he would escape into the forest; but having failed to stop the donkey, he stood irresolute, divided apparently between fear for himself and affection for his companion. It was not until he saw that the animal was not interfered with, and that we made signs of amity, that he ventured to approach, and even then he crept past us with evident fear and distrust. And again, on the following day, another instance of this feeling came before us. When we were yet a mile or so from Jordan, a race to the bank was proposed. But, before it was concluded, the head man of a neighbouring village, who had been watching us from a distance, rode up at headlong speed to intercept us, fancying that the Bedaween were making a swoop upon his home.

The precautions which we took against dangers from without were successful; but El Taybeh was very nearly being the scene of an accident which would have saddened all the party. The tents had just been pitched, when the discharge of a gun, and the hasty running together of the men, told us that something untoward had happened. On reaching the spot, we found our poor cook on the ground, pale and speechless. He had abandoned a post of honour in Beyrout to be our *chef*, and had become a general favourite; for he was a quiet man, and skilful in his vocation. Amid the strife of elements and of men, he followed his business without distraction; and, a few minutes after the halt, might always be seen in a tidy white jacket, moving noiselessly about among his pots and pans. At our first introduction to each other, I had conceived a high opinion of him;—it was the day of our leaving Beyrout. Our people had started before us, and when we overtook them, they were winding along the sea-shore not far from Sidon. The cook was in the rear, sitting carelessly on one of the baggage mules, and absorbed in the act of preparing a

cigarette. His animal heard me coming, and started off, leaving the rider on the sands, balancing on the nape of his neck, and surrounded by a chaos of small packages. But he picked himself up so patiently, without a word of complaint, or even a look of annoyance, that I at once set him down as a philosopher whose society was worth having. This evening we were within a little of losing his society and his services; his gun had exploded, sending the charge through his sleeve, and so close to his head that he seemed at first to think that he had no right to be alive. Nor were we destined to accomplish our bivouac at El Taybeh without another of those trifling mishaps to which tent-dwellers are liable. Though everything was still and fair when the sun went down, a storm came on with the small hours, and I was awoken by the struggles of the tent to fly away in a hurricane of wind and rain. After a few moments of suspense, the cords on my side parted with a sharp crack, and I found myself tilted out of my bed, and buried helplessly under the heavy canvass folds.

But the prospect in the morning—Wednesday, April 25—more than repaid us for the broken rest of the night. The peak on which we stand is one of the advanced posts by which Gilead encroaches upon the plain of Jordan, and it commands a view of, I should say, the entire upper half of the valley. The spot where the river leaves the lake is hidden from us by an intruding spur, but across the ridge of Gadara we see a twinkling gleam which moves us strangely; for we know that we are looking for the first time upon the sacred sea. On our left are a succession of deep ravines, rough and dark with the oak forests of Bashan; and in front, just across the gulf, rise the "bare hills of Palestine," no longer with "glimpses through their valleys of ancient cities towering on their crested heights," but wildly desolate. There are the "mountains of Gilboa," where "Saul died, and his three sons, and his armour-bearer, and all his men that same day together;" the smooth slopes look thirsty, and bleak, and barren, as if the curse still rested on them. And there, beyond the battle-plain of Israel, is "Carmel by the sea," and Tabor, which, though among the mountains—for it rises close to the dear hills of Nazareth—yet lifts its round and swelling cone apart, as if in proud seclusion. And there, on the North, is the streaked and glittering head of Hermon, which never puts off its crown, but bears throughout the year a diadem of snow.

We resolved not to be cheated out of our visit to Gadara by the treachery of Sheik Yousef; but, as the country through which we should have to pass in order to reach it was swarming with Bedaween, we sent the men and the mules by the shortest paths to the Jordan. One of our party, who was unwell, and not fit to make a forced march, accompanied them; whilst

B——, L——, and I, with one of the dragomen, and a native to act as guide, started alone for Gadara.

To ride unescorted "the other side Jordan" is not a wise thing to do, if it can be avoided. The success of the experiment depends upon the travellers not meeting a mounted party of Arabs. Flight is out of the question, for their steeds will soon run down a horse not bred in the desert; fighting is questionable policy, where blood alone can wipe out blood; and the third course, submitting patiently to be robbed, is not popular with Englishmen. We were very fortunate on the whole. The weather was delightful; the clouds had rolled away, and the "clear shining after rain" made everything look fresh and green. We met one or two stray horsemen, who, when the first surprise was over, uttered the pass-word 'Welcome,' and rode wondering by. Once, indeed, the turn of a glen brought us straight into the middle of an encampment belonging to the troublesome Beni Sacher, whom we wished to avoid. Happily the men were absent, I suppose on some marauding expedition; and the women and children, who rushed out of the tents to see the strange spectacle, could only assail us with uncomplimentary remarks and gestures which hurt nobody. Towards noon we entered upon a district abounding in steep hills and stony watercourses, where we judged that we should be tolerably safe from the Bedaween. Yet here we had our nearest approach to an adventure. My horse is so liable to fits of biting and kicking, *pour encourager les autres*, that, when we are obliged to go in single file, I always bring up the rear; and thus it happened, that, whilst winding round the precipitous flank of a mountain gorge, my companions were for a moment out of sight. A noise behind made me look round, and there I saw some men stealing up the bank of the "wady," with the evident design of cutting me off. Finding that they were perceived, they began to shake their guns, and to gesticulate vehemently, and to shout to each other according to the approved Arab fashion for getting up steam. Not wishing to draw their fire, ill-directed as it was likely to be, I went on at the same pace as before, until within hailing distance of the rest. Then we turned about, which brought our pursuers to a halt. There were eight or ten of them, and they took up a position behind the rocks and shrubs, as if waiting for others to join them. But though violent in their language, and making a show of presenting their guns at us, they did not seem inclined to close; so we rode on, occasionally facing round when they came too near, until we had gained a hundred yards or so, and knew that we might gallop off without any fear of the bullets.

Gadara occupies a magnificent position on the crest of a high hill, from which for the first time the Sea of Galilee from shore

to shore is stretched out before us. The ruins are not very striking, at least not to those who come from Rabbath-Ammon and Gerasa, but the tombs are exceedingly interesting. They are, in fact, comfortable chambers, hewn out of the limestone rock, and closed by solid blocks of black basalt. These last have pins of the same material protruding at the corners, which work in sockets above and below; and so skilfully were the ponderous doors set up, that even now they are easily moved. They were all inhabited by some wretched-looking people, who are the sole possessors of the ancient city, and live only in its tombs. We are, of course, reminded by these tombs of the maniac whom our Lord restored to his right mind; but I doubt if it can be supposed that he dwelt in sepulchres such as these. They must have belonged to comparatively rich people, who would never have suffered them to become the haunt of a lunatic. I should rather suppose that he was in the habit of wandering about the graves of the lower classes, who were probably buried in open cemeteries, like the one which is still to be seen on the hill-side at Nain. He would thus become the terror of the neighbourhood, especially in a land where the custom is for friends to lament for days over the graves of those dear to them.

The sight of Tiberias beyond the sea reminded us that our day's work was only half done; and after picking our way for some time along the slippery street of Gadara, which is in places almost covered with ruinous heaps, we hastened down the steep path which leads to the Jordan valley. The plain at the foot of the hills is a complete shrubbery of oleanders. A single bush would have decorated an English garden, but here we were surrounded by them. The blush-coloured masses of flower blazed about us as far as the eye could reach; their dazzling brilliancy quite overcame the dark green of the foliage, and even tinted with roseate hues the clear waters which glided hither and thither, seeking for Jordan. Gladly should we have lingered in such a lovely spot, but we too had to make for Jordan; and after a good race across the level, we stood once more on the river bank. It was well that the mules had crossed below; for the stream, though not strong, was deep, and a few inches more would have obliged us to swim for it. Although our ride beyond Jordan did, strictly speaking, terminate with our return to the western shore, yet I would not part with my readers in the act of drying and dressing; and, indeed, the pleasantest part of the journey was yet to come. For nothing, to my mind, in all the Holy Land, surpasses in beauty and in interest the shores of Gennesareth. And those last hours between Jordan and Tiberias, what happy ones they were!

The path lay near the sea. At times we cantered noiselessly across patches of green sward, studded with oleanders, and

reaching to the water's edge; and then the stillness would be broken by the clattering of the horse hoofs, as we came suddenly upon a strip of pebbly beach. The sunset was calm, and, during the first part of the ride, exceeding bright; but, ere long, the emerald hills, which descend abruptly to the shore, threw a darkening shadow over the lake; whilst the rich, but short-lived hues of twilight faded one by one from the mountains, which encircle it on the east, and left them dull and indistinct. Nature sank quietly into her first sleep. "Her breathing, soft and low," alone told of the strong life that was at rest. The great body of the waters reposed upon the strand in all the silence of a tideless sea, but the evening breeze was loth to die away. Ever and anon it swept across the slowly-heaving bosom of the lake, curling the surface into crisping foam; and then the tiny waves would lose themselves among the rippling shallows with a faint and gentle "hush"; and the evergreens would wake up and murmur at the stir, and nod to each other, and whisper a last "good-night," until the guilty zephyr had sighed itself away into the valleys, and slumber reigned again.

The steady tramp and the champing of the horses, the splash of some startled waterfowl, a passing interchange of words between the riders,—these were the only sounds which really broke the quiet charm, and even these were not altogether out of keeping with the time and place; perhaps they rather served to heighten, by contrast, the peacefulness of the scene.

I am indebted to you, my dear Sir, for inducing me to revive these pleasant memories, and I hope they will interest your readers.—Believe me, &c. &c.,

EX ÆDE CHRISTI.

JERUSALEM AT THE CLOSE OF THE NEW TESTAMENT HISTORY.

AMONG the many wonders connected with Jerusalem, few are more striking than her extraordinary vitality. Reaching back to the antiquity of nearly 4000 years, her former self buried, as Stanley expresses it, in the dust of her seventeen captures, she is still a city. She has recovered from her desolation by Titus; whilst of the various other sieges which she has endured, some have scarcely been less destructive, and others have been attended with miracles of deliverance, reminding us that the Lord is round about His people, as the mountains are round about Jerusalem. What place is to be compared to her? Rome, with a duration falling far short of 3000 years, has been exposed to about half as many sieges as Jerusalem has suffered captures. Nor has she passed through

calamities to be compared to those of the capital of Judæa. Rome has never been destroyed, nor has she remained under the dominion of strangers; but her conquerors became her children and her slaves. The plough has passed over Jerusalem: she hath lain waste at one time for seventy years, and again and again for nearly equal periods. At one time she was a heathen city, into which no Jew was permitted to enter; and at another, when her restoration was attempted, for the purpose of overthrowing the purposes of God concerning her, the attempt was made in vain. For more than half her existence she has been under the dominion of the heathen or the unbeliever; yet we never think of her but as the city of our God. Polluted, oppressed, and desolate, she is now not only a city, but a capital; the object of the fondest affection of her people, and of scarcely less interest to those who delight in the mighty works which have been done in her.

The siege of Jerusalem by Titus is a familiar subject. But what provocation brought the Roman army to her walls? And what was the course of events which, in the providence of God, ended in her destruction? Our present purpose is to trace those events from the end of the New Testament history to the time when the Roman army under Cestius was driven away and routed in the 66th year of our era.

The dominion of the Romans was always oppressive to the conquered. Forsyth, in his *Life of Cicero*, has described the Roman governors of provinces as vultures swooping on their prey. But to the Jews this foreign rule was peculiarly galling, from the real holiness of their law, from their own exclusiveness, and their well-founded but ill-understood expectation of a dominion to be restored to Israel. Their misfortunes began before the time of Felix, and soon after the death of Tiberius. For when, in consequence of a tumult in Alexandria between the Jews and the Greeks, both parties had to appear before his successor, Caius, (better known as Caligula,) and Apion, one of the embassy of the Greeks, accused the Jews of neglecting the honours due to Cæsar, Caius commanded his statue to be set up in Jerusalem, and sent Petronius with troops to enforce it. These acts of the Emperor would, no doubt, have led to a revolt of the Jews, had not Petronius acted with singular moderation. And afterwards, through the influence of Agrippa with the Emperor, and perhaps still more by the death of Caius, the Jews escaped his tyranny. Claudius appointed Cumanus, and afterwards Felix, governor of Judæa. We read in the New Testament that Festus succeeded Felix, and learn also something of the condition of the country under them. Albinus, who succeeded Festus, was a bad governor, allowing, for the sake of money, all sorts of injustice and crime. But it was Florus who, about the twelfth year of Nero (A.D. 65, 66) came next to him, who was the greatest scourge to the Jews,

and, according to Josephus, the real cause of the war which ended in the destruction of their nation. Who can read Cicero's orations against Verres, making us, as it were, witnesses of his excesses, his spoliation, his venality, his cruelty, his disregard of God and man, without feeling that when the full weight of such enormities fell upon the conquered Jew, intensified, as they would be, as outrages of all he held sacred, he was indeed in a condition answering to the prophecy, "Thou shalt be mad with the sight of thine eyes which thou shalt behold."

The whole history of these times is a perpetual and melancholy repetition of insults to the Jews in respect of their religion; tumults and insurrections; private, popular, and judicial murders; bloody contests between city and city, and between the Jewish and other inhabitants of the same city; the country wasted, bands of robbers ravaging it for years; the sicarii, a band of armed murderers, openly taking away life in Jerusalem itself, slaying even Jonathan the High Priest, and spreading universal terror; others, esteemed by Josephus as less wicked than the murderers, but no less injurious, pretending to inspiration, and collecting numbers in arms; the Egyptian false prophet, mentioned in the Acts, who did still greater mischief; and the power of the Governor used capriciously, or for money, on all occasions, but almost always to the detriment of the Jews, and at last systematically and designedly employed to accomplish their destruction. It was truly a diseased body, in which, when inflammation was checked in one part, it broke out in another. Albinus abused his authority in every way for money, but the exactions and oppressions of Florus were universal; he spoiled whole cities, and publicly gave the country over to robbers, that he might share in the spoils. His tyranny was so intolerable, that, when Cestius the governor of Syria made a visit to Jerusalem at the time of the Passover, the whole multitude of the people flocked around him for redress against Florus. Cestius made them promises, and perhaps with some intention of giving them relief; but after his departure, leaving things as they were, Florus, being afraid that the Jews would be his accusers before Cæsar, did all he could to augment and aggravate their calamities, in order to drive them to rebellion.

It was a grievance small in reality, if it had not touched their religion; and beginning in the bad feeling and ill-will of one man, the gentile owner of the site of a synagogue at Cæsarea, or of the ground near it, to which may be traced the destruction of Jerusalem itself. There had been dissensions, which had broken out into open violence, between the Jews and Syrians at Cæsarea, and had been scarcely kept by the Romans from coming to actual battle. And this quarrel having been

referred to the Emperor, he had just decided against the Jews. They had, as we have mentioned, a synagogue there, and had often tried to purchase the place, offering many times its value; whilst the owner not only neglected these offers, but raised other buildings upon the ground, and workshops, and left them a narrow and inconvenient approach when they went to worship. The younger Jews showed a disposition to prevent the buildings by force; but those of influence and wealth offered Florus eight talents to stop the work. He took the money, and then, without interfering at all, left Cæsarea for Sebaste. On the next day, which was the seventh day of the week, when the Jews were crowding to their synagogue, a heathen, who was put forward by the Syrians, brought an earthen vessel, and set it with the bottom upwards, and sacrificed some birds. This was the greatest insult which could be offered to the Jews; as it not only was blasphemy against their law, but, being done in mockery of that part of it which related to the cleansing of the leprosy, was a reproach to every Jew as belonging to a leprous race. A fight followed; for the younger Jews could not be restrained, and the gentile population had come ready to fall upon them. And when a Roman officer, who arrived with soldiers, and took away the earthen vessel, and endeavoured to restore order, was overborne by the inhabitants of Cæsarea, the Jews caught up the book of their Law, and retired to Nabata, about sixty furlongs distant. Some, however, of the principal Jews went to Sebaste to Florus, and entreated him to help them; but when they adverted as gently as possible to the eight talents, he cast them into prison, and accused them of carrying the book of the Law out of Cæsarea.

Florus's next act of oppression was directed against Jerusalem; sending men to take seventeen talents out of the sacred treasury, under the pretence that Cæsar wanted them. This occasioned a prodigious uproar; the people rushing to the Temple, and calling upon Cæsar by name to deliver them from Florus, whilst others cast the greatest reproaches upon him, and carried baskets about begging money for him as a pauper. Upon which Florus marched hastily to Jerusalem with horse and foot.

The people were desirous of giving him no further offence, but, if possible, of making him ashamed, and met the soldiers with acclamations; but he sent eighty horse to bid them disperse, and not make a show of submission which was not real. On the next day he set his tribunal in front of the palace, and when the chief priests and men of influence came before him he required them to deliver up those who had reproached him, and threatened that if they did not, his vengeance should fall on themselves. And being only provoked the more with their entreaties

and quietness, he called out aloud to his soldiers to plunder the upper market-place, and slay such as they met with. The soldiers went even further than these orders, and made a general pillage, and brought to Florus many of the quiet people, whom he scourged and crucified. And he did what no other governor had ever done; causing Jews who had the right of citizenship, and some even of the Equestrian order, to be whipped, and then nailed to the cross before his tribunal.

Bernice then interceded with Florus for her people, but in vain; for he stirred up the recent commotions afresh, both by treachery and violence. And whilst telling the chief of the priests and of the Jews, that the only proof which the people could give of their good disposition would be to go out and meet in a friendly way two cohorts which were coming up from Cæsarea, he ordered the soldiers not to return the Jews' salutations, and if this led to any outcries against himself, then to use their weapons. The soldiers of course did not notice the friendly reception given to them; and when this provoked the resentment which Florus had anticipated, they fell upon the crowd. Many were killed by the Romans, and in their own efforts to escape; and a terrible destruction took place at the gate of the city, and in the streets, the soldiers endeavouring to get as far as the Temple to seize it. But the multitude turned and stopped their progress; and the Jews cut down part of the cloisters which joined the Temple to Antonia. And thus Florus was disappointed of his objects; which had been to obtain possession of the Holy Place, and also of its treasures.

We are now obliged to notice the dissensions among the Jews themselves, which were one great cause of their ruin. We have seen already, that there was a tendency among them to divide into two parties; those who endeavoured to propitiate and persuade the Romans, and the others who were always ready to resort to force. About this time, Josephus begins to distinguish some of the Jews as the seditious. It was the seditious who cut through the cloisters between Antonia and the Temple, being strong in that part of the City; but they soon, as we shall see, did greater mischief.

Florus then accused the Jews to Cestius, the governor of Syria; whilst they, and also Bernice, appealed to him: and he sent a tribune to ascertain the state of Jerusalem. The tribune seemed satisfied that the Jews were faithful to the Romans, but oppressed by the cruelties of Florus. Yet his visit led to no result, owing to the violence of the Jewish factions. For after Agrippa had with much pains dissuaded the chief of the priests and of the Jews from accusing Florus before Nero, and set before them the power of the Romans, and pointed out that the Jews had in fact begun the war by withholding the tribute

and cutting off the cloister, they set to work to rebuild the cloister and collect the tribute. But whilst he was trying to persuade the multitude to obey Florus until Cæsar should send his successor, they became exasperated, and reproached him, and expelled him from the city, and some of the seditious cast stones at him; so that he gave over endeavouring to serve them.

Immediately the rebellion broke out fiercely. For some of the most violent of the Jews made an attack upon the fortress called Massada, and, after taking it by treachery, slew the Roman garrison. And Eleazar, the son of Ananias the high priest, persuaded the officiating priests to receive no gift or sacrifice from any foreigner. Thus they rejected the sacrifice of Cæsar; and when many of the priests besought them not to omit the customary sacrifice for their prince, it was in vain.

The principal men of the Jews, and of the Pharisees, took counsel with the chief priests; and after endeavouring to convince the people, sent messages to Florus and Agrippa, entreating them to come and stop the sedition. Florus was delighted, but took no notice, waiting the course of events. But Agrippa sent troops, and the high priest, and those who were desirous of peace, seized upon the upper city, as Eleazar and the war party had possession of the Temple and the lower town.

And thus hostilities began in Jerusalem itself, and between these parties of the Jews, and on this occasion lasted with continued slaughter for seven days. Then came a feast, at which it was the custom for every one to bring wood for the altar. But Eleazar excluded the opposite party from this act of their religion; and with the help of the sicarii drove the king's soldiers from the upper city, set fire to the palaces of the high priest and of Agrippa and Bernice, and afterwards, in order that a dangerous class might be free to pursue a course of violence, burnt the public archives, and the proofs of the claims of their creditors. Some of the chief priests and leaders on their side fled to the vaults under ground; and others, and among them the high priest and the ambassadors to Agrippa, into the upper palace. But the seditious immediately attacked Antonia, and after two days took it, and slew the garrison, and set the citadel on fire, and then assaulted the palace, where the high priest had taken refuge. After a determined resistance, when a Jew named Manahem had obtained arms from Massada, and had made himself a leader of the sedition, the besieged offered to capitulate; but no terms could be obtained for the Roman soldiers, who fled with great loss to the towers of Hippacus, Phaselus, and Mariamne. The high priest Ananias, after the capitulation, had concealed himself in an aqueduct, but the next day he was slain by the sicarii, with his brother. And

Manahem, elated by his success, became so insupportable, that Eleazar and his party fell upon him, and, being aided by the people, destroyed him and his followers. The people then were desirous that the siege of the Roman forts should be stopped ; but Eleazar pressed it, until the soldiers offered to surrender if their lives were spared. This was promised them with an oath, and they marched out without being molested until they had laid down their arms ; but then they were slain. An act by which, like many similar acts, the Jews provoked the sure vengeance of the Romans.

The soldiers had been slaughtered on the Sabbath, and on the same day a slaughter of the Jews took place at Cæsarea, and that city was emptied of its Jewish inhabitants. Thousands, it is said, perhaps correctly hundreds, were slain ; and Florus sent the rest to the galleys, and this outrage lighted up a flame which, through the exasperation of the Jews, spread over all Syria ; and the disorders there were terrible, every city being divided into two forces encamped against each other, and sometimes the Jews were opposed to their own people. In Alexandria, too, where their influence had been so great, the Jews were attacked by the people and the soldiers, and after a fierce resistance almost destroyed.

About this time Cestius advanced against Jerusalem from Antioch, accompanied by Agrippa, capturing the towns and wasting the country in his way ; and at the Feast of Tabernacles reached the city, and pitched his camp about fifty furlongs off. The Jews, at once leaving the Feast, and disregarding the Sabbath, attacked him with great violence. They were repulsed, but with loss to the Romans. Cestius then drove them within the walls, and encamped upon Scopus ; but for three days he made no assault. On the fourth day, however, (the thirtieth of the month Tisri, that is, in October,) he entered the city by Bezetha, lying to the west of the Temple, and the newest part of Jerusalem, which he set on fire, and pitched his camp over against the royal palace ; the Jews retreating towards the centre of the place and the Temple. Had he then carried on his operations with vigour, Jerusalem would have been taken ; but some of his principal officers had, according to Josephus, been corrupted by Florus, and dissuaded him. Nothing could have been worse than his want of conduct. Many of the principal men invited him into the city, and were about to open the gates, but he neglected their offer, and they were detected. Then at last he did make an attack for five days to no purpose, and afterwards endeavoured to break into the Temple on the northern side, and, though once beaten off, was so nearly successful, that many of the seditious fled, and the people coming up would have opened the gates and admitted him as a benefactor. But he recalled his soldiers,

when again, if he had acted with vigour, the city would have fallen into his hands; and merely from despair of taking it, though he had not met with a repulse, he withdrew without any reason whatever. The Jews fell upon him, and turned his retreat into a perfect rout. His repulse was in the month of October, A.D. 66, being on the eighth day of the month Marchesvan, just at the end of the twelfth year of Nero. And as it was only in this year of Nero's reign, or immediately before it, that Florus was appointed procurator of Judæa, we must be struck with the rapidity with which he wrought the destruction of the Jews, and brought the war into Jerusalem itself.

The attempt and retreat of Cestius, small affairs in themselves, were attended with two important consequences: one, the certain destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans; the other, the preservation of the Christians, who had seen the abomination of desolation brought up to or against the Temple, *ἐπὶ τὸ ἱερόν*, Dan. ix. 27, Septuagint,) and knew that the ruin of their nation was nigh. They retired to Pella and the mountains of Peræa. But Josephus tells us that many of the most eminent of the Jews took this opportunity of leaving the city, as men leave a sinking ship.

Nearly four years intervened between the defeat of Cestius, in October, A.D. 66, and the destruction of the Temple, which occurred in August, A.D. 70. And during this period the warnings of the coming desolation of Jerusalem became more and more urgent; the Romans overrunning the country, and subduing it completely before undertaking the siege of the capital. In this way Jerusalem was encircled with armies (Luke xxi. 20), before it was actually invested. Indeed, it is desirable to show to what extent this took place, as it shows the fitness of the prophecy, though it leads us a little beyond our limits. But the last thing which Josephus mentions before the death of Nero, A.D. 68, makes it very manifest. He says that the war, having gone through all the mountainous country and the plain, those who were in Jerusalem were deprived of the liberty of leaving the city: for as to such as had a mind to desert, they were watched by the zealots; and as to such as were not yet on the side of the Romans, their armies kept them in by encompassing the city on all sides. But when Vespasian had overthrown all the places which were near to Jerusalem, and returned to Cæsarea, and afterwards went to Antioch and Alexandria with part of his forces, the way of escape out of the city became easier. And the alarm which had been sounded was too urgent to be neglected. The words, "the abomination of desolation," to which our Saviour so expressly refers, are taken from the 9th chapter of Daniel, as it appears in the Septuagint; and the Christians would be expecting the fulfilment of this prophecy, as that was to happen soon after the expiration of the

seventy weeks and the death of the Messiah. They were told also (see our version, Dan. ix. 26,) that the people of the Prince (*ἡγουμενος*) that should come should destroy the city and the sanctuary. And being thus forewarned, they escaped from the miseries of the siege, and the dreadful fate of the inhabitants of Jerusalem.

HISTORICUS.

PAPAL ACTINGS, SYNCHRONICALLY WITH GOTHs, &c., IN THE
DESOLATION OF OLD IMPERIAL ROME.

To the Editor of the Christian Observer.

DEAR SIR,—Allow me to ask a little space in your valuable periodical for the Paper following. Its object is to show the fatuity of the objections that have been strongly urged of late, from certain expressions in Apoc. xvii. 16, against the common Protestant view of the *ten-horned Apocalyptic Beast*, under its 8th and last head, as meant to symbolize the *Roman Popes* and *Papal Empire*:—that empire, namely, which was made up of the ten Romano-Gothic kingdoms ecclesiastically and spiritually subject to them. As read in the *textus receptus* indeed, (a text followed in our E. V., and which, as followed previously by Tertullian, and others too of the early fathers, I had long been content to accept,) the prophetic statement well suits that Protestant explanation. “The ten horns,” it says, “which thou sawedst on the Beast, (*ἐπὶ τὸ θηρίον*,) these shall hate the Harlot, and shall make her desolate, and shall burn her with fire:” there being added in the next verse, as if reporting of an act of theirs consequent on the former, that “they would (then) with one mind give their power to the Beast,” *i. e.*, as the Angel explains it, to the 8th and last head of the Beast;* so as, in fact, to be fitly symbolized thenceforward as *horns* upon it. For, just according to that prophetic statement, things fell out with Rome in the 5th and 6th centuries. Goths, Vandals, and other barbaric tribes of kindred origin, to about the number of

* Apoc. xvii. 8, 11: “The Beast which thou sawest was, and is not: . . . and the Beast that was, and is not, even he is the eighth king, [*ὄγδοος*, in the masculine,] and is of the seven, and goeth into perdition.” In which remarkable passage the description of him, as being an 8th head, though of the seven, is explained by what is said in Apoc. xiii. 3 of that last head of the Beast, as rising out of the cicatrice of the former 7th, which had previously been “cut down as with a

sword;” “the deadly wound being thereby healed.”—And his “*being of the seven*” (*ἐκ τῶν ἑπτα*) signifies, I conceive, not merely his appearing 7th among the visible heads in the vision; but also his being *one in character with the former seven*;—really *heathen* like them, though professedly *Christian*. So John ii. 19; “They went out from us, because they were not of us (*ἐξ ἡμῶν*)”:—*i. e.* not of our principles and character.

ten, (as Jerome himself, at the first, ominously counted them,) invaded the Roman empire, desolated Rome, partitioned its provinces: and then attached themselves to *Rome's reigning Popes*, for the time being, as their common head, (these being the 8th ruling head, it seems, *successionally*, on that seven-hilled site,)* in their usurpingly-assumed character of *Christ's Vicegerents on earth*;—a title which was almost verbally the very realization of the long-dreaded prophetic appellative *Antichrist*.

But, say the objectors, by much the most and best Greek MSS. read *καλ*, not *ἐπι*, in the verse under consideration; the Beast, or Beast's 8th ruling head, being thereby prophesied of as himself a participating agent, as well as the ten kings, in the desolations of Rome. "And how could that be said of the *Popes*, who were in fact, about the time referred to, the restorers of Rome? Admitting the *καλ*, is not this prophetic statement fatal to the whole Protestant theory of the Roman Popes being the Beast, or Antichrist, of prophecy; and an indication almost unequivocal of this Antichrist, his ten subject kings, and all here told of them, having reference to a time yet future?"

The answer to these anti-Protestant objectors will be found

* This is a condition of the problem of the Beast clearly implied, as Mode remarks; and which by every prophetic student ought to be well considered, and never forgotten. For there is ever observable a remarkable *local appropriateness* in Scripture symbols; as I have abundantly illustrated in Part ii. ch. 5. of my H. A. And by this law of local appropriateness the site of Rome's seven hills ought surely to attach to the Beast under each and every one of its seven heads, in their significance as *kings*, or *rulers*; seeing that their primary signification is said to be "*the seven hills on which the Woman (Rome) sitteth*."—How incongruous would it be, and contrary to the analogy of all Scriptural symbolism, were the Beast, under those successive headships which *primarily* signified Rome's seven hills, applied *secondarily* to symbolize the seven successive world-powers of Egypt, Assyria, Babylon, Persia, Greece, Rome, Antichrist,—so as our Anglo-German futurist expositors would have it: though, in the cases of all but one, the local sites of empire were, or (under Antichrist) would be, any where, every where, but on those seven hills!!

On the other hand, let it be remembered, that no less an authority than

the greatest of Roman historians' *Tacitus*, (St. John's own contemporary,) specifies *Kings, Consuls, Dictators, Decemvirs, Military Tribunes, Emperors*, as the six successive constitutional ruling heads, who, and who alone, down to his time, had exercised supreme executive ruling authority on the site of Rome's seven hills: and that *Gibbon*, our own great historian, specifies as one yet later, (a 7th,) *the Diocletianic quadripartite emperorship*. Which 7th ruling head,—just accordantly with what the Angel said of the Beast's 7th head continuing but a short space, only lasted, in fact, about 30 years, and was then cut down, as it were, by the Constantinian sword:—the national heathen religion being at the same time abandoned for Christianity; the seat of imperial rule removed from Rome to Constantinople; and so the site of the seven hills left vacant of all ruling power, till the Popes upraised themselves, an 8th head, upon it, in the character of Peter's successors in that particular see, and consequently the earthly *Vicegerents of Christ*, that is, of *God*. Whence, as *Gibbon* (still using an Apocalyptic figure) expresses it, the *revivification*, or *resuscitation*, of the before apparently defunct Apocalyptic Beast, or Roman empire.

to be very simple and complete:—not to speak now of the *really* fatal objections which may be shown, and indeed have abundantly been shown, to surround and crush the futurist antagonistic theory.* Admitting the *kal*, all that we have to do in order to see the consistency of the passage *so read* with the common Protestant view, is this:—*first* to observe that, although in the *pictorial vision* alike the Woman and the Beast were depicted under their *last* phases of existence,—the Beast with his 8th and *lust* head, the Woman as seated on him under that his last phase and headship, and moreover as holding out the same cup of her fornication which is ascribed to her in the graphic description in the next following chapter, Apoc. xviii., of her final utter destruction,†—yet in the *Angel's explanatory comment* there is distinct notice made of her under that *earlier* phase which she wore, when the Beast was yet under its 6th head in the time of St. John, as *Rome imperial*, “the great city then ruling over the kings of the earth:”—*secondly*, to look carefully into the history of Rome during those 5th and 6th centuries which have been already referred to; and there to mark how the *Popes* then took their part, just as well as *Goths* and *Vandals*, in the desolations of that old imperial Rome.

On which latter point we have the advantage of the light shed upon the subject by the lately published work of M. Gregorovius on the “History of Mediæval Rome.” Abstracts of it have been given in late Nos. both of the Edinburgh and Quarterly Reviews. And it is my chief object in this Paper to draw the attention of such of your readers as are students of prophecy to his testimony on the question before us. It is to the effect following.‡

Premising that “when, in A.D. 403, Honorius led up the Capitoline hill the triumph for Stilicho's victory, the buildings of imperial Rome were yet standing in their grandeur,” he goes on thus to speak of the subsequent devastations

* This is largely shown in my H. A. Alford on Apoc. xvii. 12, says, respecting those ten kings:—“The ten kings are ten European powers which in the last time, in concert with and in subjection to the Anti-Christian power, shall make war against Christ. . . . It would not be difficult to point out the elements, and already consolidating shapes, of most of them.” Considering that it was so easy to him to do this, was it not unkind on the part of the expositor to have withheld the light which he enjoyed on this interesting point from his readers?—It ought however, I think, to have been remembered by him, 1st, that Scripture prophecy predicts only *one* decem-partition of

the territory of the old Roman empire, not *two*: 2ndly, that the only new division of the great Roman city really prophesied of as shortly preceding her final destruction, is a division (whether secular or ecclesiastical) into *three*, not into *ten*, parts. So, under the 7th Vial, Apoc. xvi. 19.

† Compare Apoc. xvii. 4, xviii. 3. Very striking is the agreement of this picture of the Roman Harlot in the Apocalyptic vision, holding out the cup of her fornication, and with that of Papal Rome, holding out *her* cup, in the last Papal Jubilean medal of A. D. 1825;—a medal copied in my H. A. vol. iv. p. 34.

‡ See “Quarterly Review,” No. 229, p. 200, &c.

of them. "To the ravages of armies [as of the Goths, Vandals, &c.] were now added many other causes of destruction;—hurricanes and earthquakes, floods and fires. But the *main* cause of the destruction of *ancient* Rome was the *change from Paganism to Christianity*. Few temples became churches: [so as *thereby* to ensure their preservation under the then new religious regime, like as in the one case of the still consequently standing Pantheon:] and religious motives combined with the distresses of the times in consigning to desolation its theatres and other places of diversion. For, as the *Popes* increased in wealth, they built churches more and more; with regard, not to the number of inhabitants (now so reduced), but to the number of saints who might thus be honoured. Pillars and ornamental marbles were transferred from temples to churches; and the buildings from which they had been torn abandoned to ruin." A notice of the common practice of thus destroying public edifices at Rome, for the sake of the materials, occurs in an edict of the Emperor Majorian; who, in A.D. 458, forbade such doings under heavy penalties. And his example was followed, some fifty years after, by the Ostrogothic king Theodoric. But, somewhat later, "when the *Popes* had become independent, and were able to dispose [of course for money] of the ancient buildings of their city, without asking the consent of Emperor, Exarch, or King, [say from A.D. 500 to 600,] the work of demolition was freely carried on": so that "for centuries Rome was *like a great lime-pit*, into which the most precious marbles were cast, to be burnt into mortar." Pope Gregory, adds our author, in his Discourses on the miseries of the times, may be considered to have pronounced "the funeral sermon of *old* Rome." But not, indeed, even then did the Popes cease from their destruction of the monuments of imperial heathen Rome. As a notable example to the contrary, our author specifies the destruction by Pope Honorius, shortly after Gregory's time, of the magnificent temple of Venus and Rome, built after the designs of the Emperor Hadrian.

Such is the account given by M. Gregorovius of the desolations of old imperial Rome, at the period already specified, alike by the *Gothic barbarian invaders*, and by the *Roman Popes*.

But, indeed, Gregorovius is not the first who has thus strongly marked the prominent acting of the Popes in the demolition of the grand monuments, as well as appropriation of what remained of the riches, of old *imperial* Rome. Subsequently to my perusal of the interesting abstracts given of his work in the *Edinburgh* and *Quarterly Reviews*, I was struck by the following lines in our poet Pope's poem on "The Medal";—lines characterized by his usual point, terseness, and accuracy.

“See the wild waste of all-devouring years,
 How Rome her own sad sepulchre appears!
 With nodding arches, broken temples spread,
 The very tombs now vanished, like their dead!
Imperial wonders!
 Some felt the silent stroke of mould’ring age;
 Some hostile fury; some religious rage.
Barbarian blindness, Christian zeal conspire:
And Papal piety, and Gothic fire.”

Thus the prophecy in Apoc. xvii. 16 is seen to have had its fulfilment in accordance with the above-mentioned Protestant explanation, when read with the *καὶ* quite as exactly (perhaps indeed even more so) as when read with the *ἐν*. “And the ten horns which thou sawedst, *and* the Beast, [or Beast’s 8th and last ruling head, the Popes,] these shall hate the harlot, and shall make her desolate, and shall eat her flesh, and shall burn her with fire.” This was in fact an essential help to the Popes in their reconstruction of Rome as *Rome Papal*:—a reconstruction of it precisely corresponding with what the early father Hippolytus had been led by Scripture prophecy to anticipate as the work of *Antichrist*.

I am, dear Sir, yours faithfully,
 E. B. ELLIOTT.

CORRESPONDENCE.

PARSONAGE HOUSES.

To the Editor of the Christian Observer.

DEAR SIR,—Many readers of the *Christian Observer* will remember the really eloquent meditation of that eminent demagogue, William Cobbett, on the moral beauty and social advantage of our parochial divisions. Writing from memory, we can only remind them that he represents himself on an eminence in the region of Winchester, and there is revealed to his admiring vision a panoramic display of some ten or a dozen parish churches, and his mind is rapt in ecstasy by the fact that, in all the semi-barbarous parishes of England, a gentleman, and an educated gentleman, was resident, adapted to raise the tone and exalt the morals of all within the sphere of his influence. Theoretically, and to a vast extent practically, this is the social condition of *Protestant* England.

To protect and maintain this peculiarity is expedient, and that every church should have in reasonable contact its parsonage and its schools, is a desideratum which none can gainsay. In calling attention to the subject of parsonage houses, we do think it a question for honest scrutiny. The public papers have told us that in the

western diocese (Exeter) there are 150 incumbencies without parsonage houses ; and in a recent Charge of a northern bishop (Carlisle) stress is laid upon the necessity of providing residences for the clergy. Every bishop may, in a greater or less degree, have to urge a similar want. The Ecclesiastical Commission is, we apprehend, up and doing in this direction ; and it is believed that an incentive to build consists in a promise to augment by endowment, at the rate of 30*l.* per annum, if 1000*l.* be raised for a parsonage house. To some this may be a taking proposal.

We avow much misgiving as to the wisdom and expediency of such an incentive. Having doubts whether this patronage of bricks and mortar is a proper disposition of the funds placed under the management of the Ecclesiastical Commission, we cannot sympathise in this mode of augmenting small benefices. The sum conditionally required is too large, and the edifice proposed to be raised will, in a great majority of cases, be inconsistent with the stipend. But raise a dwelling which will induce a gentleman to come and reside (though the income be such as to realize the well-known saying, "passing rich on 40*l.* a year," is the suggestion, and, with many, a captivating hobby. We venture to prophesy, that unless very clear and satisfactory arrangements be made, so that dilapidations are provided for in a manner to prevent the cost falling on the widow, orphans, or other necessitous dependents of our scantily paid clergy, we can hardly imagine a more grievous burden than this mania for parsonage houses will inflict, if carried out on the principle we have named. What the powers of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners may be, is one thing ; but the question of discretion in the exercise of those powers is amenable to public scrutiny. Bishops' palaces have had their day, and now parsonage houses would seem to be all-important. We believe it an error to recognize this as a ground for augmenting endowments. This duty is not theirs. We hear much talk, almost amounting to a boast, that some day the funds under management of the Ecclesiastical Commission will be such, that we shall not have any incumbent with less than two, if not three hundred a year. We trust this may be realized, but the parsonage-house mania will go to exhaust funds to an extent little thought of. If among the developments of worldliness in our clergy, we were asked to mark the most prominent, we should not omit the house-enlarging and house-decorating processes of the last half-century. This is not mere assertion. Cases can be given of parsonage houses, rebuilt or enlarged, which men of private means in most cases have accomplished, and raised a woeful incumbrance on those who have followed them. Who is there, at all acquainted with this branch of our ecclesiastical machinery, that has not a tale of misery to relate on the subject of dilapidation claims ? Some patrons of livings are so sensibly alive to this, as to annex to the gift of a preferment—"mind, no claim on the widow, and for dilapidations !" This considerate view of things can be exercised by an individual ; while corporate bodies, whether in the form of trustees or college and cathedral chapters, or ministers of the Crown, are hardly in a position to attach any such injunction. If the Ecclesiastical Commissioners make a point of fraternizing with those who think *parsonage houses* an important element in the Church's efficiency, we would entreat

them to have a care that each dwelling be adapted rather to the value of the stipend, than to the supposed wants and pretensions of *the gentleman*. C.

ON REV. XX. 4.

To the Editor of the Christian Observer.

DEAR MR. EDITOR,—I do not mean to carry on a controversy in your paper; but the courtesy of your correspondent "Expectans" demands from me a reply; although I am sorry it should be a reply of dissatisfaction with his interpretation. I cannot find any commentator that takes his view of the nominative to the verb *ἐκθίσαν*;—and certainly it appears to me more consistent with the analogy of the Greek phrase, in the New Testament and elsewhere, (Winer's Greek Gram. Vol. ii. Sect. lix. 9, 3.) to understand, with Blomfield, *τινec*.

And besides, the vision, which opens in xix. 11, seems to be distinct from the declaration in v. 9; and the latter is *general*, while the former is *particular*—"the armies in heaven." Neither are these "armies," nor "*they that sat upon the thrones*," (xx. 4.) said to be raised from the dead. The only "blessed" ones that are said to *live* and reign, and that are *positively opposed* to "the rest of the dead," are the souls of the beheaded, &c.

But enough. And I thank you, dear Mr. Editor, for inserting my questions; and your correspondent for his obliging reply and references.—Your constant reader,

T. H.

ON MISQUOTING SCRIPTURE BY ROTE.

To the Editor of the Christian Observer.

DEAR MR. EDITOR,—By a casual coincidence, there happens to lie upon my table a passage from Dr. Newman's Apologia, beside another from a recent Episcopal Charge, in both which the writers quote the words of Isaac, "The voice is Jacob's voice, but the hands are the hands of Esau," as a popular proverb, in direct opposition to Isaac's meaning. The misapplication is as common as it is unjust to the sacredness of scriptural criticism. I remember dear Mr. Wilberforce (than whom no man was better read in holy writ, or more reverently careful to quote it accurately) making this mistake. He was requested to write a letter to the emperor Alexander of Russia, to accompany a memorial on the slave-trade, and he promised to do so; but Mr. Brougham, knowing that many distractions might occur between the intention and its fulfilment, said, "I will write it for you;" and in a few minutes produced a letter, saying, "There, sign that." Wilberforce glanced at it, and, smiling, replied in the words of Isaac.

Clergymen often read the passage with the falling acquiescent inflection on the words "Jacob's voice," as though Isaac meant, "So far all is satisfactory;" but starting with alarm at the hairy hands, and exclaiming with corresponding rising inflection, "but the hands are the hands of Esau." This makes a very good and useful proverb; but it is not holy writ.

There are other texts thus maltreated. For instance, when **Habakkuk**,* by Divine command, had prophesied that the "bitter and hasty" [that is prompt and rapid in attacking] Chaldeans would invade Jerusalem, he did not hide himself in solitude, but ascended the watch-tower, where he could discern the approach of the invader; and, seeking for direction from God, he was told, "Write the vision, and make it plain upon tables, that he may run that readeth it." Read; run; escape; as our Lord directed His disciples when the Roman eagles should enter the temple. If any friend reply that he prefers transposing the words to a proverb—"That he that runneth may read"—thereby meaning that the Word of God is so plain that the most careless person cannot misinterpret it, I will not argue the matter; though I might quote many passages which speak of prayer, meditation, earnest inquiry, and waiting for gracious influences from above. When the ransomed of the Lord returned homeward, the wayfaring man, though a fool, did not err in the journey; but, with the promise he was to use the means, and to ask the way to Zion with his face thitherward. I think this comports rather with the inspired words, "That he may run that readeth;" than with the popular proverb, "He may read that runneth."

NEMO.

SIR RICHARD HILL AND THE REV. ADAM GIB.

To the Editor of the Christian Observer.

SIR,—I use the freedom of sending to you the enclosed original letter of Sir Richard Hill, M.P., (dated 29th January, 1787,) to the Rev. Adam Gib, together with a Sermon by Mr. Gib, in which will be found (pp. 16 and 17) the verses referred to in the letter. Sir Richard, referring to the verses, says that they contain an exact transcript of his "own experience;" and it occurs to me, that the letter and the verses may be not uninteresting to yourself and to your readers.

The letter does not bear an address, and its envelope has not been preserved; but there is abundant evidence that it bears reference to the verses referred to, because it makes mention of the "Ordination Sermon," in which the verses are quoted, as having been composed by an M.P., and acknowledges receipt of a work published by Mr. Gib, entitled "Contemplations," and was preserved among Mr. Gib's papers in an envelope written by his daughter, now deceased, bearing—"Sir Richard Hill to Adam Gib."

Mr. Gib was the first minister ordained (1741) in the only Con-

* Dr. Adam Clarke sayson **Habakkuk** ii. 2, "[That he may run that readeth it.] That he may make speed to save his life from the irruption of the Chaldeans, by which so many shall be cut off. The prophet does not mean that the words are to be made so plain, that a man *running by* may easily read and catch their meaning. Though this interpretation has been frequently given, and it has been incautiously

applied to the whole of the Bible,—'God's Book is so plain, that he that runs may read.' This is very foolish: God never intends that His words shall be understood by the careless. He that reads, studies, meditates, and prays, shall understand every portion of this sacred book that relates to his own salvation. But no trifer can understand it."

gregation in Edinburgh then existing in connexion with that body of Christians, who in 1738 made a *Secession* from the Established Church of Scotland, which at that time was in a low condition in regard both to doctrine and to discipline.

The verses sufficiently show that Sir Richard attained to the knowledge of the truth as it is in Jesus, not until after severe sufferings, ("distracting anguish," he says,) while going about to establish his own righteousness. The like was the case with Mr. Gib. The tradition has been preserved in our family, that Mr. Gib (my grandfather), though a man of the highest purity, had come, after vain attempts to arrive at what he judged to be holiness, to the conclusion that he must leave the society of man, and had resolved to betake himself to the wilds of Norway, in order to avoid all temptations to what he considered his besetting sins. As a preparatory measure, he had resorted to the King's Park, and had fed on grass in order to ascertain if life could thus be sustained. He had arranged everything connected with the voyage, and was at a loss as to how he should employ himself during the forty-eight hours which were to elapse before the sailing of the vessel. He went to the Library of the College of Edinburgh, and while turning over the leaves of the Catalogue, his eye fell upon "Luther on the Galatians;" and he recollected that he had heard a sister say, (doubtless quoting from Bunyan's "Grace Abounding,")—"To an afflicted conscience I would recommend Luther on the Galatians." Amidst the laughter of his college friends at Adam Gib borrowing "Luther on the Galatians," he carried home the book; and not knowing what part would best suit him, he began at the beginning, and before he rose from his seat, his soul had cast anchor in the righteousness which is by faith in Christ Jesus, unto all and upon all them that believe. All thoughts of attempting to obtain righteousness in the way in which he had been seeking it vanished, and he remained in his own country, and became a zealous and useful minister of the Gospel of the Grace of God.

As is stated in the Sermon, "The Lord deals otherwise with some, and draws them with cords of a man, with bands of love; as it were discovering to them at once the malady and medicine, the ruin and relief; in a sweet and kindly manner drawing them to Himself: but whatever be His particular way of bringing His sheep, it comes all to this—that they are brought off from the *law of Works*, and brought over to the *law of Faith*."—I am, Sir, your most obedient humble servant,

R. ELLIS, W.S.

4, Royal Terrace, Edinburgh;
27th Nov., 1864.

"Rev. and dear Sir,—I did not receive your most valuable present of *Contemplations* and the *Ordination Sermon*, till late last night, otherwise you would have had much earlier thanks from me for them. Though I have only had time to cast my eye on some passages, yet I have read enough to make me promise myself much pleasure, as well as profit and edification, in the perusal of the rest, and to bless God for raising up so able and bold a champion for His truth.

"The hymn you are pleased to express your approbation of was composed one night when I could not sleep, near twenty years ago. It contains an exact transcript of my own experience, but is not quite correct. I know not by what means it got into your hands; but however that was, I am sure you must love the unworthy author more for his grace than his poetry.

"I shall only repeat my thanks for the kind tokens of your regard; and though I can hardly promise myself the happiness of meeting you on this side the grave, yet, as I am persuaded we are both travelling to the same country, and as our views and prospects by the way are exactly similar, I doubt not but we shall soon meet before the throne, and there join in the same strain of divine poetry by singing, 'Worthy is the Lamb,' &c. &c. In this most comfortable assurance, I remain, Rev. and dear Sir, Yours most faithfully in the best of bonds,
 "London, Harley St.; Jan. 29th, 1787." "RICHD. HILL."

[NOTE.—Those of our readers who are interested in the great religious movement which took place in the days of Berridge, Toplady, and Rowland Hill, thirty years after the work began under the two Wesleys and Whitefield, will highly appreciate the letters we now publish. That of Mr. Ellis speaks for itself. He has very kindly, though a perfect stranger, intrusted us with the original letter of Sir Richard Hill, as well as with a copy of the very rare discourse preached by his grandfather. Sir Richard was the elder brother of Rowland Hill, and maintained, in parliament and in public life, the same holy and consistent character which his brother maintained in the pulpit, and in the whole of his ministry. Mr. Gib's sermon was preached "at the ordination of Mr. Thomas Beveridge to the office of the holy ministry upon a mission to North America, (Pennsylvania,) in 1783." Mr. Gib was evidently a man of deep piety and considerable learning; but his sermon is cast in that narrow mould within which this second school of revivalists thought it necessary to hamper the great truths of the Gospel. It is, in fact, a sermon on Election; the preaching of which he proves to be necessary under five heads. Then, under seven heads, he sets forth the mode of its application, "the manner in which Christ brings His sheep into His fold." He maintains that there is nothing in the doctrine of Election to interfere with man's free will; and amongst other cautions gives the following to a certain class of "*blasphemers*":—

"Such is the great doctrine of the free and sovereign grace of God in Election; such is the necessity and importance of preaching it. A doctrine which has a most favourable aspect upon all Christ's sheep; and an unfavourable aspect towards none within the Church, but such as are set upon going on still in their trespasses,—particularly, upon modern *Methodists*, blasphemers of this blessed doctrine. But free grace can even pluck blasphemers of it, as brands out of the fire."

Such was the wretched spirit in which controversy was then conducted. Mr. Gib is not complimentary either to the House of Commons. Indeed, the fault of these pious men was their want of courtesy. They certainly did not "honour all men." The world hated them, and they in return took no pains to disguise their contempt of the world. It was by no means so clear as it should have been in their writings, "that they loved the world that hated them;" and yet they were ready to lay down their lives for its salvation. For this they laboured, prayed, and wept.

"The tear that dropped upon their Bibles was sincere."

Our readers may like to hear the midnight muse of one who, besides other claims to the respect of this remote generation, was the father of the three heroes, Lord Hill and his two brothers—the Hills of Waterloo. We quote the verses from a note appended to the Sermon, together with their singular introduction:—

"The following Poem, said to have been composed from his own experience, by an English Member of the present British House of Commons, (Ah! how rare a bird in that climate!),—well deserves a place here.

"My guilty soul, how long beset
with terrors all around;
While law and justice claim'd their
debt,
And I no payment found.
In works and duties long I try'd
Some inward peace to find;
The more I strove, the more I cry'd,
Ah! much is left behind.

"My weary'd soul the task renew'd,
And fain the prize would win;
But when my righteous deeds I
view'd,

I found each deed was sin.
Now Sinai's thunders louder roll!
And sense declared me lost;
Distracting anguish seiz'd my soul,
And hope gave up the ghost.

"At length I heard the Gospel-sound;
A joyful sound to me!
JEHOVAH just may still be found,
And set th' ungodly free.

That precious blood which faith
applies,

In spite of hell and sin,
My guilty conscience pacifies,
And spreads sweet peace within.

"My spotless SAVIOUR liv'd for me!
On him my sins were laid;
In's rising from the tomb, I see
Each mite was fully paid.

Exalted now at God's right hand!
For me he intercedes;
The purchas'd Spirit doth demand
To answer all my needs.

"Say, dearest SHEPHERD! tell me, why
To me such mighty love?

That such a poor lost sheep as I
Such wond'rous graces should prove!
Reasons I seek, but seek in vain;
For none I'er shall know:
The deep, the searchless deep is
plain;

THAT GOD WOULD HAVE IT SO."

ON JONAH'S GREAT FISH.

To the Editor of the Christian Observer.

THE writer of the article on "The Great Fish," (Jonah i. 17,) in the No. for this month (November), is anxious to correct a mistake which he inadvertently fell into. Professor Owen was speaking of a shark, when he said that "the deglutition of a man would be easy to a large fish of that kind." He wrote, however, in the former part of the same letter, in which he expressed his opinion as above respecting the shark, as follows:—"The true whales (*Balæna*, *Balenoptera*) have very narrow gullets in proportion to their size, their food being small marine animals. The sperm whales have rather larger gullets, and, in the full-sized animal might dilate sufficiently to gorge a man." The Professor does not here appear to express any doubt about the matter. He goes on to say:—"A miraculous suspension of vital action for three days would enable him to pass so long a time in the mephitic gas and mucus of the stomach; and a concomitant miraculous suspension of the solvent action of the stomach of the whale might allow the torpid organism to resume respiration, &c., after being disgorged." With regard to these last observations, he seems to think or to assume that there must have been a suspension of active life in the prophet Jonah while he was in the whale's stomach—that he was in a torpid, unconscious state. But the Scripture narrative of the fact implies him to have been alive, and perfectly conscious. (Jonah ii. 1.) Nor does it require any greater exercise of faith on our part to believe this; nor is it in any degree more wonderful than that which is told us in Daniel iii., that Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed-nego walked in the midst of the burning fiery furnace, and received no hurt.

P.

DID ST. PAUL'S BOOKS, PARCHMENTS, AND CLOAK EVER ARRIVE AT ROME?

To the Editor of the Christian Observer.

DEAR MR. EDITOR.—When I wrote in your Numbers for September and December respecting St. Paul's books, parchments, and cloak, I intended only to show that a passage in an ancient manuscript may have conveyed more to a cotemporary than is discernible in after ages; and that therefore it is unreasonable for a scoffer to sneer at a text of the Bible because he cannot see its pertinency.

But as some reverend brethren seriously think it not improbable that the cloak left at Troas was the toga virilis, I would ask whether it is not likely that Timothy obeyed the earnest request of the Apostle when he said, "Do thy diligence to come to me," adding the direction about the books, cloak, and parchments; and whether the narrative in the last chapter of the Acts of the Apostles may not throw some light upon the matter? It is not necessary that I should touch upon controverted questions respecting the dates of St. Paul's travels, epistles, or imprisonments. I will only, as in my former papers, quote two or three passages, which the reader may dovetail, or otherwise, as he judges best. The Rev. J. Tate, in his "Continuous History of St. Paul," quotes Eusebius as saying, "Whereas the Apostle Peter was crucified, the Apostle of the Gentiles (as being a Roman citizen) was beheaded." The words, "being a Roman citizen," are Tate's interpolation; but they speak the current opinion of ecclesiastical historians ancient and modern, as to the alleged difference of the martyrdom of the two Apostles, and the reason for it. Even if St. Peter never was at Rome, the ancient inventors of the story express what would have been the Roman dealing with the two martyrs. Most readers of the last chapter of the Acts of the Apostles feel surprise that a prisoner sent for trial was treated with unusual indulgence; but this might naturally be accounted for if Timothy arrived with proofs of his citizenship. What was there to prevent the Apostle wearing the toga virilis in public, or in his own hired house, in assertion of his just claim not to be treated as a servile person?

But how about his being chained to a soldier; though perhaps that was only for a time? I will quote a few lines from Bishop Pretyman Tomline, that I may not seem to be unfairly parrying objections,—
 "Though a Roman citizen might not be bound with thongs by way of punishment, or in order to be scourged, yet he might be chained to a soldier, or kept in custody, if he were suspected of being guilty of any crime." I will also add a few lines from the Bishop to conclude the narrative:—

"It was the unanimous tradition of the Church, that St. Paul returned to Rome, that he underwent a second imprisonment there, and at last was put to death by the emperor Nero. Tacitus and Suetonius have mentioned a dreadful fire which happened at Rome in the time of Nero. It was believed, though probably without any reason, that the emperor himself was the author of that fire; but to remove the odium from himself, he chose to attribute it to the Christians; and, to give some colour to that unjust imputation, he persecuted them with the utmost cruelty. In this persecution Peter and Paul suffered martyrdom, probably in the year 65; and if we may credit Sulpicius Severus, a writer of the fifth century, the former was crucified, and the latter beheaded."

NOTICES OF NEW BOOKS.

The History of the Prayer Book. By the Rev. G. H. Stoddart, B.D. London: Longman, Green, and Co. 1864.—Few subjects have of late years so repeatedly engaged the attention of thoughtful members of the Church of England, as the question of the wisdom, not to say necessity, of some alterations and amendments in our Book of Common Prayer. To affirm that some portions of it are unexceptionable, and even sublime, while others are obsolete, or liable to misconstruction, and are in fact misapprehended, would be, we believe, but to express the convictions of the majority of the members of the Church of England. Ecclesiastical and national history seem alike to prove that the revision of a national book of devotions, venerable from age, must not be attempted inconsiderately, but with the utmost delicacy combined with sound judgment and discretion. Mr. Stoddart has written a little volume, entitled the History of the Prayer Book, which to the lay members of our Church will be of much value, inasmuch as it gives, in comparatively few pages, a correct general history of the Prayer Book; while the clergy can be scarcely less benefited by a perusal of it, from the calm and temperate manner in which it is drawn up, and the good spirit in which some alterations and amendments in a few of our present forms are suggested and discussed.

Theological students of former days were known as the *habitués* of old book-shops. Monday morning was the time, and pleasant were the greetings; but the expense was such as the clerical purse could ill afford. But a wonderful change has taken place, and never was the theological student able to store his library with valuable theology at less expense of time, or at so low a cost. The reprints are many of them admirable; and their cheapness is, as the booksellers say, "without parallel." "*Nichol's Series of Standard Divines, Puritan Period*," is now completed in twenty-one volumes; and the same enterprising publisher (Nichol, of Edinburgh; Nisbet, London) is now entering upon a series of Commentaries in the old-fashioned small or crown quarto. Of these, a *Commentary on the Epistle to the Colossians*, by Thomas Cartwright, father of the old Puritans, and another, by Airay, upon the *Holy Epistle of St. Paul to the Philippians*, are now published. Cartwright's book has long been very scarce; but it does not deserve in any degree to share the neglect into which his controversial writings have fallen. It is not superseded by what Bishop Davenant, or, in later days, Bishop Daniel Wilson, have written on the same Epistle; nor is the style antiquated. It may now be had, bound up with Dr. Airay's, for a few shillings. Airay, unlike Cartwright, did not separate himself from the National Church; these lectures, we are told, were delivered in St. Peter's Church, Oxford, "by the reverend and faithful servant of Christ, Henry Airay, D.D., and late Provost of Queens' College," 1618.

Our space forbids us to say more; and yet much more might well be said. Besides, an enterprising publisher, who places such a store of learning within the reach of every student, deserves encouragement. Instead of further criticism, we will conclude with an extract

from a Charge by the Venerable Henry Law, M.A., Archdeacon of Wells:—

"No common heroes in theologic learning issued from the cradle of the Reformation. Their best works now court perusal, reprinted at the lowest cost. (Nichol's Series of Standard Divines, Edinburgh.) Here students may glean copious variety of golden matter. Well do I know, that indiscretions, by all deplored, have linked their names with prejudice. They were not more than men, therefore they had man's failings. But these failings soil not their exegesis. As expositors, they are bright stars in the firmament of theology. They shine unrivalled in copious flood of idea—in breadth of range—in massiveness of mind—in piercing glance through the riches of a text—in acuteness to track the heart through tortuous windings—in skill to unmask self-deception—in aptness to probe conscience—in sweetness to apply the Gospel balm—in unction to depict redeeming love. Read, and you will not blame these commendations as excessive. Their style indeed may not suit modern taste. It is their own, not ours. But their pious stores are world long—for all ages,—may they be wealth to us."

Messrs. T. and T. Clark, of Edinburgh, have completed, in six volumes, *The Life of the Lord Jesus Christ. Translated from the German of J. P. Lange, D.D.; and edited by the Rev. Marcus Dods, M.A.*—We have noticed this work briefly in a former Number. We notice it again as a comprehensive and masterly production; the name of the English editor is an assurance to our readers that it is sound and evangelical. Of course we do not, nor would any upright critic, pledge ourselves to every opinion it expresses. It is a complete critical examination, as it professes to be, of the origin, contents, and connection of the Gospels. Its object is at once to refute the views of the Life of our Lord which have been propagated by negative criticism, and to substitute that consistent history which a truly scientific, enlightened, and incontrovertible criticism educes from the Gospels. It has received high praise from Bishop Ellicott, in his Lectures before the University of Cambridge. We must notice, in conclusion, a cheap library edition of the *Works of John Howe, by the Tract Society*. Howe is one of those writers who are more quoted than read; but he deserves to be often resorted to, though we confess he is but stiff reading. The essayist Foster, a dissenter, in his later days fell in with our Jeremy Taylor, and deliberately notes his preference of the latter to Howe in every respect. The comparison amuses us. They seem to have nothing in common. Both are great in their way; so are the lobster and the watercress; but the one crawls in the deep sea, and the other floats upon the surface of the sparkling brook; and it would perplex the wisest man to draw a comparison between them.

After all, there are excellent men amongst us, who profess, in the words of Savage the poet, "to read but one book, but that book the best." It always will be so, even with men of the highest education; men, too, of firm and even powerful minds. We venture to remind such, if in the ministry, that theology is not now what it was a quarter of a century ago. A mere acquaintance with our English translation will not suffice. Something of criticism, and something of Church history, must be understood. Thomas Scott was at least an honest commentator, and upright in controversy; but he knew nothing of the Synod of Dordt; he thought the Remonstrants had been the Calvinistic party. Dr. Whitaker, of Blackburn, still more lately, was a great divine at Cambridge; but he thought Eusebius the historian

was a heathen. Some of Simeon's criticisms would now provoke a smile; and High Churchmen are quite willing to let the divinity of their fathers of that day sleep in the dust. Without, then, what to some minds would be the *fatigue* of original research, there are now within their reach assistants which render some knowledge of the criticism of the New Testament so easy, that a want of it is unpardonable. Dr. Alford presents his Greek Testament in an English garb. Dr. Wordsworth's notes are equally accessible; and though we differ greatly from both these learned and able men on some important points, we cannot be insensible to their general merits as critical scholars.

The *Chronological New Testament according to the Authorised Version*, of which a *second edition* is just published, (*Simpkin and Co., and Longmans.*) will be of great assistance to the English reader as well as to the scholar, though we think the compiler has carried too far the discovery, if such it is, "made by Bishop Lowth, and more fully shown by Bishop Jebb," viz., that the discourses of our Lord and the writings of the Apostles are constructed after the style of the ancient prophets, that is, in parallelisms.

A Memorial Sketch of the Rev. Alexander McCaul, D.D. By the Rev. Joseph B. McCaul. London: Rivingtons. 1863.—This sketch of the life and labours of the late Dr. McCaul is written by his eldest son; and in a few pages the chief incidents and undertakings in the life of the late devoted missionary and scholar are succinctly recorded. The narrative before us is indeed but a sketch; and although we confess our strong disinclination to long biographies of men who, however estimable, have never shown either remarkable self-devotion or extraordinary ability, yet in the present instance we cannot but express a wish that at some future time a fuller biography of Dr. McCaul may appear. Here, however, are set down a few of the incidents of a very honourable and useful career.

By the Christian public Dr. McCaul was for many years highly valued for his services in evangelizing the Jews: their conversion was, in fact, the main object of his life; and the proficiency he attained as a Hebrew scholar, combined with his peculiar knowledge of the mind and genius of the Jewish race, were the means, under God, of contributing greatly to his success among them as a minister of Christ.

Highly gifted both as a linguist and a mathematician, and with a bright future before him, he, when quite a young man, relinquished all thought of earthly fame. For several years he laboured abroad as a missionary, chiefly among the Polish Jews; often for weeks together enduring great hardships and subsisting upon the coarsest food.

As an author Dr. McCaul was well known; and the last production of his pen, "An Examination of Bishop Colenso's Difficulties with regard to the Pentateuch, and some reasons for believing in its authenticity and Divine origin," made his name familiar in many Christian homes. So great was the demand for this work, that a second edition was put in hand three days after the first appearance of the book, and we are glad to learn that up to the present time several thousand copies of it have been distributed. This was the final effort of his long and arduous life. In November, 1863, he passed from us, with these touching words upon his lips:—"When

he was yet a great way off, his father saw him, and had compassion, and ran, and fell on his neck, and kissed him."

Memoirs of the Life and Ministry of the Rev. Thomas Raffles, D.D., LL.D., &c. By Thomas Stamford Raffles, Esq., Barrister-at-Law, Stipendiary Magistrate of the Borough of Liverpool. London: Jackson & Co.—This Memoir, like the preceding one of Dr. McCaul, is written by a son of the deceased. It possesses the fault, so common to family biographies, of entering into long and (to the public) tedious description of the private life of the subject of the memoir; details which can offer but little interest to any except his own intimate acquaintance. That Dr. Raffles was a good, kind, Christian man, no one would think of disputing. He was an eloquent preacher: but his life was devoid of incident. We do not perceive any of those remarkable indications of talent, or striking acts of self-denial, which were so conspicuous in the life of the late Dr. McCaul. Dr. Raffles was of a social, genial disposition, fond of society and of literature, and his continental tours afforded him much pleasure; but at the same time, notwithstanding his appreciation of art and literature, we are not aware that he ever displayed any remarkable literary ability. —The son of a solicitor, he was born in London, and at an early age became a dissenting minister, his mother being a Wesleyan Methodist; for half a century he spent at Liverpool a useful and honourable and Christian life, and there, in the August of last year, he closed his days, revered and loved by very many; and followed to his grave by sorrowing friends, among whom not a few were Churchmen and the clergy; for his spirit was catholic, and amongst Churchmen he had many friends.

Steps and Stages on the Road to Glory. By the Author of "God is Love," &c. &c. London: Virtue. 1864.—This popular author does not always do justice to his works in the titles he selects for them. We have felt this in one or two former cases, but never so strongly as in the present one. Few persons, we imagine, who read this title-page, "Steps and Stages on the Road to Glory," will draw from it any idea of the richness of the subjects selected for contemplation. The opening chapter, indeed, on "the Heavenward Journey," is quite in agreement with the general designation; but almost instantly the author rises to the highest of all topics,—the words and actions of Immanuel—the footsteps of the Lord Jesus. The second, third, fourth, and fifth chapters are devoted to "the Beatitudes and Benedictions of our Lord." The sixth and seventh are occupied with "the New Commandment." Then follow, "the Tears of Jesus"—"the Prayer of Jesus"—"the Dying Bequest of our Lord"—"the Paradoxes of Scripture"—and only in the last do we return to "the Heavenward Journey." Thus, the repast actually provided far exceeds anything that the bill of fare, as given in the title-page, would lead any one to expect. In truth, the topics handled are among the choicest and best that the whole Word of God contains. As to the manner in which they are handled, it cannot be needful for us to say anything. A succession of works, all passing through several editions, places the author above the need of our praise.

Treading in the path of Romaine, of Newton, and of Scott, there is one respect in which his language and turn of thought differ from much of the theological writing of the present day. Like those valued

instructors of the Church, he generally speaks of this world as a place which believers finally leave at their death, removing then to some far distant scene, called heaven,—there to be “for ever with the Lord.” Now, we do not wish, in this brief notice, to assume anything, or to decide anything, on these subjects; but we cannot shut our eyes to the fact, that the theological studies of the last thirty years have tended to bring into notice such passages as that in Rev. v. 10, “We shall reign on the earth,” and xxi. 3, “The tabernacle of God is with men, and He will dwell with them,”—and a multitude of others, agreeing with the third Beatitude, “Blessed are the meek, for they shall inherit the earth,”—a beatitude which would have no meaning with reference to all the “meek” who have yet lived, if they have finally left this world, and shall see it no more. We are far from wishing to dogmatize on this subject; but we would try never to forget the closing chapters of the four great prophets, Isaiah, Ezekiel, Daniel, and St. John, all of whom speak plainly of mighty deeds to be done “upon the earth.” In this respect, a change is taking place, and the language of the great writers of the last century is passing away, and falling into disuse.

PUBLIC AFFAIRS.

THE year opens under brighter auspices. A year ago, it seemed very doubtful whether peace could be preserved, and whether we should not suffer severely from the continued blockade of the Southern States of America, and from the continuance of the American war. We were hopeful on both questions; and we have now gratefully to acknowledge the goodness of God towards our country. The Danish war has come to a close, and the enemies of Denmark have had their triumph. This for the present seems to have cooled the temperature of the continental states, and brought them to a more peaceful state than they have displayed for some years past. True, all this may be suddenly reversed; for there are several quarters full of explosive elements. Poland is subdued, but Italy is dangerous; and the pope, as usual, is the centre of disturbance. Within two years, the French troops evacuate Rome, and the subjects of his holiness count the days just like impatient school-boys as their holidays draw near. The walls of Rome, not long ago, were chalked with the mysterious number 740; the vigilance of the pope's police was roused; it is said that terror took the place of reason in the pope's councils, and the walls of the city were purged with brush and broom. The next day the mystic number was 739, which increased the alarm, and found fresh employment for the pope's scavengers. On the third day the mysterious figuration was 738; but by this time light began to break in upon the pope and his cardinals; they discovered that these were the number of days which intervened till the withdrawal of the French troops should give his dutiful subjects the long wished for opportunity of striking for the freedom of Rome!

Nor is the spiritual condition of the pope much more enviable. Fourteen hundred of his clergy, probably by this time a much larger

number, have joined in a declaration that they intend no longer to submit blindly to his authority. It is evident that a crisis approaches; and it is one which, as Christians and Protestants, with our Bibles open before us, we regard with the utmost hopefulness. The man of sin trembles on his throne; and if the sure word of prophecy teaches any thing with regard to which we ought to take heed, it is that these are the precursors of still greater events, and that the time is drawing near.

In the East, affairs wear a brighter aspect. Our ambassador at Constantinople had not defended the Christian mission as he should have done. The Bible was suppressed, and those excellent men, the American missionaries, were silenced and insulted. Earl Russell has recalled our ambassador to a sense of his duty with becoming spirit. His letter concludes thus:—"Her Majesty's Government instruct you, therefore, besides those measures in regard to places of worship, shops for the sale of books, and Turkish converts, which you have already advised, to urge the Turkish government to allow the free distribution of the Bible by means of travellers or hawkers employed by the Bible Society, or other British subjects, as an essential and indispensable part of religious liberty guaranteed by the Hatti Humayoun, and confirmed by the practice of many years."

The New Zealand war with the natives has broken out afresh. It is a painful subject to those who have traced the New Zealand mission from its infancy, accompanied it through all its trials, and triumphed in its wonderful success. The war originated in the avarice and injustice of our settlers, but the Maories have become acquainted with the secret of their own power. In their own way of fighting, among ferns and swamps and well fortified paha, they have proved more than a match for their opponents. There are 10,000 English troops opposed to them, and they will no doubt be crushed at last. But at the last accounts they were in active rebellion, and even the native converts have joined their countrymen. They have had but too much reason. A native Christian was exhorted by a missionary to look upwards, and seek help from God; "Yes," said the New Zealander, "and whilst we are looking up to God, you are looking down to the earth, and plundering us of our land." In these few words the whole story is told.

It is, and always has been, the great fault of England to disregard the complaints of her Colonies, until, having refused moderate concessions, they are obliged to concede even what is most unreasonable. In Australia, we have contrived to provoke a serious ill feeling by our obstinate determination to make its eastern coast a convict settlement. The remonstrances of Melbourne and Sydney have been treated with indifference, except that they were assured that the convict settlements were so remote that they could not be injured by the introduction of the worst of our criminals into their vast island, or rather continent. Upon this point, however, they had come to a very different conclusion; and we believe that they were right; but right or wrong, our Government ought to have seen that they were too powerful to be trifled with. Their convictions were deep. They anticipate with confidence the time when railways shall gird the coast, and when the distance of a thousand miles will be insignificant, and they have determined that a convict population shall not poison

their social life. Those who have read the biography of Samuel Marsden will feel no surprise. However, at the last hour, our Government has wisely given way, and we hope the loyalty of New South Wales and Victoria is not seriously disturbed; only they feel that a concession, which a year ago would have been received as a favour, has now been enforced upon the mother country by her angry colonists.

In Canada, a feeling of loyalty, and of warm affection to the mother country, prevails. We trust it will be cultivated on both sides. The dreadful state of the American republic has given a warning to Canada, which she has not despised. She has drawn up a Constitution for herself, thoroughly English in spirit, and well worthy of a great nation such as Canada has already become. We hope the day is far distant, when anything shall occur to interfere with the perfect good feeling that exists on both sides.

Politicians at home are furbishing their armour for another parliamentary campaign. They are hardly beset for want of a political cry. So Parliamentary reform is to be the word. But neither itinerating M.P.'s, nor newspapers sorely wanting materials and glad to seize upon the topic of the day, have been able to invest it with importance. Does the House of Commons fairly represent the deliberate judgment of the English people? This is the only question deserving of consideration.

Dr. Colenso protests against the assumed authority of the bishop of Cape Town, and makes his appeal to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. His cause has now been heard for several days, but is not yet concluded. However unfit Dr. Colenso is to be a bishop, we cannot persuade ourselves at present, that the bishop of Cape Town has the right to supersede him; and no immediate good ought to reconcile us to an over-straining of the power of colonial bishops, or indeed of any judicial functionary. It is very certain that no such power was ever meant to be deposited with any of our colonial bishops. It is a question with many civilians whether it is possessed by our own archbishops at home; and we are not to do evil that good may come.

The strike of the South Staffordshire colliers is at an end. They have gained nothing; but their loss in wages only, amounts to £70,000. The hardships they have suffered, and the still greater privations of their families, are such as we shall not attempt to describe. Their moral degradation, too, has, we are afraid, kept pace with their distresses. Their leaders, in their unlawful attempt to compel others to join with them and abandon their work, have been punished, though not severely. The poor fellows had real grievances, though they themselves were scarcely aware of the real nature of them. They felt that they were harshly used; but, like men suffering under some severe complaint—they know not what, but that it is breaking them down—they sought relief in a mode of treatment which aggravated the disease. They have been denied all moral culture. Their employers, as a body, have neither built them churches, nor sent them clergymen and Scripture readers, nor established schools for their children; consequently they are vicious and ignorant, their own enemies, and the enemies of their employers. Yet are they a noble race of men, and capable of vast improvement. This has been proved in the parish or district of Kidsgrove, in North Staffordshire,

where the proprietor built a church and placed a zealous minister; with schools for the children of his colliers. In the course of thirty years the face of the parish has entirely changed; it is now one of the most orderly in the whole county, and in all respects a model to the neighbourhood.

Judge Byles suggested from the Bench, on the trial of these men at Stafford, that a court of justice should be legally constituted which should have power to arbitrate between masters and workmen upon all differences that might arise on either side; that such arbitration should be final, and that strikes on the one side, and peremptory changes on the other, should be made unlawful: the courts being so constituted as to be equally satisfactory to the men and to their employers. It was only a suggestion, thrown out with a modest apology by the learned judge; but it deserves serious consideration. All England is struck with admiration at the noble forbearance of the Manchester cotton-spinners; and to what is it owing? To the Short Hours' Bill of Lord Shaftesbury, with its attendant schools, and to the moral and spiritual instruction which followed in its train. The Christian minister was listened to, when the soreness of want and the sense of oppression were relieved. Here a great field for the philanthropist lies open. Missions, and other works which have in view the spiritual good of the heathen, will not suffer because more attention is paid to our half-heathen population at home. Our neglect of our own countrymen has been very culpable. "These things ought we to have done, but not to have left the other undone;" but the subject can no longer be allowed to slumber.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

"NEMO," under which signature many of our readers will recognise a former Editor, in whose time the Christian Observer was conducted with eminent success, has favoured us with some confidential letters to himself from Mr. Zachary Macaulay, our first Editor, when he himself was young in the work. One sentence we shall venture to extract without note or comment. "Such paltry productions as —, when coming from our own friends, it would be much better to permit to sink into oblivion. We discredit ourselves by bemoaning them, and do them no good. We cannot raise such works into notice, while we sacrifice to a feeling of kindness to them our own claim to the character of impartiality. But I will talk more on the subject when we meet. *I know your difficulties, I have experienced them.* (So in original.) And I feel fully the arduous and invidious task you have to perform."

A SUBSCRIBER writes to call our attention "to a certain inaccuracy and carelessness in our late numbers, as if the writers were scribbling without knowledge." The only instance he produces of the least importance in proof of this harsh censure (for there are two others which, even if he be correct, are the merest oversight, such as all writers are liable to) is thus expressed. "In the same (November) number, some stories of licentious conduct in monastic institutions are repeated on the authority of a Roman Catholic writer of the fourteenth century, named Balæus. This is a blunder for Bale, the Protestant bishop of Ossory in the sixteenth century, a person of foul imagination, a selection from whose more decent writings has been published by the Parker Society."

Now as we purposely abstained from giving either the verses themselves, or our authority for them, we shall be glad to know by what means our censor has discovered the "blunder" of which he complains. We believe the blunder lies on his side, not ours. We refer those of our readers who wish for further information on the subject, to *Emiliennes' Hist. of the Monastic Orders*. It is a very scarce work, and we cannot now turn to it.

"Z.," just received, in our next; as well as Mr. Carr's letter.

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THE STATE OF THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH IN ITALY.

THERE is a wide-spread desire in this country to promote, in some way or other, a religious reformation in Italy; but the knowledge of the materials on which to work in such a cause is very limited. There is some difficulty in collecting facts. Religious questions are involved in the political; access to the interior of Italian society is denied to strangers; and few English travellers do more than cast a hurried glance at the surface, and often form their opinions from insufficient observation. There is ample room, therefore, in this field of inquiry, for any contributions which may add to the scanty stock of knowledge for ascertaining the real condition of religion in Italy. The following statements go over a period which may be considered the most eventful in the history of the Italian kingdom, that is, from the year 1861 to the present time. But in order to understand the present, it is necessary to learn something of the past.

STATISTICS.

The Cavaliere Nigra, Secretary of State during the regency of the prince Carignano in the ex-kingdom of Naples, gives the following return as to the number and resources of the clergy of that country. There are between 10,000 and 11,000 mendicant friars, who, although having nothing and under vows of poverty, possess an annual revenue of 38,000 francs. The monks, not mendicant, are about 3840; they are recognized possessors of a revenue of 1,940,011 francs, their real revenue exceeding 2,000,000 francs, or £80,000. The nuns of the city of Naples alone belong to 13 different orders, and they possess 24 monasteries, tenanted by about 1495 persons; in the whole kingdom there are 250 nunneries, containing 5000 souls, and enjoying a revenue of 2,000,000 francs. The population of the

kingdom is 6,500,000. It forms 20 archbishoprics, and 77 bishoprics. The revenue is 1,956,219 fr., which gives to each prelate an average payment of 20,171 fr., or £800. They all have residences and fees at discretion, and many of them hold additional preferment. The Neapolitan bishops, in proportion to the population, are six times more numerous than those of France. The whole of the clergy, secular and regular, is estimated at an army of 40,000; they have acknowledged to a revenue of 6,000,000 of francs, but the Government did not succeed in getting an account of the ecclesiastical revenues, except to a certain extent. It is supposed that 12,000,000 fr., that is, £480,000 per annum, is the real revenue of the Neapolitan clergy.

The Educational Statistics, as officially published by Luigi Settembrini, the Delegate Minister of Public Instruction at Naples, show that there are 1845 communities, of which 816 are destitute of any school or means of instruction whatever. The numbers who get any education at all, are 39,884 males, and 27,547 females, total 67,431; which, out of a population of 6,500,000, will give one out of every 100 inhabitants receiving any kind of instruction whatever. The highest salary of a schoolmaster or mistress is 120 ducats = £19. 14s.; the lowest, 2½ ducats = 8s.; the average is 18 ducats = £2. 18s. per annum. The whole sum spent on public instruction, in the Neapolitan territory, amounts to about £20,000. It is obvious that, in this fair region, teachers' certificates have but little money value, and must have been for some time under the operation of a "Revised Code." Count Cavour is said to have left a large portion of his fortune for schools, impressed no doubt with the importance of extending education, for the better security of liberty itself. But in the north of Italy there is a more favourable state of things. In Lombardy, *e. g.*, from 30 to 40 in 100 can read; in Piedmont, from 20 to 30 in 100; in Tuscany, from 10 to 20; and in the districts around Rome, not 1 in 100. It may be safely affirmed that, out of the 22,000,000 of Italians, you would not get 2,000,000, of all classes and ages, who would pass in the simplest elements of reading, writing, and arithmetic; 20,000,000 are dependent upon oral teaching, and oral teaching is dependent on the priests.

THE PRIESTS—PADRE LUIGI PROTA.

In order to ascertain the present feeling of the Italian clergy, we must have recourse to certain types, or representatives of the different classes, who have expressed their opinions through a free press. But it is to be observed that the distinctive differences of character, and the idiosyncracies of the several old States, are in no way touched by the recent

political union. The clergy of Naples must furnish their type from themselves. The Roman clergy cannot be represented by a Neapolitan; nor the Piedmontese, or the Lombards, by one of their order from central Italy; and much less can we generalize the opinions and feelings of the various monastic orders. It is not a little remarkable that the open manifestations of the clergy in Italy should have come from Naples, and the southern part of the Peninsula. A large section of the Neapolitan clergy is represented, in their views of the temporal dominion of the Pope, by the Padre Luigi Prota. This portly Dominican friar walks in the Toledo, in his flowing white robe, and is respectfully greeted by his many admirers. In 1861, he attracted great crowds to his preaching, in which, in no measured terms, he denounced the existing state of Rome. The following is a specimen of his language and opinions:—"Yes, verily, Rome with the pope-king will always be the central point of all the dissolving and corrodent elements of our national unity; and gradually, as our political national existence is developed, there will be developed with it the poisonous germs of its premature death. And how is it possible that it should be otherwise, when Rome at the present day, as in time past, presents to us the frightful aspect of a pit of hell (*bolgia d'inferno*) from whence the demon of discord, and spirit of falsehood, of destruction, and of disorder, extends his dominion over the whole of our afflicted provinces, and fans the devouring fire of fraternal hatreds and civil wars, arming with the parricidal dagger the hand of those who ought do nothing but forgive and bless? How shall Italy ever become a nation, if in Papal Rome those can find an asylum and protection, who would destroy 20,000,000 of lives at a single blow, without shedding a tear of compassion, or feeling a single touch of humanity, at the astounding sight of our secular misfortunes?" &c.

It must not, however, be supposed that this eloquent friar, who thus thunders out his patriotic indignation against the temporal policy of Rome, has lost any of his former reverence for the holy see. He is as strong as ever in his attachment to "the Catholic faith," and will, as devoutly as before, kiss the feet of the holy Father. And in this he represents thousands of the priests and friars of Italy. The Padre Prota firmly believes that the loss of the Pope's temporal dominion will be the greatest gain to the Church, and never dreams of any dogmatic reforms, or any change in the hierarchy of Rome. Many of the priests in every part of Italy, as well as pious laymen, have come to the conclusion that the Church can only be saved in Italy by the abdication of the Pope's temporal dominion. But when that is done, they believe the Church will assume such power, and acquire such an increase of

spiritual dominion, as will amply recompense the supreme Pontiff for the loss of his kingdom of this world. In a pamphlet of 120 pages, the Padre Prota has expressed the thoughts and feelings of 400 priests at Naples—now swelled, it is said, to more than 3000—upon the future glory of the Church. The pamphlet is entitled “Rome, the Capital of the Italian Nation and Catholic Interests;” published at Naples, 1861.* The eloquent Dominican defends and maintains the sacred and inviolable rights which belong to the Catholic Church as a society. Italians recognize in the Roman Pontiff the successor of St. Peter, and the representative of Him who founded Christianity, and is of it the invisible Head. The liberty of the Church will be secure, because the national government of Italy has pledged itself, in the sight of God and of men, to leave her all she ever had before the Popes became kings. The propagation of her faith will be secured; because the Church, having full and complete liberty in the exercise of her spiritual power, and the Italian nation being able to dispose of great material resources, the diffusion of Catholic ideas will acquire a celerity and importance such as were never known in the annals of Catholicism. “Yes,” he adds, “then our Italian missionaries, conveyed to the most distant points of the globe by our formidable fleets, will be able, beyond all former example, under the protection of the national flag, to announce the glad tidings to all nations.” Whether all this will be the result of this first reform of the Papacy, may be with us a matter of opinion; but the belief of this increase of spiritual dominion is rapidly spreading through the whole of the peninsula. The partisans of the temporal sovereignty maintained by a foreign force are gradually diminishing in number, and the adherents to the Spiritual theory are daily becoming more enthusiastic. The effect of this state of things is the increasing unpopularity of the higher order of the clergy, especially at Rome; and religion itself comes to be considered as opposed to the liberties of Italy. The statesmen at Turin declare that the Catholic Church is suffering every day from the non-settlement of the Roman question. The section of the Confederate clergy, represented by these ideas of Luigi Prota, have no intention to effect a religious reformation. They may advance in their career of liberalism, and finally entangle themselves in questions of a more religious complexion; but at present they have no idea of dogmatic reform. But there is another large section which goes much further, and in spiritual matters also threatens the unity of the Church. These are headed at Naples by the priests Zaccaro and Miella, two men of intelligence and character. This party is con-

* Motto, “Why tempt ye me, ye hypocrites?” &c.

tinually receiving acquisitions from the provinces, as appears from a programme issued by a dignitary of the Church from the neighbourhood of Salerno.

This programme of Church reform professes to deal with discipline only; but we cannot but observe how nearly it passes the border which separates discipline from doctrine, and how ill the Romish doctrine concerning purgatory, pardons, &c., would fare, if once in the hands of the priest of Salerno. It cannot be a matter of surprise, that several priests have sought to escape altogether from officiating at an altar they no longer reverence, and have taken refuge among the *Evangelici*, offering their services as schoolmasters, or for any other employment as teachers, for a piece of bread. Two have gone from Naples, and been received, after a strict examination, into the Waldensian College at Florence. It does not properly belong to this subject to give any account of the various efforts (some of them very desultory) which are making in Italy to introduc  and commend to the ill-affected members of the Roman Catholic Church a purer and more scriptural system of Christian doctrine and practice; but it is at least indirect information on the present state of the Roman Catholic Church in Italy to know how, in the course of one year at Naples, the exclusive privileges of that Church have been invaded by the change of feeling among the people themselves. In this great city, where the very oppression of thought seems to have prepared a recoil, meetings for religious discussion over Diodati's Bible have assumed the character of worshipping assemblies. It is surprising to find, all on a sudden, so much moral energy displayed among a people known only for the indolence of their character and the indifference with which they regarded everything of a spiritual nature; in a society, too, which, in the daily course of active life, and amidst the noise and tumult of a city which had no parallel on earth, showed no eagerness for anything but for the daily supply of macaroni or the indulgence of idle passion and a coarse fetichism, until the recent purging of those inimitable streets. The description which Forsyth made of them and the people fifty years ago, was strictly true. "If Naples be 'a paradise inhabited by devils,' it is certain they are merry ones. Even the lowest class enjoy every blessing that can make the animal happy—a delicious climate, high spirits, a facility of satisfying every appetite, a conscience which gives no pain, a convenient ignorance of their duty, and a Church which ensures heaven to every ruffian who has faith. Here tatters are no misery, for the climate requires little covering; filth is not misery to them who are born to it; and a few fingerings of macaroni wind up the rattling machine for the day. They are, perhaps, the only people on earth that do not pretend to virtue." What has

passed since the expulsion of the old dynasty shows that all this was not so much the fault of the people as that of an ignorant government and a degraded religion. In some of those religious meetings of which we have spoken, priests, students, physicians, and lawyers come to hear and ask questions. Fanaticism and unbelief are found side by side. These meetings, where the Scriptures answer all questions, have become, to the hundreds who attend them, of the deepest interest, and are extending their proportions more and more. And such is the freedom of the press in Naples, that those meetings are publicly announced by placards in the streets, as conspicuous as those which advertise the sermons in Exeter Hall or the Victoria Theatre. But there is something which is yet more surprising for Naples, *i.e.*, the opening of "a Christian Evangelical School;" so it is written above the entrance in one of the most public thoroughfares. It was opened in 1860 with six scholars, then fifteen, then thirty, and now more than sixty attend it daily; and one of the Association priests assists as teacher. These young children, naturally quick and intelligent, attend their school with equal delight to themselves and their parents, who risk the indignation of the priest and St. Januarius; and those who knew Naples in other days would be astonished to meet the untutored offspring of the fishermen of Santa Lucia and the Mergellina transformed into rational beings and goodly children. The non-Catholic religious communities previously existing at Naples were forced to remain in obscurity. Even the rites of the Anglican Church could only be performed under the roof of a consular establishment. Twice in the course of the last twenty-five years, the attempt to build an English church was frustrated by the interference of the Archbishop of Naples; but now such interference, though strenuously exerted by the same authority, has proved useless. The site which the dictator Garibaldi decreed for an English church has been, after much interruption, finally secured, and the building nearly finished. The German Lutherans, and community of French Protestants, with members of other reformed churches of the north of Europe, forming altogether a body of 700 residents at Naples, have hitherto held their worship in a dark incommodious house under the protection of the Prussian government, which has also borne the expense of the schools for German and French-speaking children, with a pastor for each; but now that community has come forth from its obscure abode, and issued its prospectus for erecting a suitable church, no man publicly forbidding them. It is a further marked sign of the altered tone of the population, that they will not only endure, but rather favour, the Italians meeting for a non-Roman worship in several parts of Naples. We say nothing more upon these facts, than that they manifest a great revolu-

tion in the proverbially bigoted mind of a Neapolitan populace, and consequently indicate the loosening of the cords by which they were spell-bound to an effete superstition. The most remarkable document that has been publicly issued since the annexation of the Two Sicilies to the Italian kingdom, has proceeded from the central committee of an association of priests of the south of Italy. This is called "*Associazione di Mutuo Soccorso degli Ecclesiastici*," which, perhaps, we may translate by a Clerical Defence Society or Church Union. The most portentous document which has gone out from this body of neo-Protestants, signed it is said by 6000 names, is an affectionate remonstrance with the Pope for standing in the way of Italian unity. The address was headed, "The Union Clerico-Liberal Italian of the Central Committee resident in Naples, to His Holiness Pope Pius IX., Grace, mercy, and peace," &c. This epistle has no resemblance to that of St. Paul to the Romans of his day. Although there are some striking and eloquent passages in it, it rises no higher than the temporal accidents of spiritual things, and the political accidents of ecclesiastical abuses. "Holy Father," they say, "we tell you, weeping, the faith is in danger; and in order to save it, there remains no other way than to unload the Apostolic ship of the ponderous cargo of the elements of the world, which threatens to sink it; and we pray you to begin with throwing overboard your temporal principality." "Supreme and solemn Master in Divinity," they further say to the Pope, "we will be bold to call you back to the irrefragable and abundant testimonies of the Gospel, and to the books of the holy fathers and doctors, and so separate the pure wheat from the tares of human tradition." They plead for the reconciliation of these two things—Catholic unity, and political national unity; and this they maintain it is in the power of Pius IX. to effect. "A word from the oracular lips of the High Priest," they poetically affirm, "will cause to twinkle from the pinnacles of Zion the morning stars of other days, full of truth for the lasting prospects of religious and civil grandeur." They fortify their arguments by numerous quotations of Scripture, the result, probably, of a copious distribution and sale of Italian Bibles. They declare they are profoundly Catholic in heart and mind, and even by virtue of a patriotic feeling. They are priests of the God-man, and never to be separated from the real one true Catholic Church. They deprecate heresy, in whatever form it may appear; and they say, if the Holy Father could see how impiety and heresy are coming in like a flood through the door of sacerdotal corruption, and taking advantage of the fatal dissent between the higher and lower orders of the clergy, poisoning the consciences of the faithful, His Holiness would at once awake to the danger which

hangs over the Church in Italy. Such are some of the sentiments expressed in this remarkable document, which, however, probably never reached the hands of Pope Pius IX. It contained references to the Holy Scriptures, in not fewer than fifty places; the Councils of the first four centuries, and the early Fathers of the Church, only cited as authorities; the absence of all invocation or mention of the Blessed Virgin and the saints: the vindication of the independence of the Episcopate over the ultramontane doctrine of a spiritual and universal dominion by Divine right vested in one supreme Pontiff. Another thing we observe is the insuperable barrier which is raised between the higher and the inferior clergy, and, we may add, between the secular clergy and the people. This may well be the case, if these awful words, which it was intended the Pope should read, be true:—"See the holy ministrations of the Church, her heavenly consolations, her most august and solemn rites, become an object of sacrilegious speculations; yes, the sacrilegious sale of prebendaries, indulgences, dispensations of rules of discipline, of benedictions, of sacraments, and of masses, and above all, the monstrous tariffs for funerals, so degrading to the poor in presence of the Cross; the complaint is become so universal, that, in the low language of the streets, 'the Church has become synonymous with *the shop*.' Again, see the sacred pulpit converted into a stage, from which is preached rebellion to constituted national authorities; and what is worse, see the tribunes of grace and absolution" (they mean the confessionals) "turned into dens of dark intrigue; and there are those who have so far abused an institution so sacred and so pious, as to make it an engine of police, where the pardon of God is promised to the penitent to-day in order that he may be given up to the executioner on the morrow." "We hope," they add, "that we shall not be driven to prove the facts by producing evidence of this most painful assertion."

But there is another subject which, more than any other, would reveal to us the present state of the Church in Italy—the moral condition of the clergy. Perhaps next to Gioberti, no man has exercised a greater influence over modern Italy than Tommaseo. The frightful picture which he has drawn of the degradation of the Italian clergy, in his book entitled "Rome and the World," we should not like to present to our readers. The Church of Italy no doubt contains men who minister at her altars as sincere, as devoted to their creed, and as unblameable in life, as in any other national Church; but it must be confessed they are the exceptions, and not the rule; and the priests of Southern Italy at least, who so energetically denounce heresy in doctrine, have yet to learn that the worst of all heresies is an immoral life. It would indeed be grievous if we could not produce a type of a better class of the sacerdotal

order than those which have been so unsparingly exposed by the pen of Tommaseo. A priest more sincerely devout, a writer of greater classical purity, an educationist more enlightened than the Abbè Lambruschini, is rarely to be found. No man in recent times has appeared in Italy more adapted to exercise a powerful and salutary influence upon his fellow countrymen. His name is still mentioned with reverence throughout the Peninsula, although it is but little known beyond the Alps. He was the nephew of the Cardinal of that name, so well known for the unbending absolutism of his opinions. At an early period the Abbè Lambruschini devoted his energies, not to politics, but to the moral regeneration of his country. His earliest writings are to be found in the *Antilogia*, and in the journal *La Patrie*. His work on education is at once religious and philosophical; his Christianity is Scriptural and positive. "The religion," says Gioberti to him, "which you preach is that which I endeavour to profess. You are an authority for us all; you are the teacher of the clergy in that difficult subject." And what were the principles of Lambruschini, who was never accused of heterodoxy by his brethren? "Woe to us!" he exclaims, "woe to our poor people, if ever they come to be persuaded that the precious deposit of the Revelations of God, which commenced with Adam and were completed in Christ, are superfluous, and that they may either be studied or left alone." He speaks of the doctrines and consolations of that revealed religion which is of no climate, or people, or time; but which is the religion of all places, and of all times, and of all peoples, because it is the Word of God. Great things might have been expected of an Italian ecclesiastic so enlightened, especially when we read his programme of a religious reformation:—"The foundation," he says, "of a political reform must be a religious reformation, not of words but of deeds; a great reform, sincere, complete, such as people have never yet wished for or imagined." We might think we have here a Luther or a Wickliffe, but in fact we have an Erasmus. When Lambruschini took his place in the Tuscan Parliament, it was soon seen that his pious intentions, and his zeal for a reformation of Catholicism, aimed only at the regeneration of individuals rather than the reform of institutions. Lambruschini, preserving his Christian character to the last, imagined there might be a peaceful reformation from within by the spiritualization of individuals, until the whole was leavened—a transfiguration of Catholicism rather than a reformation of religion. We cannot but admire men of this stamp, who have risen up in every age of the Church, who would not for the world "rend the bosom of their mother;" but they have never succeeded in persuading her to change her garments; their voice was lost in the desert. Rome easily

stified them one after another, or else chained them to her triumphant chariot. Neither the Catholicism of Bossuet, nor the spiritualism of Fénelon, nor that of Port Royal, have preserved the Gallican Church, for instance, from the miracle of La Salette ; nor has Lambruschini, and the gentle spirits like him, preserved the Italian Church from the Immaculate Conception ; from the canonization of Joseph Labre, the mendicant in filth ; nor from the excesses of Mariolatry. If there is to be a reformation of religion in Italy, its present Catholicism must be assailed from without ; it is in its principle that it must be attacked, and the Reformer for Italy has not yet appeared in the midst of her social and political revolutions. It is in the Piedmontese dominions of Victor Emmanuel, where the clergy, high and low, are most determinedly opposed to the new order of things, and who unanimously refused to chant a *Te Deum* on the anniversary of Italy's political emancipation. The attempt of three ex-priests to establish a Reformed National Church with the Anglican Liturgy in Turin, withered in an hour before the Circular to the Parish Priests of the Vicar-General in 1862. The clergy are eminently ultramontane ; the existing generation, like the king himself, is the religious production of the disciples of Ignatius, and they are faithfully represented by the ultramontane journals, which sneer at the attempts of the Waldenses and foreigners, with all their profusion of bribes and scattering of English gold, to convert the souls of the faithful to the doctrines of Calvin and Luther.

But in Lombardy there is a decided tendency among the priests to Jansenism ; and for some years before the annexation of their province to Piedmont, this was a great source of uneasiness to Rome. The students at some of the universities were allowed to study Paolo Sarpi, and other books dangerous to the absolutism of the Church of Rome ; and last year this disposition to think for themselves was manifested by the whole of the Chapter of Milan Cathedral, which, contrary to the express order of the Archbishop, sang their *Te Deum* on the national festival of Italian liberty. Central Italy follows Piedmont in its relations and attachment to Rome ; not so Lombardy ; while in the Romagna, and almost up to the very gates of Rome, the spirit of revolt is cherished against the existing order of things, spiritual and temporal ; and Pontifical allocutions serve only to pour oil upon the flames which are fast approaching the Flaminian Gate. In the provincial towns and rural districts of Tuscany, where civil liberty has taken its deepest roots in the people's mind, there is the least disposition to any change of religion. In Leghorn, the power of the priests over the people's consciences is exhibited as strongly as in Ireland, and was only kept, three years ago, from open violence against the Waldensians by the firm hand of Baron Ricasoli.

In Florence, the Church is strong enough to awaken obsolete statutes, and apply them to those who preach contrary to the teaching of the "Catholic Church;" but yet in Florence there is rebellion among the clergy, and excommunications had fallen upon twenty-eight of them so far back as September, 1860. The consequences are suspension from performing the rites of the Church, and a gloomy prospect of the future. Those priests, however, would not be available as instruments for effecting any church reformation. Few are the instances in which the priests' lips keep knowledge. It would be difficult to find in the whole of Italy, for the last thirty years, a volume of sermons worth reading; or indeed any volume at all, except those of Barbieri, the former Professor at the University of Padua, and who died some years ago at the age of eighty. And yet Barbieri was so ignorant of our theological literature, that, by way of giving a specimen of preaching divines, he translated the sermons of Laurence Sterne.

Sufficient, we think, may be gathered from these facts to enable us to conclude that the once hopeless land of Italy may be yet destined to pass through a religious reformation. Within a period of eighteen years, that peninsula has passed from an Egyptian bondage to the dawn of a day of freedom. The fetters which have bound the generations of a thousand years have been unriveted in less than a thousand days. Twenty millions of souls have been restored to civil liberty, and placed in a condition to become free indeed under the reign of the Gospel. That genius with which the Italian race is endowed has twice restored literature and the fine arts to civilization; but for want of a concurrent knowledge of God's truth, no social rank or moral power has ever been made good in that garden of Europe. The struggles which have been made from time to time for liberty of thought, the bitter cries which have proceeded from great minds oppressed, have been but the presage of sinking in the merciless waves. If signs of spiritual life appeared in a Vittoria Colonna, an Olympia Morata, an Antonio Paleario, or a white friar who had caught some glimpses of celestial light through the grating of his cell, quickly were such untimely manifestations crushed, and the hand of the persecutor waved in triumph over the silent victims. "They tell us indeed," said Brofferio in the Italian Chamber in 1861, "that the precious treasures of learning were preserved within the walls of convents, and that the civilization of which Europe boasts is the result of a conservative power, which men now seek to destroy. It may be true, that at one period of the world the only light which remained on earth shone in the cell of some intellectual recluse, or wandered in the halls of a literary fraternity; but they took good care that none of that light should escape through the gates of

their monasteries, lest it should penetrate among the people, whose ignorance was the safety of the priest's power and the tyrant's dominion. They might be conservators of learning for themselves, but they were confiscators of it for the people. Hence it is that every new discovery in science, and every eminent work of literature, has been proscribed by the ecclesiastical censor of the so-called Sacred Palace at Rome. The "starry Galileo" was consigned to a dungeon; poets and philosophers were anathematized; every invention of human genius which stirred the dormant spirit of the people, and appealed to their reason, was condemned; and it is only at last, by pressure from without and from necessity within, that the wonderful agents of steam and electricity have been admitted in the country over which Rome has held sway. And yet what do we see within a few short years? This nation rising as one man, and restored to a rational liberty, civil and religious; the light of God's Word breaking in upon the darkness of a thousand years; men daring to doubt and inquire, where, through an hereditary bondage of ages, they dared not to think; the evangelist kneeling and praying, where the priest trampled his opponent in the dust; the Word of God disseminated, where the inquisitor kept his instruments of torture; cheerful countenances crowding the streets of cities, where lately downcast and despairing looks told you of oppression and wrong. A long pent-up desire for instruction has broke out on all sides, and books are eagerly sought for and read by the educated portion of the people. Tracts, written and published by the Italians themselves, are widely circulated and read, although they are generally directed against the established ecclesiastical system, sparing neither the abuses of discipline nor the errors of doctrine. But in any attempts to effect a religious reformation of the Church, it must be borne in mind that there is a general aversion to any interference at present with religion from without. Neither the civil nor the ecclesiastical authorities willingly brook any interference; but where Italians are led, either by reading or by the persuasion of others, to join either the Waldenses or the Evangelical Christians, they are protected in their profession by the spirit rather than by the laws of the Constitution. The priest is powerless now in this respect. The Church no longer directs the arm of the secular power, and consequently heretics and schismatics are judicially safe. Information in the history of religion in other countries, and a better knowledge of what foreign reformed churches are, may before long induce some of the Italian clergy of a higher grade to ask for counsel, and may be for aid. But at present they desire no knowledge of our ways; and the best assistance we can render to the people of Italy as they are, is to give them the Scriptures in their

own tongue, to spread among them the books which contain our reformed form of worship, and to support those enlightened Italians, few in number, who, having gained understanding, are anxious to impart a better knowledge of divine things than now prevails among the millions of emancipated Italy.

VIGILANTIUS.

A COMMENTARY ON THE EPISTLE TO THE EPHESIANS.

By DANIEL BAGOT, B.D., Dean of Dromore, &c.

[Continued from page 11.]

CHAP. i. 5. *Having predestinated us unto the adoption of children by Jesus Christ to Himself, according to the good pleasure of His will,*

6. *To the praise of the glory of His grace, wherein He hath made us accepted in the beloved :*

7. *In whom we have redemption through His blood, the forgiveness of sins, according to the riches of His grace ;*

8. *Wherein He hath abounded towards us in all wisdom and prudence ;*

HAVING spoken of the election of sinners in the 4th verse, the Apostle now proceeds to speak of God having predestinated those whom He had chosen, to the enjoyment of special and important blessings. Having chosen them to eternal salvation through Christ, or in order that they, being built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, might become an holy temple in the Lord, for an habitation of God through the Spirit, it was needful that, as a wise architect, He should pre-arrange and ordain a plan, according to which this spiritual edifice might be constructed ; and this PLAN is what the Scriptures speak of under the name of predestination. This is always referred to in connection with blessings, either the blessing of conformity to the moral image of Christ now, or the blessing of eternal salvation hereafter. Those who shall be finally lost, shall be lost in consequence of their own sins, and not in consequence of any Divine decree which rendered it impossible that they could have been saved. There is a strong contrast between the manner in which sinners shall be involved in death, and that in which believers in Christ shall be exalted to everlasting life : the former shall be condemned as the natural and inevitable result of their own transgressions ; the latter shall receive eternal life as the free and unmerited gift of God, for "the wages of sin is death, but the gift of God is eternal life, through Jesus Christ our Lord." (Rom. vi. 23.) Whatever discussions and diversities of opinion there may now be among

Christians with respect to this mysterious and inscrutable doctrine of Predestination, all the saints in glory will cordially agree in ascribing their happiness to the electing love of the Father, the redeeming love of the Son, and the sanctifying love of the Holy Ghost. The burden of their everlasting song will be this,—“Not unto us, O Lord, not unto us, but unto Thy name be the glory, for Thy mercy and Thy truth’s sake.”

The great privilege to which believers are here said to be specially predestinated is “*the adoption of children.*” The term “adoption” relates to a custom which prevailed especially among the Romans, of persons who had no children of their own, selecting the children of others, and conferring upon them a legal right and title to their possessions. Thus God in His mercy selects from amongst our fallen race those upon whom He bestows the appellation, and distinguishes and dignifies with the privileges, of children, and over whom He exercises the mild and loving superintendence of a father. This blessing is conferred upon the sinner when, by receiving and believing in Christ, he is born again, and acquires the elements of a new and spiritual nature; and it gives him a title to the enjoyment of those other inestimable blessings that appertain to the children of God, even to an inheritance which is incorruptible and undefiled, and that fadeth not away. (John i. 12, 13; 1 Peter i. 3, 4.) What an inconceivably rich and glorious distinction! Well might even the beloved apostle feel at a loss for words with which to express his sense of God’s condescending mercy in raising sinners to such exalted honour, and exclaim, “Behold what manner of love the Father hath bestowed upon us, that we should be called the Sons of God.” (1 John iii. 1.)

We may here remark, that the term “adoption” is elsewhere used in another sense, as referring to the redemption of the body which shall be effected at the second coming of Christ. It is in this sense that the word occurs in Rom. viii. 22, 23,—“For we know that the whole creation groaneth and travaileth in pain together until now; and not only they, but ourselves also which have the firstfruits of the Spirit, even we ourselves groan within ourselves, waiting for the adoption, to wit, the redemption of the body.” The creation here spoken of is the material creation, which has been involved in the same curse with man, and of which the bodies of believers constitute a part. But as it was not the Saviour’s object to effect any physical renovation of the material world at His first advent, believers are now groaning under the pressure of a body which still remains under the curse, although they have received in their souls the firstfruits of the Spirit, even “the Spirit of adoption,” which “beareth witness with their Spirits that they are the children of God.” (Rom. viii. 15, 16.) When the Saviour

shall come again, He shall change this body of our humiliation into a likeness to His own glorified humanity : but this redemption of the body, which is the object of hope, and is thus described by the term "adoption," is not to be confounded with the adoption of the soul which the believer now enjoys, in consequence of God having sent forth the Spirit of His Son into his heart, enabling him to cry, Abba, Father. (Gal. iv. 6.)

This adoption is "*by Jesus Christ.*" The apostle is earnestly careful to trace up every blessing through Christ to the Father. The love of the Father, and the gracious interposition of the Son, are equally necessary for effecting our salvation. There is a peculiar force in this declaration, "that it was the purpose of God that we should receive the adoption of children *by Jesus Christ.*" We were not taken into His family at once, but there was an intermarriage, as it were, between the Son of God and our nature, and thus we become the sons of God by Christ becoming our elder brother. What a mystery of grace is here! God was determined that sinners should be saved, and received as adopted members of His family; but this great purpose of His love could not be effected by conferring directly upon them the Godhead nature, which His only begotten Son possessed in communion with Himself, and therefore Christ assumed our nature into union with His own, and as those whom God had predestinated to be His children were partakers of flesh and blood, He likewise Himself took part of the same, and as the Father is well pleased in His only begotten Son who is not ashamed to call us brethren, we are thus distinguished with this great privilege of *adoption by Jesus Christ.* (Heb. ii. 11, 14.)

The original source from which this blessing springs is the unconstrained and sovereign will of God, "*according to the good pleasure of His will.*" There was nothing whatever to render it obligatory on God to show mercy to sinners. So far from this, they were altogether unworthy of His merciful interposition in their behalf.

In the 6th verse, the apostle states what is the final cause of our having been chosen in Christ, and predestinated to the adoption of children—"to the praise of the glory of His grace." Whatever God does is necessarily to manifest the glory of His character and attributes, as well as to promote the happiness of His creatures. The glory of His wisdom, and power, and benevolence is seen in creation; the glory of His holiness, in giving the law; the glory of His justice, in consigning the rebel angels to punishment; but in the Gospel the glory of His grace is exhibited in the rich provision which He has made for the recovery of sinners from the moral ruin of the Fall, so as to call forth our most ardent ascriptions of gratitude and praise.

So anxious is the apostle to prevent our supposing that we can receive grace independently of Christ, that he here specially describes the grace to which he refers as that in which, or by which, God "has graciously favoured us in Christ;" for such is the proper rendering of the Greek word which in the Authorized Version is translated, "hath made us accepted." All the blessings of the Gospel are in the strictest sense gratuitously conferred upon us in Christ, who is pre-eminently and emphatically "the beloved." But these blessings were not obtained gratuitously by Christ. Though they are free to us, they were not free to him. They are conferred as the result of a ransom price, which He paid when He shed His precious blood upon the cross for our redemption, and in order to procure for us all spiritual blessings, of which the leading and the most comprehensive is the present enjoyment of a sense of His mercy in the forgiveness of our sins. But though the blessings of redemption were purchased at so vast a price, this does not detract from the riches of Divine grace. On the other hand, the grace of God is to be estimated by reference to the infinite preciousness of that blood which was shed in order that grace might be displayed towards us.

Thus where sin abounded, grace does much more abound. But this is not the only attribute of God which thus abounds towards us in the Gospel. In the very communication of that grace, "He hath abounded towards us in all wisdom and prudence." Wisdom refers to the arrangement, prudence to the execution, of the plan which God has devised for the salvation of sinners. That plan has been admirably contrived and carried out, so as to meet the requirements of God's character, to satisfy the demands of His justice, to vindicate His holiness, to establish His truth, to magnify His law, as well as to develope and display His mercy and His love.

Some commentators explain the 8th verse, as referring to the communication of wisdom and prudence to the believer; and look upon the next verse, which speaks of God "having made known unto us the mystery of His will," as intended to illustrate this view of the passage. Under the old dispensation, knowledge was imparted through types and shadows, and much of the purposes of God was concealed from man; but under the new dispensation there is a full and copious revelation of His character; life and immortality are brought to light, and He has abounded towards us in all wisdom and prudence. He has given us in the Gospel an abundance of material to enable us to increase in wisdom, and in all spiritual understanding.

9. *Having made known unto us the mystery of His will, according to His good pleasure which He hath purposed in Himself:*

10. *That in the dispensation of the fulness of times he might gather together in one all things in Christ, both which are in heaven, and which are on earth; even in him:*

11. *In whom also we have obtained an inheritance, being predestinated according to the purpose of him who worketh all things after the counsel of his own will:*

12. *That we should be to the praise of his glory, who first trusted in Christ.*

In the 9th and 10th verses we may understand the apostle as giving an illustration of God's abounding towards us in all wisdom and prudence. He has condescended to make known to us what is the grand and ultimate object of His redeeming mercy through Christ—the sublimest mystery that has ever been revealed to man, and such as no human or even angelic intelligence could ever have discovered. And as it could only be known by revelation from God Himself, so was it entirely of His own suggestion. He held no consultation with any of His creatures regarding it; nor did He resolve upon it in answer to our prayers. It was the result of His own free and independent determination. This is stated in three forms in the 9th verse: it was the mystery of *His will*; it was *according to His good pleasure*; it was a design which He *purposed in Himself*; and in the 11th verse He speaks of believers being predestinated to a participation in the blessings connected with this mystery, *according to the purpose of Him who worketh all things after the counsel of His own will*.

But what is this mystery? We are informed of this in the 10th verse. It is, "that in the dispensation of the fulness of times, He might gather together in one all things in Christ, both which are in heaven and which are on earth, even in Him." By the "dispensation of the fulness of times," we are to understand that perfect system that shall be arranged and established by God in the day of the consummation of all things, referred to in Acts iii. 19—that final and eternal dispensation, to which all previous dispensations in time are subordinate and preparatory, and in which they all converge. During these previous dispensations, the whole creation connected with our world is in a state of physical and moral disorder. All things are like scattered limbs and dissevered members of the human frame. But it is the purpose of God to bring all things together into one body, of which Christ shall be the living head—unto a perfect man, "unto the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ" (chap. iv. 13); for in the everlasting world of glory, Christ shall be the head, the bond of union, the central object of attraction to all creation. Several explanations have been given by commentators of "things in heaven and things in earth," which we need not here enumerate. We understand simply, by this description, all the con-

tents of heaven and all the contents of earth. Between these two classes of existences there is now a disagreement and a contrast; but after the day of the consummation of all things, there shall be a correspondence, a symmetry, and a complete moral conformity established between things in heaven and things on earth, as the result of the interposition of Christ, who is the head of the creation of God.

The apostle next states, in the 11th verse, that believers in Christ have been included in the purpose of God to which he had just referred; for the words "in whom" might have been rendered "in which," as if he had said, "in which mystery of his will we have an interest, as heirs of the blessedness to which it refers." Not only is the whole creation waiting for the manifestation of the sons of God, as the critical event which is to be the signal for its deliverance from the bondage of the curse; but those also who have received the firstfruits of the Spirit in their justification now, are waiting for their final adoption into the privileges to which they shall be admitted at the time of the restitution of all things. A participation in these privileges is our inheritance as children; "for if children, then are we heirs, heirs of God and joint heirs with Christ." In his present state, the believer is in his minority; but being a child of God, he has been endowed with an inheritance which shall be conferred upon him when the time appointed by his Heavenly Father has arrived. The first clause in ver. 11 might also be rendered "in whom," or "in which we have been constituted God's heritage." (1 Pet. v. 3.)

Those who are spoken of in the 12th verse as having "first trusted in Christ," or as having placed their hopes in Christ, which includes trusting in Him, are the apostles and Jewish converts who believed the Gospel and became members of the Church before the Gentiles. Those who are saved by trusting in Christ "should be to the praise of His glory." Not only should the glory of God's grace be manifested in and through them, but they also should show forth the praises of Him who hath called them out of darkness into His marvellous light.

13. *In whom ye also trusted, after that ye heard the word of truth, the Gospel of your salvation: in whom also after that ye believed, ye were sealed with that Holy Spirit of promise, which is the earnest of our inheritance until the redemption of the purchased possession, unto the praise of His glory.*

In the 12th verse the apostle had spoken of Jewish converts to whom the Gospel was first preached; for the command of Christ was to begin at Jerusalem, and consequently the first members of the Church were Jews, for they "first trusted in Christ," or had hope in Christ. Here he addresses himself to Gentile converts—"in whom ye also trusted." The Gospel is

not exclusive. It is good news for every creature; and, although the Jew has a priority, it is the power of God unto salvation to every one that believeth. God is no respecter of persons; but in every nation he that feareth Him, and worketh righteousness, is accepted with Him. Christ is a light to lighten the Gentiles, as well as the glory of His people Israel.

There is mention made here of the testimony regarding Christ which the members of the Church in Ephesus believed. The apostle gives it two expressive designations—"the word of truth"—"the gospel of your salvation." It is in itself the word of truth, whether the sinner embraces it or not; it is the gospel of salvation to every one that believeth. It comes from the God of Truth, who alone is, and who alone could be, its author. From first to last its subject matter is truth, and it speaks of Him who is not only the way and the life, but also the truth. Every system of religion which has had man for its author contains more or less of error; but the Gospel magnifies, by asserting, the truth of God, because it exhibits a method of rescuing the guilty from the consequences of sin, which, while it dispenses mercy, is in perfect consistency with what His truth, as well as His holiness and His justice, demand. The apostle likewise calls the testimony about Christ which the Ephesian converts heard, "the gospel of their salvation," because it reveals and proclaims to the sinner the glad tidings of redemption through the finished work of Him who was wounded for our transgressions and bruised for our iniquities—who suffered the just for the unjust, that He might bring us back to God—who is the end of the law for righteousness to every one that believeth—who is our life, our peace, our hope, and in whom alone we have salvation, for there is no other name given under Heaven amongst men whereby we can be saved.

But there is mention made here of how the Ephesians received this testimony: "ye heard"—"ye believed"—"ye trusted," or rested your hope in Christ, to whom this testimony referred. The first step towards a reception of the Gospel is to "hear" it, or to give it a fair, a candid, and deliberate attention, and to endeavour to understand it. "Faith cometh by hearing, and hearing by the word of God." God has ordained that by the foolishness of preaching He would save them that believe. In this case it was from Paul himself that the Ephesians had heard the Gospel, and he now writes this Epistle to confirm and build them up in their most holy faith. Let ministers of the Gospel learn here that they should be careful that what they preach is "the word of truth," "the gospel of salvation." And let those to whom they preach reflect upon the responsibility that is connected with hearing; for if the Gospel is a savour of life unto life to them that are saved, it is,

on the other hand, a savour of death unto death to them that perish. And for one that hears and is saved, how many receive the grace of God in vain, how many hear and yet are lost? But the Ephesian Christians not only heard, but believed. Unless faith follows after hearing, the Gospel is a testimony against us. He that hears and does not believe, is a greater sinner than if he had not heard at all; for he spurns the mercy, and sins against the love of God; he tramples underfoot the Son of God, and does despite to the Spirit of grace. And what is faith? It is the intelligent assent with which the sinner embraces the record which God hath given of His Son in the Gospel. And because the Gospel speaks of Jesus as the Saviour of sinful man, the sinner who believes its statements must necessarily and immediately repose confidence in Him of whom it speaks. Hence faith and trust must coexist; but they should not be identified or confounded. They are quite distinct. Faith refers to the Gospel which we hear: it is the belief of the truth. Trust refers to the person whom the Gospel reveals as a Saviour: it is the confidence which we place in Jesus. But in order that faith, or a belief of the Gospel, should produce trust in Christ, it is necessary that He should be revealed as a Saviour for us and to us. The devils believe what the Gospel tells of a Saviour, but because He is not held forth as a Saviour for them, "the devils believe and tremble." Their faith allows and leads them to say, "I know Thee, who Thou art, the Holy One of God;" but because they can have no interest in His mercy, they look upon Him as a judge and an executioner of merited vengeance, instead of as a Saviour; and whilst the language of confidence which the humble believer employs is this, "I know whom I have believed," and "the life which I now live in the flesh I live by the faith of the Son of God, who loved me and gave Himself for me," the language of devils can only be such as this—"What have we to do with thee, Jesus, thou Son of God? Art thou come hither to torment us before the time?"

Again, there is mention made here of the consequences flowing from a saving belief of the Gospel on the part of these Gentile Christians:—"In whom, also, after that ye believed, ye were sealed with that Holy Spirit of promise." Some commentators explain this sealing as having a reference to the miraculous gifts which were conferred upon the Ephesian converts, an account of which we read in the 19th chapter of the Acts:—"While Apollos was at Corinth, Paul, having passed through the upper coasts, came to Ephesus; and finding certain disciples, he said unto them, Have ye received the Holy Ghost since ye believed? And they said unto him, We have not so much as heard whether there be any Holy Ghost. And he said, Unto what were ye baptized? And they



said, Unto John's baptism. Then said Paul, John verily baptised with the baptism of repentance, saying unto the people, that they should believe on him which should come after him, that is, on Christ Jesus. When they heard this, they were baptised in the name of the Lord Jesus. And when Paul had laid his hands upon them, the Holy Ghost came on them; and they spake with tongues, and prophesied." But there is a difficulty connected with this interpretation. How, for instance, can the miraculous gifts of the Spirit be an earnest of our inheritance which is to continue until the redemption of the purchased possession, when we know that these gifts have long since disappeared? We are much more disposed to explain the clause we are considering, as referring to the ordinary graces of the Holy Spirit, which shall continue in the Church until Christ shall come again, and which shall shine forth in a fulness of moral perfection hereafter, of which their present partial development is but the earnest and first-fruits. The graces of the Spirit may well be termed the earnest of our inheritance, for they all refer to it, and point to it. What is faith, as the principle by which the Christian walks, but the very substratum of things hoped for, the evidence of things not seen? What is hope, but the index which directly points to our inheritance of glory; for we are begotten again unto a lively hope, by the resurrection of Jesus Christ from the dead, to an inheritance incorruptible, undefiled, and that fadeth not away? What is joy, but a foretaste of that inheritance; so like it, that even now it is unspeakable and full of glory? What is patience, but the grace with which we wait for that which we see not now, but expect to enjoy hereafter. And what is love, but the grace which is our very meetness for the enjoyment of the inheritance of the saints in light. These are what constitute the sealing of the Spirit. But we are not sealed until after we have believed—"in whom," or through whom, "after ye believed, ye were sealed with that Holy Spirit of promise." Unbelievers are not thus sealed. Justification by faith must precede sanctification by the Spirit. Whatever controversy there may be as to whether Christ has died for all men, of this there should be no question, that the Holy Ghost sanctifieth only the elect people of God. "The world knoweth him not, neither seeth him, but ye know him," said Christ to His disciples, "for he dwelleth with you and shall be in you."

And who is the author of this sealing? Some would represent Christ as the agent, and the Holy Spirit as the impression, so to speak, with which He seals His people. But we think that the obvious and natural answer to this question is, that it is the Holy Spirit who seals those that believe. He is called the Spirit of promise, either because he is the subject of

promise—as he is called “the promise of the Father,” Acts i. 4—or because one way in which the Spirit seals is by enabling the believer to appreciate and appropriate the exceeding great and precious promises of the Gospel, “that by these he might be a partaker of the Divine nature,” and by leading him to rejoice in a present anticipation of their future accomplishment. We might illustrate this sealing by a reference to what the apostle says in his second epistle to Timothy,—“The foundation of God standeth sure, having this seal, the Lord knoweth them that are his; and let every one that nameth the name of Christ depart from iniquity.” This seal has a double impression: with that on the one side the Holy Spirit stamps the believer as the property of God; with that on the other he infixes in his soul an indelible injunction and tendency to cultivate holiness.

And what does this sealing imply? It shows the preciousness of believers in God’s estimation; it denotes their being separated from the world; it is a confirmation to their souls of the inward testimony of the Spirit bearing witness with their spirits that they are the children of God; it is an evidence to others that they are the peculiar people of God; it is a pledge of their security and preservation until the day of Redemption, when they are to receive their promised inheritance; and it constitutes their likeness to the Saviour, for on this seal there is also engraved the moral image of Christ; and one of the ends and objects of the Spirit’s sealing them is to make them resemble Him in all things.

And what is the main object and design of God in thus sealing His people, as it is here stated by the apostle? It is that we may thus have an earnest of our inheritance—“which is the earnest of our inheritance;” or it might be rendered, “who is the earnest of our inheritance,” as if he would represent the Holy Spirit himself as the earnest. Now an earnest is intended to bind the party who gives it to the performance of his part of the contract. Thus God gives the Holy Spirit now, as a pledge and security that He will give the inheritance hereafter. Our security is, in fact, threefold—the gift of the Father, the purchase of the Son, the sealing of the Spirit. An earnest is also in general a portion of what it secures; and thus the grace which the Spirit gives is the same in kind, though not in degree, with the glory which shall be conferred upon us at the revelation of Jesus Christ.

But we are not always to have merely an earnest; it is only until the redemption of the purchased possession. This may mean, either until the Church which Christ has purchased and made His property with His own blood, shall be effectually and completely redeemed; or until this earth, which is the purchased possession of Christ and His Church, shall be completely

delivered from the bondage of corruption, and converted into an inheritance incorruptible and undefiled—an inheritance for the purchase of which the price of the precious blood of Christ has been paid, but the actual redemption of which is still future, and will not take place until the revelation of the sons of God.

The final issue of the whole is this—"to the praise of the glory of His grace." This is the third time that this is said, for it is one of those fundamental principles of the Gospel which, because they are opposed to the natural pride of human nature, must be repeated again and again. If we are now accepted in the beloved, it is "to the praise of the glory of His grace." If we have obtained an inheritance, it is "to the praise of the glory of His grace." If, through Divine mercy, we shall in due time be admitted into the possession and enjoyment of that inheritance, this shall be "to the praise of the glory of His grace." The manifestation of the glorious grace of God, in the immortal experience of His ransomed people, will call forth their most ardent ascriptions of praise throughout the endless ages of eternity.

(To be continued.)

WILBERFORCE AND HIS CONTEMPORARIES: JAMES STEPHEN, ESQ.;
REV. THOMAS GISBORNE.

No man has ever done anything on a large scale, in public life, single-handed. Alone he cannot act permanently on public opinion. His writings may be forcible, his eloquence effective; but to carry with him the mind of the public and of Parliament, is like a march through an enemy's country. He must have artillery as well as infantry, and the mattock and pickaxe of the engineer as well as the advance of the battalions.

Wilberforce was fully conscious of this necessity; and indeed his temperament prescribed it as much as his judgment, for he was eminently social and of a genial temper. He delighted to act with others, and to consult them, profiting by their counsels and using their help. He had, in this respect, the qualities of a leader; and with a quick intuition he discerned the qualifications of men, and applied these to their right uses. Hence he had his cabinet of philanthropy, composed of various persons with various gifts. It was not so brilliant in rank as that of Mr. Pitt or Lord Liverpool; but it was composed of materials as serviceable and more durable. The caprice and selfishness which broke up the cabinet of the great Premier were not found in the cabinet of his early friend. It is remarkable also, that the individuals who composed it lived longer than ordi-

nary politicians. Only a small section of Pitt's cabinet survived through the cabinets of Lord Liverpool. Many of those who joined Wilberforce in 1789, in the outset of his public life, were associated with him at its close, in 1825.

Wilberforce's first advisers, when he began his assault on the slave trade, were of different professions. Pitt and Grenville consulted with him; so did Fox, Wyndham, and Burke. As subordinate Members of Parliament, he had William Smith, Eliot, and Lord Muncaster; Henry Thornton at a later period, and Thos. Babington. In 1804, Zachary Macaulay joined him, and Henry Brougham lent the cause his energies. But beyond this circle he had miscellaneous councillors — Lady Middleton, and Hannah More with her popular pen, and the Rev. Mr. Ramsay, who fell a martyr to his principles, and Granville Sharpe, and the indefatigable Clarkson. He was encouraged by the sympathy, or helped by the influence, of the aged Wesley, of John Newton, of Mr. Hey in Yorkshire, and Mr. Gisborne in Staffordshire. When he took up the great question of India Missions, his interior cabinet, composed of Thornton, Babington, Stephen, and Macaulay, received the addition of Bowdler and John Thornton, Mr. Grant and Lord Teignmouth. On questions more directly ecclesiastical, he consulted with John Venn, occasionally with Simeon. On matters more immediately personal, his chief advisers were Henry Thornton, Stephen and Babington, Venn and Grant. In 1800, the cabinet of philanthropists set up as an organ the *Christian Observer*, of which Zachary Macaulay was for many years the editor, and to which Wilberforce, Henry Thornton, Bowdler, and Robert Grant contributed.

Mr. Stephen, both from his legal acumen, his energy, and his perseverance, brought to this cabinet efficient help. The literary distinction which his son, Sir James Stephen, afterwards attained, and his eminent service in one of the most important departments under the Crown, must not be allowed to obscure the unostentatious labours of his honoured father. Mr. Stephen had practised in the legal profession, and had passed the first part of his life as a barrister in a West Indian colony. There he had become acquainted with the condition of the negro, and had learned thoroughly to understand his circumstances and sufferings. When he arrived in England, on a short visit, in 1789, he supplied to Mr. Wilberforce important information. In 1794, when the Abolition cause was languishing, and its further progress was sharply arrested by the dread of the French Revolution, the help of a zealous coadjutor was greatly needed; at that crisis Mr. Stephen appeared, and thenceforth settled in England. He communicates his return to Mr. Wilberforce in a letter which expresses, with the fervour of his eager feelings, his sentiments of confidence and esteem. The

strength of his convictions supplied a wholesome stimulus to a drooping cause, which had begun with promise, and was suddenly checked. He brought to it the services of his pen; and pamphlets, vigorously written, and following each other in steady succession, informed as well as excited the public mind. Mr. Stephen, indeed, took an unfavourable—Mr. Wilberforce thought an unfair—view of Pitt's disposition towards the Abolition cause; but whatever might be the feelings of men in office, and whatever obstacles they either felt or feigned to justify their delay, no cause could long be suffered to droop which had this sturdy rower on board, with his unflagging spirit and strenuous arm. His quick eye detected, under plausible pretences, the real objects of the planter, and he denounced with unsparing vigour the proposed concessions of the minister, as well as the arts of the opponents. So, in the various steps of this great contest, his acuteness and his frankness were equally useful. On the crafty plans of Dundas; on the scheme of deporting slaves from older islands to occupy newer lands; on the fatal proposals of Spain; on the necessity of further clauses in the treaty with Portugal; on the attempted convention, in 1814, for the abolition of the slave trade; on the Bill for the registering of slaves; on all these he was ready, with pen and voice, in letter, pamphlet, and newspaper, to ring out the note of alarm, and to sound this, clear and shrill, in the ears of Wilberforce, in Downing Street, and in Parliament.

To be sure, the tempers of the leader and his followers were often contrasted. Stephen, especially at the outset, was hot and impetuous; he writes against Pitt's government, in the columns of the "*Morning Chronicle*," with a pen of fire. He will expose to the public the "iniquitous compromise;" he will hold up to execration Pitt, Dundas, and their cabinet; he is sure that the difficulties of England are only a just judgment for national wrong; they are "councils concerted in the cabinet of Heaven to bring forth its long-oppressed, degraded children, with a mighty hand and an outstretched arm." If Lord Liverpool will not support the Registry Bill, he will have no further connection with him, and will throw up his seat. "If Lord Castlereagh fails to redeem this pledge, may God not spare me if I spare the noble Lord and his colleagues." He frets himself into a fever at Wilberforce's overwhelming correspondence; he is vexed when he sees him beset by a multitude of petty distractions, and drawn away from the grand object to which he would have him devote his powers: "Your post-privilege will be the bondage of Africa, and your covers the funeral pile of her new-born hopes."

But all this generous ardour, and these bursts of friendly impatience, hurled against Wilberforce, produced no feeling of

irritation in that serene spirit. On the contrary, the two characters dovetailed into each other, and welded into one. The leader meets with a gentle smile the blows and buffets of his ardent friend. "Stephen," he says in his diary, "kindly and frankly reproving me." "Go on," he says, "my dear Sir, and welcome. Believe me, I wish you not to abate anything of the force or frankness of your animadversions. I have not yet had the opportunity of deliberately and fully questioning myself on the charge you have brought, but I mean to enter into as impartial a self-examination as I am able on that head, and then I may perhaps call upon you to justify. For your frankness, however, I feel myself obliged. Openness is the only foundation and preservative of friendship. Let me, therefore, claim from you at all times your undisguised opinions." Again: "Go on to prick me into constant attention to this subject." He reserves, indeed, to himself that which a leader must reserve, the duty of weighing suggestions and settling plans. "You are several points above me," he says on one occasion. On another, after weighing all the circumstances of the case, he postpones his intention. The attacks made by Mr. Stephen on the character of Mr. Pitt he does not accept. But he will not discuss this: they can talk of these points hereafter. At times, when his eager follower blurts out his feelings, and pours shot and shell at Government through an Opposition newspaper, he interposes a witty apologue, with a hint that if we wish to conciliate men in power, grape and shell do not form the best artillery of persuasion. But he has recourse to him and trusts him, and likes him all the better for his vehemence. In deciding on work, and distributing the parts to those whom he calls his white negroes (vol. iii. p. 198), he assigns to Stephen a prominent place. He induces him to write in 1802. He looks over his pamphlet; approves, and scatters it widely. He sends it to foreign ministers, emperors, and kings. When a thought occurs to him on the trade of Spain with our West India colonies; on the treaty with Portugal; on the deportation of slaves; on the suspension of the trade, suggested by the West India interest; on the details of the Act of Abolition; on the hopes of influencing the Spanish government; on the restrictions to be laid on negroes in Trinidad and Demerara; he imparts them at once to Mr. Stephen. "To the fertile soil of your mind let me commit the seed of this idea, and let me earnestly conjure you to give it immediate attention." He is the first to report to him the favourable replies, the assurances, and the concessions of our Government; and he marks him out, with ungrudging thankfulness (Diary, 1810), as "a special instrument in the hands of God in behalf of the negro race."

On the other hand, Mr. Stephen recognises both the disin-

terestedness and the long-trying wisdom of his leader. "You will think me half-mad," he says, "and wholly presumptuous. I cannot help it. I must divulge these thoughts to somebody; and who is likely to make more allowance for them than you?—you, who are the Moses of these Israelites, though, at the same time, a courtier of Pharaoh." He will do nothing without first taking Wilberforce's opinion. He had once acted on his own judgment and had erred. He will not do so again. "God forbid I should sin again against a friendship which is the honour and happiness of my life." He feels that he is the soul of the movement for the manumission of slaves. He and others may work under him, but not alone. "Should we lose you," he writes to Mr. Wilberforce in 1812, "before the present difficulties of our cause are vanquished, neither my efforts, nor the credit that may be attached to my information, are likely to be of any importance. I should, perhaps, turn my mind and pen to less impracticable objects."

He says (Letter, July 30, 1808,) that he has been long convinced, when he looks to the superior wisdom and goodness of his leader, "that in this new system I am a satellite, not a primary planet, placed in it more for your sakes than my own, though for my own too in a subordinate degree." (Corresp. ii. p. 137.)

In 1800, Mr. Stephen became connected with Wilberforce by a closer tie. Wilberforce's only sister had married a clergyman, Dr. Clarke, and his death had left her a widow. Mr. Stephen had returned a widower from the West Indies. In a letter written to Wilberforce in the winter of 1828, he reminds him of his own past sorrows, and of one of those proofs of Wilberforce's goodness which he had long since dismissed from his mind. Mr. Stephen had arrived from the West Indies a dejected widower. He was under a cloud of despondency. There seemed to him no light on his prospects. He was living in Sloane Street, with his bereaved children. He wished, and expected, soon to die: he disliked all society, "except that of my poor orphans and the kind relations who took the charge of them." Then it was that Mr. Wilberforce sought him out, and tried to draw him from his disconsolate solitude. He pressed him to join his own genial circle. But the sick heart turned away, loathing society. He wished to be left to himself; and, from pride as well as grief, he would have turned his back on Wilberforce's associates, the aristocratic Pittites, who then frequented Wilberforce's table. But the kindly Christian would not suffer this. He came to him, he sat with him, he comforted him, he suggested objects of interest; by degrees he induced him to apply to useful ends his various powers. Mental health returned; and with health, hope. He became the energetic associate of Wilberforce's labours. From contact with him and his admi-

able friends his character improved. "Stephen," writes Wilberforce on the eve of his marriage, "is an improved and improving character; one of those whom religion has transformed, and in whom it has triumphed by conquering some strong natural infirmities." In this state Mr. Wilberforce's sister found him; and thrown into each other's society, they married in 1800. "You, my kind friend," Stephen writes to Wilberforce, "would not suffer me to forsake you; and the recollection of your tender, generous conduct at that crisis of my affliction, was a tie that bound my heart to you, till I found, two or three years after, another bond of attachment."

The wife, whom Mr. Stephen thus found, possessed a character different in many respects from that of her distinguished brother. To him indeed she owed, under God, her first religious thoughts. He imparted to her, soon after his change of mind, his convictions. Writing to her in May, 1786, he urges her "to watch and pray, and read the Word of God, imploring that true wisdom which may enable you to comprehend and fix it in your heart;" and he tells her, in reference to the imperfections which attach to a Christian in his early course, that the Christian's walk was like one of their Westmoreland evenings, when, though the day had been obscured by clouds and vapour, the evening sun set in a blaze of glory. Afterwards, in the same year, whilst intensely enjoying his Sabbath rest, he poured out his thoughts to her that she might be a partaker of his joy, and not rest till she shared it. The following year she turned again to him for help, to resolve the scruples of her sensitive mind, and he then bade her not to debate curiously points of difficulty, or try to confront or argue down her doubts; but to do what duty required, as if no such doubts existed; and be sure in time she would find comfort. In 1793 she again confided to him her anxieties, and received an encouraging answer. After the death of her first husband, her anxieties returned; and it was therefore a happy circumstance which united her to a vigorous and buoyant mind; while to Mr. Stephen her gentleness and humbleness were useful, the clinging plant imparting freshness and beauty to the rough and sinewy stem. Writing to Wilberforce in 1822, on the anniversary of her death, which had happened six years before, Stephen dwells on the radiance of her goodness. "One star differeth from another star in glory; and if love, humility, piety, and patience are paths to the peerage of heaven, her patent was secure. Dignities on earth would have ill suited her taste; but superior rank in heaven, where there is no envy and no pride, will attract only superior love, attest superior excellence, and confer superior joy." She indeed had never through her life escaped entirely from the clouds which beset her morning. She had imparted them to Wilberforce in 1809; and the tone of his letter was; as

before, cheering :—" We will confer on these subjects when we meet ; meanwhile, be assured that our safety does not vary with our feelings about it. I cannot but think, my dear sister, that you would do well to endeavour to apply to yourself more confidently the promises of the Gospel." He admits, indeed, that as the Christian advances, he gains "an increasing tenderness of conscience, an increasing sense of the guilt of sin," and of our own sinfulness and weakness ;" and these thoughts often produce a contrition so deep as to arise to self-aborrence ; but to such penitents there are rich promises. " May you be enabled to know more of the comfort of Christianity, if it be the will of God, especially since I believe it would be effected by your having more just views of the doctrines of the Gospel."

But though these thoughts troubled the sensitive spirit, the example of her gentle patience produced its effect on the stronger mind. Stephen ascribed to this cause, and to his intimacy with Wilberforce, the growth of his devotional feelings. Writing to Wilberforce in 1808, giving a picture of his inner feelings, he shows through what passages of secret thought the eager mind had travelled. Once his impetuous philanthropy had chafed at the hard obstructions which beset it through the selfishness or callousness of men ; but this impatient temper had yielded to juster views of the aim and end of life. For if success always attended benevolent labours, he argues, where would be our trial ? and this life would yield to the Christian a full reward ; but the disappointments, the vexations, the hindrances, which beset him, chastened and trained the spirit for the life to come. The question is not, what we achieve ; but from what motives have we acted ? For " have we not a gracious Master, who reckons not what we offer in His service, but what we aim at, and with what spirit and views ?"*

In 1817, when, after the loss of his wife, Stephen retired to Bath to recruit his health, he delights to notice the trivial circumstances which ministered to his comfort, or brought to him consolations. The following year, writing just after the death of Sir Samuel Romilly, he shows, in the keen feelings he then manifested, how much of delicate sensibility had grown up and thriven to maturity within the robust mind. In 1820, when he retires to the country, he delights to hear of the doings of the poor, carefully visited by his son and daughter : he recounts with lively interest their simple annals. London, indeed, he says, is a place where we may be of most use to others, " but the country is that where I learn what is good for myself. I love the country ; I love its natural innocent joys ; I love its

* Correspondence, vol. ii. p. 136.

natural instructive sorrows." The uplands of the Buckinghamshire hills on which he stood, from which he looked down upon sheltered valleys, out of spreading beech woods which covered the slopes of the hills, these scenes delighted him, alleys opening before him canopied with shade, and lit up at their extremities by gleams of sunshine streaming in over a carpet of grass and moss. But, he said, this was not a sentimental delight; for that may be experienced "by abject souls; but blessed charity, and active persevering zeal in our Master's service, these are the great points, and we should choose places and everything by them. He too loved the uplands; but He went up to a mountain to pray, and on a mountain He taught His disciples."

In 1822, when seeking for solitude to pass in seclusion the anniversary of his once happy marriage, and of his wife's blessed change, Stephen writes:—"I grow daily more and more in love with this place. Oh! what a delicious oratory is a beech wood in a calm hot day. Not a leaf stirring, not a sound; a sacred kind of shady light, with here and there a straggling sunbeam, like a gleam of providential direction for the dark concerns of life." He longs to draw Wilberforce to his woodland retreat: he has adjusted his cottage so as to be able to receive the patriarch and his "domestic tail;" he has provided for him a verandah in which he may sit, and a sunny terrace for his autumn walk. Still, while dwelling on these pleasures, he says,—“These things do not make me forget Stoke-Newington churchyard,” (in which his wife and sainted mother were laid,) “nor rival in my heart the prospects beyond it.” He trusts that his long solitary walks, his sunny fancies, his musings on a peaceful Sabbath, his grave but thankful thoughts of loved ones gone, were all training him for a lasting union in an eternal home.

On this buoyant mind, tied down for a part of the year, as a Master in Chancery, to a treadmill-round of drudgery, and finding in its escapes a flight from labour into dreamland, there needed, as he himself was sensible, a sobering and an elevating influence; and this he found in the faithfulness and the gentle wisdom of his leader. As an example of this, we take a passage from one of Wilberforce's letters. Stephen had been dwelling eloquently on the bounty of Providence, its gracious care and condescending regard. "This letter, to me delightful," says Wilberforce, "because I love Stephen, and it is Stephen all over," reached the statesman at Bath, in the midst of countless engagements—thoughts full, every moment occupied, guests arrived for dinner, and the host not yet dressed. Still he cannot leave his room without sitting down to drop a word of wisdom to his absent friend. "About your last letter I have one word to say. I wish the idea of our Saviour had occurred

to you. We are expressly told, 'Giving thanks always, &c., through Jesus Christ.' I like to associate Christ with all my religious ideas as the object of gratitude and love, and God, the supreme God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, also. I must break off; but this is a practical hint, and I could not have been easy without making it." But such hints, instead of chafing the more impetuous Christian, were by him willingly received. No spark of impatience or annoyance came from him. He loved his leader the more for his faithfulness. Thus he ends a letter to him,—“Yours, my dear and faithful friend, the medicine of my life, ever very affectionately,” &c. Indeed, it was this affection, more even than the tie of connexion, which bound Stephen to Wilberforce. He loved him with his whole heart. From him he would take anything—hints or counsels, rebuke or correction. He would take no step separately from him, nor, on public questions, without his sanction. His works, his pamphlets, his prepossessions, were all submitted to his overruling judgment. He felt for him what he felt for no other man; and, with a humility remarkable in a person so able and eager, he looked up, from the lower sphere in which he felt himself placed, with an admiring eye, to the brilliant orbit in which Wilberforce's goodness moved. He rejoiced with a disinterested joy in his leader's efforts and success. The pre-eminence of his powers, the favouring circumstances of his position, his parliamentary talents, his social gifts, his affluent fortune, and open house; all these things were appreciated by Stephen, estimated and rejoiced in. He watched over him, too, with a kindly vigilance, much as a father watches over a frail son. He holds him back from over-exertion; he entreats him not to attend the House when ailing; he willingly undertakes work for him. His pen, his powers, his time, are always at his service. From this closeness and tenderness of friendship, he becomes one of the wisest of his advisers; for circumstances, which escape the notice of others, are all estimated by him. Hence, when the question comes before the cabinet of friends, whether Wilberforce shall continue to represent the county of York or retire, his other friends waver and are divided; Stephen is clear and resolute; he will not expose a life, so precious yet so fragile, to the burdens to which it has become unequal. When he finds Wilberforce cast down in spirit, or depressed by the feeling of bodily infirmity, and how little he can accomplish of the great work which is to be done, none is more forward or more anxious to cheer him.

And this true friendship Wilberforce requites with grateful regard. He is never weary of dwelling on Stephen's affection. He writes to him,—“I am ever affectionately, and never so affectionately as when my mind is in its best state, yours.” “I feel all your kindness to me, though I say little

about it. I am, however, praying God to bless and preserve you." "You are, and ever have been, kind to me beyond a brother's kindness, and I think of it often with wonder, as well as with humiliation and gratitude. Surely no man ever had so many friends, and you and my sister are amongst the very first." He speaks of "your tender solicitude. I thought of it one night when I lay awake." In 1819 he writes, on the anniversary of his sister's death,—“I cannot suffer this memorable day to pass over without assuring you that, while I call to mind her whom we lost three years ago, I am still more forcibly impressed with a sense of that long and uniform course of unvaried kindness, which my dear sister, as well as her brother, have uniformly experienced at your hands. Hand is a very common phrase, and very inadequate to express my meaning; for I am sure your friendship has appeared in heart, head, feet, arms, hands, whenever they could contribute to our benefit and comfort.”

This regard between the two friends, long united in various enterprises, was so close, that Wilberforce cannot bear to think of its severance. "I told Perceval frankly," he writes in his diary, "that my strongest reason for immediate action was, that if a dissolution should take place this year, and we should lose Stephen, the loss would be irremediable." His regard for him grows with years. He opens to him his confidential thoughts. When there is a perplexing difficulty, he has recourse to him as the first of his advisers. When he is hunted out of his house by packs of visitors, he finds a sure retreat in Stephen's chambers. He enters into his friend's recreations as well as his business. He wants to know what he is doing in the recess. He would like to wander with him in his favourite woods in Bucks. He rates him for working too hard; urges him to take more exercise; writes from Marden Park, and tries to tempt him to taste the pure air of the Downs; sympathises with his pleasures: "I can quite rejoice in the idea of your stalking along your hills, and spouting, or musing, or talking to yourself." He wants him to enjoy whatever he enjoys. "When I get among the rocks, and scale the mountains of Westmoreland, I quite long to have you with me." If a shade crosses his countenance, he notices it. "You appeared to me to look unhappy last night, as if something was giving you pain, either in body or mind. It will be a pleasure to me to hear that this was not so; or if it was, and I can help to remove it, let me try."

In this unrestrained intimacy the two friends continued till near the end; and just before the Moses of the mission (as Stephen called his leader) mounted for the last time his Pisgah to see the long promised land of freedom unrolled at his feet, Stephen reached the borders of the dark river, and crossed it in peace.

Another friend, whose name we find frequently occurring in the deliberations of the Cabinet Council, much consulted and helpful, was Thomas Babington. But his acquaintance Wilberforce owed to another friend, who, though he moved in a separate line, and more rarely crossed Wilberforce's public path, helped him notwithstanding, in his public life, by suggestion as well as by sympathy, and always had a retreat ready for him where he might rest and be at ease.

Of him we must next speak ; for though Thomas Gisborne can hardly be placed in Wilberforce's working cabinet, nor was he actively engaged in the administration of public affairs, he took a warm interest in two of the great objects to which Wilberforce devoted his life ; and much of Wilberforce's leisure, till his marriage, was spent in the Forest, in which Mr. Gisborne lived. Of that forest home we have a pleasant picture in the outset of Wilberforce's life, from a youthful pen ; and we find a short description of it from his own pen towards the close of his course. Writing from Yoxall Lodge to Mr. Stephen in 1827, just after he had heard of the serious illness of Canning, Wilberforce says,—“ Well as I thought I knew this place, and much as I had admired it, I never saw its riches displayed in such overflowing profusion. I never was here before till late in the year, or saw the first foliage of the magnificent oak contrast with the dark holly, the flowering gorse, and the horse chestnut.” Wilberforce's visits to the retreat of Needwood Forest had chiefly taken place in autumn ; and it was there, in the autumn of 1790, that he had passed several weeks, along with Mr. Babington, working hard (as he says, like negroes) at the evidence collected by the Privy Council (a great folio volume), and 1400 pages of evidence collected by the Committee of the House of Commons. Here he and Mr. Babington worked from nine to ten hours a day, interrupted only by a hasty dinner, and spending half-an-hour with the family in the evening. Here they collected the facts which were to supply the gunpowder for the artillery of their long and hard campaign. Here he could pass his time in study, and enjoy a stroll amongst the glades of the forest, and carol there his songs of praise. “ Often have I heard,” says Mr. Gisborne, “ the melodious tones of his voice amongst the trees, from the distance of full half-a-mile.” The description of the place is thus given by a youthful guest :—“ In the most retired and woody part of Needwood Forest stands the house, which is large and comfortable. The views from it are beautiful, and the whole scene gives an assurance of enjoying perfect quietness, for there is nothing near us that bears the form of life, except abundance of deer.” The party consisted of “ Mr. and Mrs. Gisborne (she a sister of Mr. Babington), and their children ; Mr. and Mrs. Babington, with two young ones ; a

younger Mr. Babington, and ourselves. Every corner of this house is crammed full of books, and people are free to read, or go out or come in, and do exactly as they like." Thus on their arrival they find the two ladies knitting and spinning, and Mr. Gisborne reading to them; and the two Mr. Babingtons performing their usual task of digging in the garden. After the accession of Mr. Wilberforce, she gives another vignette picture of a forenoon at the Lodge—Mr. Babington, jun., reading to Mr. Wilberforce in one corner of the room; Mr. Gisborne correcting the proof-sheets of his book in another; and the three ladies discussing in the middle of it. Over this large establishment Mr. Gisborne presided. Tender as a father and husband, delightful as a host, he ruled his household with a gentle hand. His partner, young and amiable, brought up out of the world and knowing nothing of its ways, adopted without a question the fashions which her husband prescribed. His opinion was to her admiring mind an authority absolute and without appeal; and when her friends objected to her simple dress and early hours as barbarous and not fit for the world, she assured them that she was perfectly happy, and never wished to know the world except by report. The host, who thus made his home in Needwood Forest, had inherited a large estate in the counties of Derby and Stafford, which present to the traveller many interesting objects. His demesne bordered on the Forest of Needwood; and its unenclosed woods of oak and holly, with their glades and dells, diversified the more cultivated landscape of English husbandry. Possessed of this position, and inheriting a large estate, Mr. Gisborne might have aspired (as his eldest son afterwards did) to represent the county of Derby in Parliament. While his estate recommended him to the freeholders, his opinions were in unison with theirs. Turning their eyes therefore to him, they asked to be allowed to choose him as their county member. But for such a life (even had his tastes not turned in another direction) Mr. Gisborne had an insuperable repugnance. He was by nature shy, and of a disposition gentle and retiring. Early in life his religious sentiments had become fixed, and his principles as well as his tastes now led him to a different vocation. To the ministry of the Church of England he gave himself; and in her service he became, both as a preacher and a writer, of no inconsiderable repute. We should find it difficult to point out an opinion more just and discriminating than Henry Thornton's; and this was the judgment which he passed on Mr. Gisborne. Speaking in 1802 of his visit to Yoxall Lodge, for the purpose of improving his friendship, he writes:—"Great would have been the pleasure of having you with me, for Gisborne is the man of almost all others whom I could wish you implicitly to follow. The longer we live, the more shall we discover the value of his

sobriety, candour, openness, and kindness." High praise from so fair and impartial a judge. Gisborne wrote a treatise on the duties of men and women, which was much esteemed. He published a work on moral philosophy, in order to correct the low views of Paley. His sermons were greatly valued, and the appearance of a new volume of these was hailed by Hannah More, and other persons of taste, as a spiritual and intellectual treat. It is true that these works do not now appear on our shelves, except in the older libraries, collected by men of his own generation; but this only proves, what it is well for us to learn, how short is the life even of the most popular writings. About this, however, Mr. Gisborne in no way concerned himself. He had not written with a view to money or fame. He wished to touch the hearts and move the consciences of living men. But these works were only the recreations of his leisure. The business of his life was different. He had given himself to the ministry of his Church; and his Church treated him, as she treats so many of her sons, with a very distant and careless observation. She acts the part of a Spartan mother, giving to her children black broth and buffets as their daily fare. Hard work and scanty pay are the terms of her service; and when she hires her servants, she certainly does not bribe them with wealth or fame. On Mr. Gisborne her rewards might have fallen gracefully; but he had none of them, and he did not seek them. As promotion or honours were not his object, he was in no ways disappointed. His desire was to do good—to write the lessons of sacred truth in the hearts of a simple people. In this labour he was successful; and he did his work not so much from a sentiment of duty (that stage of feeling had long been passed), but from pleasure. His work was his delight. He loved to pass in it every day and all the day. He went to it with a will. He worked in it heart and soul. Happily married, he had found a partner of congenial tastes; and the delight of both was to make others as happy as themselves. Wherever there was care or trouble or sickness, there they were to be found; and in the forest as in the city, there is no want of sorrow. There was not a cottage in the neighbouring hamlet, nor a hut within the glades or on the edge of the forest, which was not thoroughly known to them. They were familiar with its interior; they knew its inmates; they were interested in their concerns. If any among these families were sick, they were at hand to look after them. If any were sad, they were there to comfort them. They helped them through troubles; they lifted them over many a stiff stile in the way. They were ready to push their children into life. They smoothed the decline of the aged, and they cheered the bed of death. They were the general advisers and referees of the vicinage. Wherever that bright little figure, with her straw hat and pink ribbons and

her white gown, appeared, a sunbeam fell on the cottage door and lighted up the darkest hearth. The pastor, he was the universal friend. They came to him to settle their quarrels. In a contest of rights, they chose him as the judge, and from his judgment no one ever thought of appealing: for who would question the opinion of one who was so learned; and who would refuse the law from a lawgiver who had his code written in the hearts of all?

Without a touch of formality or condescension he moved amongst them. His knock at the cottage door was a welcome signal, and he dropped into the seat which the good wife dusted and set for him, with the freedom of a friend. After the curtsey and the smile of welcome, he listened to their histories; simple annals, but the annals of life; the same in all ranks, and in all places—family troubles, trials of temper, daily crosses, anxieties and bereavements, the bad temper of neighbours, the struggles with our own bad temper. He heard all, not as if he endured the tale, but because he liked it, and took interest in it: and these stories were his opportunities for the lessons which he wished to teach; for the incidents of daily life were the pegs on which he could hang his instructions; passing, by a natural transition, from the trials of life to its comforts, its discipline, and its aims; and these lessons dropped from him naturally, not as set sermons, or grave saws, but as hints which he offered to them with guileless simplicity, taken from his own experience. He had no need to say much; for there was in himself, in his life and looks, that which spoke better than words. They saw how he took his own trials, and bore himself under them; how he met crosses and turned them to profit, and threw on the edges of the darkest cloud the silver lining of Divine light. He could tell them of a peace independent of circumstances; and, having tried it, he could commend it to them. He was happy—that they plainly saw; he wanted them to be happy—of that they had no doubt: how they might be happy, he was there to tell them; and they became anxious to learn the lesson, for it was worth while to follow one who was himself so cheerful and so full of goodness: as to his learning and gifts of knowledge, they knew little and cared little. They might be pleased at times to think that their parson was a great scholar and a grand preacher; but if he had been Porson, or Robert Hall, it would have made no difference in their estimate. It was as a pastor they knew him. He came to their cottages, and sat down by their firesides, and understood their ways, and felt for their troubles; and never stood aloof from them, or looked down coldly, or treated them, as if he stooped down to them from a height, with a gracious but grating condescension. He was one of themselves—a plain man like themselves—walked with them the same round of duty on the same road, only a step in advance,

turning back and offering them his hand to help them over their difficulties. So they trusted him, and loved him, not for what he gave, (money cannot buy love,) but for the fellow-feeling he had with them, sympathy more precious than gold. Thus he spent his life in the Forest, and had no mind to leave it; the work he had himself chosen was that which he wrought willingly to the end. Not indeed that Mr. Gisborne lived a rude or boorish life; far from it, he had literary tastes and pursuits. Of literature he was fond. In writing, skilful and popular. He observed natural history with a curious and vigilant eye; and there was not a flower that grew within the circuit of the Forest, or an insect which flitted its brief life on the wing, that he had not noticed and eagerly studied; and nature, a bountiful mistress, threw open to her admirer a cabinet of marvels. With these he enriched his thoughts. And his library was like his mind, full of curious things, stored up and preserved—birds stuffed, and birds alive, creatures he had caught and tamed, for all living creatures loved the gentle being. Probably, had he been left to himself, he would have passed his life without interruption within his forest parish, its hamlet, its dells, and its woods. But he was connected with Mr. Babington by marriage, and there were sacred interests which connected him with Wilberforce. The same college at Cambridge (St. John's) had received them both. Wilberforce had entered the college at the age of seventeen, in the year 1776; and as he was rich, he soon attracted to himself the idle lads who in most colleges abound. After the first year he shook off these associates, and he then entered a more decorous circle. In that circle he found Thomas Gisborne, who was then reading for the mathematical distinctions which he afterwards gained; for in 1780 he went out as sixth wrangler. As Wilberforce was both amiable and hospitable, fond of discussion, and quick in repartee, and could entertain his guests both with good fare and exquisite drollery, he was universally popular. "There was no one," says Mr. Gisborne, "at all like him for powers of entertainment. My rooms and his were back to back; and often when I was raking out my fire at ten o'clock, I heard his melodious voice calling aloud to me to come and sit with him before I went to bed. It was a dangerous thing to do, for his amusing conversation was sure to keep me up so late that I was behindhand the next morning." After their college life, the two men, as often happens, drifted apart. They entered different lines of life. But though Mr. Gisborne's course was that of a retired pastor, far from London and public affairs, there was a subject in which he took intense interest—the guilt of the Slave Trade. This question touched his heart and roused his conscience. Great therefore was his delight when he found it brought forward, in 1789, with singular eloquence by his old college friend. Wilberforce's

speech on that occasion had called forth tributes of admiration ; generous praise from Pitt and Fox, and a rare *éncomium* from Edmund Burke. Mr. Gisborne sent him his congratulations, and offered to help him. He promised to employ "two or three hours a day in the service of the Africans and yourself." Soon after this he welcomed him to his own home, where he passed weeks of study in examining evidence ; and after this time, till his marriage, Yoxall Lodge was one of his favourite retreats, where he could enjoy the leisure and the ease of a close friendship. There he wrote great part of his work on Practical Christianity. From this time letters of entire confidence passed between the two friends. Mr. Gisborne writes,—"I have been as busy in town as a member of Parliament preparing himself to maintain the abolition of the Slave Trade, and no doubt much more usefully employed. I shall expect to read in the newspapers of your being carbonadoed by West Indian planters, barbecued by African merchants, and eaten by Guinea captains ; but do not be daunted, for—I will write your epitaph."

In 1792, Wilberforce sends to him the result of the debate ; and in answer to his appeal for "precise directions" as to getting up a county meeting, "for the success of each branch of the plan is matured, and you can give me your instructions in less than five minutes," he explains to him his views. Again, in the following year, we find them in correspondence on the same subject. Wilberforce confides to him his difficulties when he is struggling to open India to missions ; and Gisborne cheers and encourages him. In the letters which pass between them, however hurried, the pen of Wilberforce touches always the great theme of Christian hope, whether he speaks (*Life* i. 338) with the benevolent longing to make this subject known to others, or whether he dwells with sorrowful regrets on Pitt's untimely end. (*Corres.* ii. 70.) Sometimes, indeed, using the charm which he had exercised at Cambridge, he drew the pastor from his forest-home into the busy circle which met at Broomfield and Kensington Gore. But though whenever he appeared he was cordially welcomed, and became for a time a partner in the councils of the active cabinet, he was a silent and somewhat embarrassed spectator of modes of life and activities from which he shrank with alarm. It was like taking the bird of the forest, which had lived with its mate and had sung its kindly song beside her nest in the shade, and hurling it into the glare of day by the sea shore, among clouds of eddying sea-fowl, that whitened the face of the cliff and filled the air with shrill loud screams. To the pastor, torn from his daily rounds and woodland walks, nothing seemed more perplexing or alarming than these whirling eddies of business, these revolving movements of eager men engaged in pushing forward their benevolent schemes in

the face of fierce opposition, now driven back by adverse forces, now swept out of their course by storms of attack, yet braced all the while and firmly advancing, their wits sharpened by collision, the ear and eye awake, still pressing forward to their projected end.

Stranger, perhaps, it seemed to the pastor, after he had entered these busy councils, and had watched a single day of his friend's perturbed and bustling life, to observe him harassed by crowds of visitors, driven hither and thither by conflicting influences, and forcing his way, from dawn to dusk, through an amount of toil and talk which it made one giddy to witness; yet all the while cheerful, and retaining, in the midst of stir and strife, a spirit as calm as if he roamed fancy-free, and trod in solitude the woodland glades. Then to notice that, when the Sabbath came, and brought its welcome break to wearing toil, all care and stir and turmoil were laid aside, and the unburdened spirit, neither chafed nor worn, rose in its upward flight, and carolled, blithe as a lark, its joyous song under a cloudless sky. Moreover, he perceived that, after the bustling morning, when from crowds of claimants the statesman at last shook himself free, and snatched a short walk from the slopes of Kensington Gore to Hyde Park Corner, during this brief interval between the bustle he had left and the sea of business into which he was about to be plunged, his voice might be caught, as he strolled along, repeating to himself some verses of a favourite hymn, the minstrelsy of a Christian poet, or David's royal Psalms. Thus he realized, long before, the true picture drawn by our Christian poet :—

“There are in this loud stunning tide
Of human care and crime,
With whom the melodies abide
Of the everlasting chime:
Who carry music in their heart
Through dusky lane and wrangling mart,
Plying their daily task with busier feet,
Because their secret souls a holy strain repeat.”

But Gisborne, unaccustomed to such a life, and unable to accommodate himself to it, liked it not; and he marvelled that his friend's temper, so tried, and crossed often in his best schemes by the interests and passions of selfish men, should remain as calm as his own spirit, which was nursed in solitude, and refreshed by the sights and sounds of nature. Yet it fell out that, when the holiday of leisure came, and the friends met again in country life, the same topics were found to retain their interest for both. They could tell of the same experiences, and point to the same springs of comfort. When the pastor led the statesman to his woodland walk, among oak and holly, and guided him to the cottages of the Forest, to which his own footsteps so often turned, and told him of the peasants' annals, the cares

and the hopes of rural life, he found an eager listener, and poured the simple story into a willing ear. Further, when he unfolded to him the wonders of nature, the habits of plants, the life of birds and insects, none was more eager to hear, nor did any join more fervently in notes of wonder and of praise. Thus the two friends walked together; starting together at College, they went on together through life, and carried to old age their close regards. Their course, indeed, was distinct; one on the crowded highway, the other by rural bye-ways; yet both with the same end in view, they walked, with buoyant steps, under the same reviving sunlight. In repute, indeed, they differed; the name of the one known to the wide world, leaving a broad mark on the world's annals; the other passed his life unnoticed, but he too left deep traces, where he sought to leave them, in peasants' hearts, in the souls which he had reclaimed; and he also, in the ingathering of the harvest, will be owned a faithful husbandman.

LIFE OF LIEUT.-GEN. "STONEWALL" JACKSON.

Life of Lieut.-Gen. Thomas J. Jackson (Stonewall Jackson).

By Professor R. L. Dabney, D.D., of Richmond, Virginia.

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THE question of the lawfulness of war would never have arisen had we been satisfied to take the Bible for our guide. There war stands in its proper light. It is one of God's judgments; and if so, we might as well reason upon the sinfulness of scarlatina or the plague as upon the sinfulness of war. "For thus saith the Lord God; . . . I send my four sore judgments upon Jerusalem, the sword, and the famine, and the noisome beast, and the pestilence, to cut off from it man and beast." (Ezekiel xiv. 21.) Let the reader refer to the whole context; he will see that war, like famine, pestilence, and the noisome beast, is sent as God's chastisement upon a guilty land; it cannot be averted when the decree once goes forth. Its awful course of slaughter and devastation can only be stayed by Him who maketh wars to cease in all the earth. Man's part is here precisely what it is with regard to the other judgments of the Almighty: repentance may avert the stroke, or mitigate the severity of the scourge, or shorten the duration of the punishment. So, hardihood and contempt of God may render this pouring out of His wrath still more dreadful. War is the punishment of national sin, and such expressions as "glorious war," and the like, are utterly heathenish. For, to return to our illustration, a man might with as much reason boast of having some loathsome disease in his family, as a nation of being in a state of war,

however victorious. "Shall there be evil in the city, and the Lord hath not done it?"

Yet even the judgments of God may receive some mitigation at the hands of man. Plague and pestilence, and even famine, are shorn of some of their worst features before medical treatment, or sanitary measures, or a diffusive charity. So in war: dreadful as the infliction is, it loses something of its horrors under a Christian soldiery. Some few gleams of light relieve the dark scenes of the field of battle, when a Gustavus or a Havelock command. The waste of human life is reduced to the lowest point; and when the victory is achieved, that instant humanity resumes her sway. The life of the captive is sacred, the prisoner of war is not even tortured with a gratuitous insult, and the wounded man, whether friend or foe, receives such attention as the ghastly necessities of the hour permit.

It is here that we expected to have met with something in the life of "Stonewall" Jackson which would have enabled us to commend him to our readers as a Christian soldier; and we can say, without the slightest affectation, that we deeply regret the disappointment we experienced after reading a few pages in the volume now before us. We are not disposed to deny that Jackson may have been himself a pious man; yet in war he was barbarous and cruel in his disposition; a strange compound—like our own Hugh Peters, or the worst of the fanatics bred in the school of Cromwell. The longer the war continues, the less do we feel disposed to take up the cause either of the Federals or Confederates. The intolerable arrogance of the one, and the determination to uphold slavery in the other, forbid our sympathy with either. We look on with amazement, grieved with the madness, and, as the war advances, shocked with the cruelty, of both parties, and longing only to see the sword once more restored to its sheath. Yet we thought that in a biography such as this we might find individual cases of Christian heroism, and still we have no doubt there are such on both sides; but we cannot consent to place "Stonewall" Jackson in a high position amongst them. We are amazed to read in the editor's preface the following sentence,—“The character of General Jackson will speak for itself, and it is believed that most readers of this work will pronounce that character to have been as rare and admirable as his military genius was remarkable and his exploits were brilliant.” We cannot conceal our astonishment. We quote the words of the English editor; and we only do him bare justice when we say that he desires to be held responsible for none of the peculiar opinions broached in this strange volume. It is this caution which renders his approbation of General Jackson's character, on the whole, the more important. Since the days of the Spanish ruffian Alva, no European commander has dared to carry on war on the avowed

principle of giving no quarter. Jackson does this, and he does it before the war began. He had no sooner assumed the command than he maintained that it was the true policy of the South to take no prisoners; his biographer admits that this was a "startling opinion;" we affirm that it was a ferocious one. The greater humanity of the Confederate government forbade their general to conduct the war on terms fit only for a scalping Indian with his tomahawk, but "he calmly maintained it in conversation many months after," and was prepared with his reasons, such as they are; which, that we may not seem to do him the least injustice, we shall here transcribe:—

"He affirmed that this would be in the end truest humanity, because it would shorten the contest, and prove economical of the blood of both parties; and that it was a measure urgently dictated by the interests of our cause, and clearly sustained by justice. This startling opinion he calmly sustained in conversation, many months after, by the following considerations, which he prefaced with the remark, that, inasmuch as the authorities of the Confederate States had seen fit to pursue the other policy, he had cheerfully acquiesced, and was as careful as other commanders to enjoin on his soldiers the giving of quarter and humane treatment to disarmed enemies. But he affirmed that this war was, in its intent and inception, different from all civilized wars, and therefore should not be brought under their rules. It was not, like them, a strife for a point of honour, a diplomatic quarrel, a commercial advantage, a boundary, or a province; but an attempt on the part of the North against the very existence of the Southern States. It was founded in a denial to their people of the right of self-government, in virtue of which, solely, the Northern States themselves existed. Its intention was a wholesale murder and piracy, the extermination of a whole people's national life. It was, in fact, but the 'John Brown Raid' resumed and extended, with new accessories of horror, and, as the Commonwealth of Virginia had righteously put to death every one of those cut-throats upon the gallows, why were their comrades in the same crime to claim now a more honourable treatment? Such a war was an offence against humanity so monstrous, that it outlawed those who shared its guilt beyond the pale of forbearance. But as justice authorised their destruction, so wisdom and prudence demanded it; for it is always wisest to act upon principle, in preference to expediency. He argued further, that this enormous intent of the war, together with the infuriated temper of the Northern people, and the circumstances of the contest, would inevitably lead them, before its close, even if they observed some measure at first, to barbarities and violations of belligerent rights, which would compel our authorities, by every consideration of righteous retribution, and duty to their own injured citizens, to a bloody retaliation. But this would probably be then retorted, and the internecine policy would assume a wider extent. The arrogance of the Federal Government would be sure to add political persecution of our citizens to the other rigours of war, under the pretext of punishing rebellion. The Administration at Washington was indebted to Abolitionism for its real strength, and would find itself impelled, whether it willed it or not, to conduct the war in accordance with the demands of that

fell fanaticism. It would be seen, before this contest was over, inciting slave insurrections in the South, arming the servile class against their masters, and setting them on to perpetrate all the horrors of savage warfare. The Confederate States ought not to submit to these enormities, and could not; but the measures of retribution which the protection of their outraged citizens would require, should be directed rather against the instigators than the ignorant tools. By the time, however, this stern necessity had manifested itself, the Federal Government might have many of our soldiers, and much of our territory, in their clutches, so that retaliation would be encumbered with additional difficulties. It would be better, therefore, to begin upon a plan of warfare which would place none of our citizens in their power alive. And lastly, if quarter was neither given nor asked, our soldiers would be only the more determined, vigilant, and unconquerable, for they were fighting under an inevitable necessity for liberties, homes, and existence; while the soldiers of our enemies would be intimidated, and enlistments would be prevented, because they contend only for pique, revenge, and lust of gain. Indeed, it was in every way for the advantage of the Confederate States that the war should be made to unmask its murderous nature most practically to the apprehensions of our citizens, for then they would be more likely to rise to the exercise of those radical and primary instincts of the human soul, which are commensurate in intensity with the magnitude of the stake at issue. This war was, in its true nature, internecine; it were better that it should be understood as such. Its real meaning was destruction to the South; better have each citizen and soldier understand this for himself, in the most personal sense. Then, instead of seeing a people waging so dire a contest for the primary objects of existence, with divided zeal, and with only the secondary motives of their nature, the most powerful moral forces of the soul would be evoked to sustain the struggle.

"Such, in substance, were the reasons which he rendered for his conclusion. They were given with an unpretending simplicity, which no other can reproduce: for it was a characteristic of his mind, that the most profound considerations were seen by him so clearly and simply, that they were expressed without logical parade or pomp, as though they had been easy, and obvious to every understanding. Those who have watched the subsequent course of the war can decide how accurately all his predictions have been verified. And every thoughtful man now anticipates nothing else, than to see mutual acts of retaliation precipitate the parties into an unsparing slaughter; a result which has only been postponed thus far, by the unexampled forbearance of the people and government of the Confederate States." (pp. 224-228.)

This is at once the most painful and the most instructive passage in the whole volume. It leads us, at least, to reflect upon the profound deceit, which a mind not by any means unacquainted with the principles of religion, and to some degree under their influence, is capable of practising upon itself. The proposition maintained by "Stonewall" Jackson is this, that when the battle is over the work of the cut-throat begins. Let us not flinch from plain words where they are

essential to convey our meaning, and where they do not convey the slightest exaggeration. This model of soldierly piety meant this, and nothing short of this,—that the wounded Federal must be stabbed or shot down upon the field; that if a regiment surrendered, the regiment must be slaughtered in cold blood when the battle was over; or that if a garrison were surprised, without having the opportunity to strike a blow, every man of that garrison must be put to death. Were not the *noyades* and *fusillades* of Lyons trifling excesses compared with this? Napoleon was not sensitive to the value of human life; but the death of the Duke D'Enghien, or of the poor bookseller Polk, or the poisoning of a score of his own soldiers who lay wounded in Syria (in order, as he said, to save them from the barbarities of the Mahomedans), were trifles in comparison with this hideous project of "Stonewall" Jackson. And there are three circumstances which increase its wickedness: the first, that he was educated a soldier, and therefore knew the full import of his words; the second, that it was not in heated blood, and when the Federals had committed their ravages and acts of violence on the South, but before the war—provoked in the first instance by the Confederates themselves—had well begun, that it was announced; and thirdly, that the people upon whom it was to be executed were the kindred, the blood relations, of those who were to be their assassins. But this is civil war, and these are its influences upon one whom two Christian ministers join to exalt as a model, not merely for Christian soldiers, but even for the Church of Christ!

General Jackson held, of course, the sovereignty of the individual States, including their right to retire from the national Union whenever they might judge it to be for their interest to do so. Such a secession might be injurious to the remaining States, and this would prove that the original constitution of the Union was by no means the perfection of human wisdom. But it would not prove that the seceding States were rebels. We in England have all along viewed the quarrel in this light, and we are quite prepared to concede all that General Jackson or his biographer claim on behalf of the Confederates. Whether they acted towards their brethren of the North with due consideration, or even with justice, has never at any time been the question with Great Britain. We neither provoked the quarrel, nor was our opinion invoked upon the subject. Our interests lay with the South. We thought there was much truth in their boast that "cotton was king," and we apprehended far more mischief from the dethronement of the fleecy monarch than has taken place, or now can possibly take place. We did hope, however, that at least South American slavery would cease. We hope so still, but not because the Confederates display a better feeling towards their slaves; for their hearts

seem hardened, like that of the Egyptian tyrant, and they will not let this people go. We feel no surprise that General Jackson, though a kind man, should be a determined upholder of slavery. He had many noble qualities ; he displayed in private much of the Christian character ; his biographer shows him, to his own satisfaction, to have been a far higher patriot than Cromwell, a far greater soldier than Havelock. We have no objection to eulogies of this kind. That American writers should extol Americans, is natural and right ; we would merely suggest to their consideration, whether their eulogies would not have more force if they betrayed less anxiety to depreciate the great men of other countries. This, however, is their own affair ; they will probably think it is of little importance what England may say on the relative merits of Cromwell or Havelock and General "Stonewall" Jackson, or whether we can reconcile their broad assertion, that all men have equal rights, with their systematic denial of the rights of common humanity to a whole race of men whose misfortune it is to be of the country of St. Cyprian, and to wear the same complexion as Bishop Crowther, who, as we have heard him tell the story (and it is a story, once heard, never to be forgotten), was rescued by a British cruiser from the deck of an African slaver. That a soldier, even of Christian principles, brought up in a slave State, should soon reconcile his conscience to slavery, does not much surprise us ; but it is not without some indignation we find that Christian ministers are, of all the advocates of slavery, the most violent. We confess that we hear with little satisfaction of revivals, however striking—of conversions, however wonderful—of prayer meetings, however marked the answers to prayer are said to be—so long as the spiritual guides in all these movements are not less emphatically the men who argue with the greatest tenacity for the perpetual bondage of the African ; who are foremost to justify the system, and even to palliate its worst features. It seems as though that which was spoken by the Apostle had fallen upon them, and that God Himself had sent them strong delusion to believe a lie. We can regard it as nothing else than an example to the world of the righteous dealings of offended Heaven with those who have refused to hear His voice, and are left to display the sinfulness of their own depraved nature. Amongst the public writers of the South, and amongst its politicians, we remark with pleasure an evident improvement ; amongst the ministers of religion there is none. *They* do not apologise ; *they* do not express a hope that after a while it may be possible, first to remit the rigours of slavery, and then at length to break his bonds, and let the slave go free. On the contrary, they glory in their shame, setting Scriptural interpretation and common sense equally at defiance ; they defend the institution of slavery from the Bible, and pro-

fess to regard it as something of Divine origin and worthy of universal admiration. Our readers cannot have forgotten the execution of John Brown at Harper's Ferry, for attempting, by a public movement for which the Southern States were totally unprepared, to bring about the manumission of the slaves. General, then Major, Jackson was sent there with his artillery, to witness, and, if necessary, to enforce, his execution. "He was," we are told, "a spectator of the stoical death of the old murderer, and gave his friends a graphic account of the scene." Then, after many pages of angry declamation and coarse abuse, Dr. Dabney condescends to an argument with his opponents. We give the reader a specimen of it:—

"But every citizen of the Confederate States, like General Jackson, would disdain to argue this cause from the premiss, that the relation of the master to his slave is unrighteous in itself. They assume the high position that this relation is, for their circumstances, as innocent and lawful in itself as any other relation of government, and recognised as such by God and sound ethics, as well as by all the laws of their country. When pointed to the almost universal condemnation of this proposition by the rest of Christendom, they boldly declare, that this results from an exclusion of the Southern people from a hearing in their own defence, and a perverse and indolent reception, from their enemies, of the most monstrous tissue of slanders and falsehoods which ever confounded a human mind. The world has been told a myriad times, until the world believes it, that Virginian slavery makes a human being a chattel, a piece of property, thus violating the first intuitions of justice. Yet all this is absolutely false; every slave-law of Virginia treats the slave as a person, a responsible, reasonable being, and not a thing; the only property which the law recognises in him, is the property in his involuntary labour. And if the involuntary labour of a human being cannot be property, then every parent, husband, and master of an apprentice, in the civilized world, is made a transgressor. It is uniformly asserted that slavery proceeds upon the assumption that it is the master's privilege to expend and exhaust the labour, welfare, and very being of his fellow-man, for his own selfish behoof, without equivalent; and that hence it is a flagrant violation of that great law of love and equity, the golden rule. All this is absolutely false. This form of servitude is defended only on the ground, demonstrated so fully by experience, that it secures for the servant the greatest practicable amount of wellbeing. The laws all make the duties and benefits of the relation reciprocal, and oblige the master to render to his servant a liberal return for his labour, in the form of a life-long maintenance of himself and his family, secured against every contingency of decrepitude and sickness; just as much as they oblige the servant to render his labour to his master. That this is, in the general, a better recompense than the African could win as a free negro, is the justification always pleaded." (pp. 193—195.)

The following paragraph contains an untruth, implied or asserted, in every sentence:—

"It has been charged that Virginian slavery makes the master the

irresponsible possessor of the chastity of the female slave. This is again an absolute falsehood; the law fences around the chastity of the servant, even against the violence of her own master, by the same sanctions which protect that of the white lady. It has been charged that the laws of Virginia forbid the slave to lift his hand for the defence of life or limb, in obedience to the instincts of self-preservation, against any white man. This is absolutely false; while the laws require the servant to accept the chastisement of his master, they recognise in him the same discretion of self-defence, even against his owner, when assailed in life and limb, which is granted to the white freeman. It has been said that we prohibit the slave all access to letters, and do not permit him to learn to read even the book of life. This, again, is unmingled falsehood; there is no law in Virginia forbidding a master to teach his slaves literature; and as many of them can read, and do read, God's Word, as of the agricultural peasantry of boasted England. It has been said that Virginian slavery forbids the marital and parental relations among slaves, consigning them to a brutal concubinage, like that of animals. In the sense charged, this is absolutely false; conjugal and parental bliss is as much recognised, and as little interrupted among them, as among any people of the same civilization. It has been said that their discipline and treatment are inhuman. This is transcendently false. No peasantry on earth is treated with as much humanity, and bears tasks so light. There are instances of barbarity, even of murder; but they are punished, by the laws and public opinion, at least as regularly as any crimes against free persons in this country. Are there no cases of wife-murder, and child-murder, in New and Old England? It is asserted, in ten thousand forms, that slavery has degraded the African; but this is also false: it has civilized and elevated him, more rapidly than any other philanthropy has raised any pagan race in the world.

"This introduces the affirmative truth, that the relation of servitude is a righteous, because a beneficent one, for the African among white men. Let the tree be known by its fruits. It has conferred a higher physical well-being than is enjoyed by any other labouring population, as is proved by their increase of numbers, cheerfulness, and immunity from bodily infirmities. The Virginian servant is lifted in the scale of manhood so high above his fellows of the African wilds, that, when by rare chance he meets them, he is ashamed and indignant at the assertion of a community of race. American servitude has made nearly half a million out of four millions (one in eight) members of Christian churches, from being, three generations ago, besotted Pagans. All the Christian philanthropy of the rest of the world has not done as much for heathendom. Our system has created an affectionate union between the two races, elsewhere so hostile, which has astounded our enemies and the world, with their quietude in these times of convulsion." (pp. 195—197.)

It is in vain to tell us that Virginian slavery fences around the chastity of the servant even against the violence of her own master by the same sanctions which protect that of the white lady. The question with us is not about Virginian law, but Virginian practice; and so in every succeeding sentence.

Will Dr. Dabney himself dare to refer us to a file of Richmond newspapers for the last twelve months? Even where there is some pretext of truth, that truth hides a lie beneath it. If the patience of our readers, to say nothing of the modesty of every female, did not forbid the discussion, we, for our part, are ready at any moment to disprove the truth of every proposition the paragraph contains.

We wish to detract nothing from the military genius of General "Stonewall" Jackson. We are willing to hope that he was a sincere Christian; but he has gone to appear before the Judge of quick and dead, and with what sentiments he may now look back upon his wish ungratified, but never abandoned, of seeing a war carried on against men of his own kindred without quarter, we shall not determine. We know who hath said, "He that *doeth righteousness* is righteous even as He is righteous;" and we know, too, whose voice it was that proclaimed the beatitude from the Mount, "Blessed are the merciful, for they shall obtain mercy."

Only the first volume of this biography is yet published; but we now feel but little interest in the past American campaigns, and, to say the truth, very little in the private life of General Jackson. We shall probably not return to the subject. We wish well both to North and South; and we shall continue to do so, however much our conduct may be resented by one or both of them. The time will come when they will do England justice, though we fear it is still distant; and we are by no means sure that, before it arrives, we must not wade through the deep miseries of another war.

DR. PUSEY'S LECTURES ON THE PROPHET DANIEL.

Daniel the Prophet. Nine Lectures, delivered in the Divinity School of the University of Oxford. With Copious Notes. By the Rev. E. B. Pusey, D.D., &c. Parkers, Oxford. 1864.

WE hail the publication of these Lectures with deep thankfulness to God. The name of Dr. Pusey has long been associated with a movement which, although some incidental benefits may have arisen, we have never ceased to regard as alien from, and opposed to, the spirit of the Gospel, and highly perilous to the best interests of the Church of England. But the course of the two main leaders of that movement, never strictly parallel, has diverged more and more. Dr. Newman, the man of lively and brilliant fancy, the intellectual gladiator, the self-confident champion, whose trumpet, he boasted, would give no uncertain sound, has passed over long ago to the ranks of the enemy.

His latest work is an exposition of himself, not of Holy Scripture, and exhibits a melancholy progress from the dreams of childhood to the fanciful speculations of his riper age, till he proved the truth of warnings he had received, and took refuge from utter scepticism in the arms of the great sorceress of Rome. Dr. Pusey's course has been different. Even when stirring actively in a movement we deeply deplore, his tone, compared with most of his associates, was more serious, calm, and reverent. And now, when subtle forms of unbelief are assailing the Church of Christ, we find him occupied with two of the noblest duties in which the Christian can engage, the earnest defence, and honest and careful exposition, of the word of God. We have no right to say that he has unlearned the serious errors of his earlier writings. In these Lectures, however, and in the Commentary on the Minor Prophets, ecclesiastical tradition, and the clouds of a sacramental theology, retire into the back ground, and almost disappear. The work before us is an able, learned, and patient vindication of the Book of Daniel from the learned scepticism by which it has been assailed. It breathes throughout a spirit of calm, deep reverence for Scripture. With some few exceptions, the line of thought and argument pursued is worthy of the high theme, and must approve itself to all who believe in those inspired oracles, which God has magnified above all His name.

These Lectures were planned by their author as his own especial contribution to the defence of the faith against the tide of scepticism let loose on the young and uninstructed, by the Essays and Reviews. We pass over with reluctance many weighty remarks, in the preface, on the character of that work, and the wide controversy it has opened. Its writers, he says with truth, "asserted little distinctly, attempted to prove less, but threw doubts upon everything." He selected the Book of Daniel, because unbelieving critics considered their attacks upon it one of their greatest triumphs. In vol. iii., pp. 158, 231, of Dr. Davidson's Introduction to the Old Testament, English readers will find a condensed summary, by an eager partisan, of all the German arguments of Lengerke and others against the genuineness of the work. The strange vacillation between orthodoxy not yet abandoned, and growing sympathy with neology, which marked the earlier volume of the same writer, and filled it with inconsistency and contradiction, has now settled down into a zealous advocacy of the unbelieving alternative on almost every question connected with the literature of the Old Testament. In a note of his preface Dr. Pusey remarks on it, that it "is only a reproduction of the rationalistic German works, which he either epitomises or translates," and that he has not "met with one new argument in it, or even an old argument put more forcibly;" and proceeds at once to

convict him of some strange mistakes in his Hebrew, and a surprisingly false assertion about Hippolytus, as if he were a sharer in Porphyry's unbelief. Still those who wish to learn, in a condensed form, the whole pith of the objections to which these Lectures are a reply, will find the chapter in question a very convenient compilation. The main conclusion reached is, that the book was of the time of the Maccabees, the forgery of some unknown patriot; and its one object was, by a fiction in the double form of history and prophecy, to encourage his countrymen in their resistance to the heathen tyrant, Antiochus Epiphanes, and his successors.

A copious table of contents shows the line of thought pursued in these nine Lectures. The following is a condensed outline. (1.) First, the Book is one. The character of Daniel is consistent from first to last. The Chaldee and Hebrew portions are from the same author. There are no Greek words, except the names of two or three musical instruments, imported along with them. The language agrees with the time and circumstances of the real prophet, and disagrees with those of the imaginary forger. (2.) The Book, whatever its date, contains real prophecy of the Roman empire, and of Messiah, both later than Antiochus. This is directly proved by a close analysis of the visions. (3.) The rival constructions of these prophecies are mutually inconsistent, and opposed to the force of the emblems. Three or four alternatives, which introduce the Assyrian, or divide the first, second, or third empire, are examined and disproved. (4.) The Prophecy of the Seventy Weeks agrees with the time of our Lord, and disagrees with those of Antiochus. Unnatural explanations, to get rid of the prediction, are examined, especially those of Marsham, Corrodi, Eichhorn, Paulus, Bertholdt, Wieseler, Lengerke, and Ewald. The whole prophecy is contrasted with the rationalist expositions. (5.) The minuteness of some of these predictions agrees with the whole system of inspired prophecy. A large induction is given, from the blessings of Jacob and Moses, to the messages of Jeremiah and Ezekiel. Daniel has all the varieties of prophecy. (6.) The Canon was closed at the time named by Josephus, or about four centuries before Christ. Date of the wisdom of the son of Sirach. Proof thence derived. Gradual collection of the sacred books, even before the Captivity. Direct proof of the existence of this Book before Epiphanes, from the use of its prayer by Nehemiah, two of Zechariah's visions, the book of Baruch, the 3rd Sibylline Book, the speech of Mattathias in the First of Maccabees, the Greek translation and additions to the book itself, and the Book of Enoch. 7. Historical inaccuracies are falsely charged; the dates in general, Belshazzar, the date of Susa, satraps, the den of lions, the classes of Magi, and their education. Twelve supposed improbabilities explained or

disproved. (8 & 9.) The doctrines alleged to prove a later date are in harmony with other scripture, and no doctrine or practice was borrowed from Parsism. There follow six notes, full of Hebrew learning, on peculiar terms and phrases, and other interesting questions of philology.

The opening remarks in the Introduction clear away the mists by which some modern sceptics disguise from others, and perhaps from themselves, the real nature of their own conclusions, and the charge of direct forgery and abominable profaneness which they bring against the sacred writers, to their own condemnation. The nature of the real issue is unfolded with great force and clearness :—

“The Book of Daniel is especially fitted to be a battle-field between faith and unbelief. It admits of no half measures. It is either Divine, or an imposture. To write any book under the name of another, and give it out as his, is a forgery, dishonest in itself, and destructive of all trustworthiness. But the case would go far beyond this. The writer, if he were not Daniel, must have lied on a most frightful scale, ascribing to God prophecies never uttered, and miracles which are assumed never to have been wrought. The whole book would be one lie in the name of God. The more God is the centre of the whole, the more directly would the falsehood come into relation to God. . . . The miracles it implies, the prophecies it avers to have been recorded by Daniel, a contemporary. Either we have true miracles and true prophecy, or we should have nothing but untruth. An apology for the supposed forger, such as those put out by some Germans, and lately in England, is utterly untenable and immoral. . . . It is idle to deny ‘a deceptive intention’ (Essays, p. 76,) when the writer, had he not been Daniel, would have deceived first his own people, and then the whole Christian world until now. Strange, that some who deny the ‘deceptive intention,’ adduce the declarations made to or by Daniel, that the prophecies were true, as a proof that they were false. Yet wherein differs this from our Blessed Lord’s own assertion, that His words were true, that He is the Truth? St. John avers his own truth, St. Paul also, and Jeremiah. The assertion in Daniel is not more frequent than in St. Paul. . . . More consistent is Hitzig’s undisguised statement. ‘The case of the Book of Daniel, if it is assigned to any other, is different. Then it becomes a forged writing, and the intention was to deceive his immediate readers, though for their good!’ A deceit which would fall under the sentence of God against those who say, Let us do evil, that good may come : whose damnation is just. The moral law in the hearts of the heathen strongly condemned forgery, even when not ungodly. It was reserved for persons within Christianity to apologise for it.”

The unbelief, anterior to the negative criticism, which forms its starting point and groundwork, is briefly shown by extracts, as before by Hengstenberg in his Introduction to the Petantuch, from De Wette, Knobel, Baur, the Westminster Review, and the Essays and Reviews. Dr. Pusey then proceeds as follows :—

"Such statements, however often they occur in books of unbelieving criticism, have plainly nothing to do with criticism or historical inquiry. They assume the whole question about which criticism can be engaged. If any of us say, on our side, Our Lord, being God, and having Divine knowledge, pronounced Daniel to be a prophet, and quoted words of his as prophetic,—we do thereby mean to close up the question of criticism. On grounds extrinsic to the book we believe critical inquiry to be superseded by Divine authority. We feel satisfied, of course, that there can be no real grounds of criticism contradictory to that authority; but we do not pretend that this antecedent certainty of ours belongs to the province of criticism. As little, plainly, does the opposite denial of the possibility of prophecy. . . This whole ground, on either side, is antecedent to criticism. *Their* denial of the possibility of miracles and prophecy denies, in fact, to our Creator powers we possess ourselves, of regulating our own work, or communicating to others our own designs. It has its source in utter ignorance of God, and is to be remedied by a knowledge of Him and of ourselves, our Creator and His creatures.

"But although this belief as to the prophecies of Daniel must be part of my religious being, since it is inseparable from my belief that Jesus is God, this in no way interferes with the examination of the prophecies themselves. I cannot indeed examine them as one who doubts. No one who believes in Christ can or ought to assume that to be doubtful, on which Christ has set His seal. . . . Even in matters of certain human knowledge, men do not ignore their own knowledge, to impart it to others, or to remove objections. Nor can I make-believe, what I do not believe, that these objections to the Book of Daniel have any special plausibility. I select them out of the flood of pseudo-criticism with which we have been inundated, because the school which propagates them has given out its achievements here to be 'one of the greatest triumphs of modern criticism.' (Essay I. p. 302.) *Crimine ab uno disce omnes.*"

The argument begins with a proof of the unity of the book, now commonly owned even by the negative critics.

"No one now doubts that it is one whole. That hacking school of criticism, which hewed the books of Holy Scripture into as many fragments as it pleased, survives only in a few expiring representatives. It reigned in Germany with Oriental despotism for a time, but is now deposed even there. . . . No less is that other theory of Eichhorn now rejected by all, that the Chaldee and Hebrew portions are by different authors."

The internal proof of this unity is then unfolded, much as in "The Bible and Modern Thought," (pp. 192, 193,) but more fully, and with great clearness. We must quote from the part which dwells on the character of Daniel as one concurrent argument for the same truth, and brings it out with much force and beauty.

"The character of Daniel runs one and the same through the book, majestic in its noble simplicity. As a revealer of God in a heathen court, and as raised to a high dignity in God's providence

for the sake of his brethren, he occupies, in this temporary dissolution of the political existence of his people, a place corresponding to that of Moses at the beginning. Like him, he was educated in the highest wisdom of a people famed for wisdom. Even this likeness has its unlikeness. In Moses God manifested, not His wisdom, but His power. Yet, as the wise of Egypt were put to shame by the power of God wherewith He clothed Moses the shepherd, so He paled the reputation of the wisdom of the Magi by His Spirit which He placed in the captive boy Daniel.'

"The book gives but a slight hint that Daniel was trained amidst suffering and privation, in that in his person the prophecy of Isaiah to Hezekiah was fulfilled. (Is. xxxix. 7.) Thither, with several other Jewish youths, he himself of royal blood was taken while a boy, and placed in the care of the chief of the eunuchs. His name was changed, as that of his three companions; a badge of servitude, designed to obliterate the memory of their early home, and, in the case of these Jewish children, of their God. . . . It was part of that simplicity of boyish faith, which is the herald of future greatness, that he, the soul of his three companions, trusted that God would uphold his strength and health, as well through the pulse as through the forbidden food. He tells us it was so, as a simple fact. . . . In that same strong faith he, with his companions, obtained from God the knowledge of the dream and its meaning, which saved him from death. In the same simple faith, in his advanced age, he continued, like the Psalmist, to pray three hours a day, openly, when the penalty was the den of lions.

"Yet with this uncompromising duty to God, he shows, where he may, a subject's deference. What a respectful tenderness in that explanation of the dream, where his impending insanity was foreshown to the king. He sat astonished for one hour, and his thoughts troubled him. The king had to encourage him to speak, so amazed was he at such a reverse to such greatness. We almost hear the accents of tenderness and pity with which he spake. With what gentle words does he exhort him to those acts of mercy and righteousness, whereby the chastisement might yet be averted! . . . To the emperor Belshazzar he had to announce imminent judgment; yet then, too, with what longing remembrance does he look back to the days of Nebuchadnezzar, his greatness, glory, honour, humiliation, repentance. Human greatness is, when unabused, a majestic sight; for the powers that be are ordained of God. They are reflections of His supremacy. . . . The memory dwells on the mind of the aged seer, as of a glorious sight which had faded. Even of the weak king, who had let himself be entrapped into a law which constrained the condemnation of Daniel, he dwells on all the good side—his reluctance to execute the decree, his sorrow at it, his ineffectual desire to evade it, his one night's repentance. The few words of his own he has preserved are in the same gentle, respectful tone,—'Before thee also, O king, I have done no hurt.' Yet the love of his home, and the country God had chosen for His people, lived through all those years of a lifelong absence and greatness. We see it in the old man of four score and three, streaming back on the life of sixty-nine years of exile. It is told us incidentally; but for the decree of Darius we should not have known it.

(vi. 10.) What a yearning for the dust of the city of his God does there lie in those two words, *towards Jerusalem!* What a life of longing prayer in those closing words, *as he did aforetime!* Yet he prayed toward Jerusalem, not simply as his native land, but in memory of the prayer at the dedication of the temple. (1 Kings viii. 47—50.) The same earnest longing we see developed in that full and deep outpouring of his soul, when the seventy years of the captivity were all but accomplished. We hear it in words which now would express the yearnings of the soul longing for the restoration of one's country or of the Church. One who could doubt their truth knows nothing of prayer, or of the voice of the soul. It were a psychological contradiction. . . . Such undeviating integrity, beyond the ordinary life of man, in a worshipper of the One God, in the most dissolute and degraded of the merchant cities of old, first minister in the first of the world's monarchies, was in itself a great fulfilment of the purpose of God, in converting the chastisement of His people into the riches of the Gentiles."

The rest of this first Lecture, pp. 23—57, and forty pages in the appendix, are occupied with a full and exhaustive discussion of the argument from style and language. Nothing can well be more complete and crushing than the refutation of the sceptical theories. We must content ourselves with two extracts—on the musical instruments, and on the general style.

"Criticism, then, as it became more accurate, retreated point by point from all which, in its rashness, it had assailed. First, it gave up the so-called Græcisms; then that there were any Greek words in Daniel except three musical instruments; then that there was anything incredible in some Greek instruments being used at Nebuchadnezzar's festival; lastly, this crotchet, that two of the musical instruments were Macedonian words, must give way likewise. Yet at each stage those pseudo-criticisms did their work. Those who disbelieved Daniel believed the authority of the critics.

"I have treated this question of Greek instruments on what I believe to be the only philosophical ground—the fact of an old and extensive commerce between Babylon and the West. The name travelled with the thing, is an acknowledged principle of philology. It needed not that a single Greek should have been at Babylon. Tyrian merchants took with them the names of the wares they sold, just as our English merchants transmitted the names of our Indian imports into Germany, or the Spaniards brought us back the American names of the products of the New World. At this day, I am told, some of our Manchester goods are known by the name of their manufacturer in Tartary, where the face of an Englishman has scarcely been seen. Yet the actual intercourse of the Greeks with the East is now known to have been far greater than was formerly imagined. . . . The name of Javan, or Greece, occurs in the inscriptions of Sargon, among those from whom he received tribute. Articles of luxury formed part of the tribute to Assyria. His statue found at Idalium commemorates his expedition against Cyprus. It was no great matter for monarchs who transported a monolith obelisk from Armenia, and moved those

colossal bulls, and brought cedars from Lebanon, to import a few musical instruments. Either way, as spoils of war or articles of commerce, they might easily have found their way to Babylon." . . .

"In fine, the Hebrew of Daniel is exactly what you would expect in a writer of his age, and under his circumstances. It has not one single idiom unsuited to that time. The few Aryan or Syriac words remarkably belong to it. The Chaldee marks itself out as such as could not have been written at the time when, if not Divine and prophetic, it must have been written. No opponent has ventured to look steadily at the facts of the correspondence of the language of Daniel and Ezra, and their difference from the language of the Targums. It is plainly cumulative evidence, when both portions so written are united in one book. The fact also, that the book is written in both languages, suits the times of Daniel, and is inexplicable by those who place it in the time of the Maccabees. No other book, or portion of a book, approximates to that date. The last book, Nehemiah, was finished two and a-half centuries before, or about B.C. 410. The theory of Maccabee Psalms lived too long, but is now numbered with the dead. Only one or two here or there, who believe little beside, believe in this phantom of a past century. But even if such Hebrew, and what is utterly inconceivable, such Aramaic, *could* have been written in the time of the Maccabees, it would still be inexplicable that both should be written.

"If the object of the writer be supposed to have been to write as would be most readily understood, this would account for the Aramaic; but one who wrote with that object would not have written in Hebrew what was of most interest to the people, and especially written for those times. If his object had been, like Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi, to write in the language of the ancient prophets, he would not have written in Aramaic at all. The prophecies in the Chaldee portion are even more comprehensive, for the most part, than those of the Hebrew. Had such been the object, one would rather expect (except the 70 weeks) the languages should have been reversed; for the Aramaic portions speak most of the kingdom of the Messiah.

"The use, then, of the two languages, and the mode in which the prophet writes in both, correspond perfectly with his real date; they are, severally and together, inexplicable according to the theory which would make the book a product of Maccabean times. The language, then, is one mark of genuineness, set by God on the book. Rationalism must rebel, as it has rebelled, but it dares not now, with any moderate honesty, abuse philology to cover its rebellion."

The second and third Lectures deal with the subject of the Four Empires; the first positively, to confirm and unfold their application to Babylon, Medo-Persia, Greece, and Rome; and the second negatively, to show the contradiction and inconsistency of the various rival theories, and that exclusion of the Roman Empire, which the sceptical hypothesis requires. Both of these Lectures are clear, forcible, and decisive, so far as they maintain this catholic interpretation of the Empires. On the contrary, they exhibit vagueness, and even contradiction, so

far as they forsake the Protestant view of the symbols of the last Empire, and apply either the little horn only, or the ten horns and ten toes also, to future powers which have not yet appeared. The special correspondence of the four parts of the image and of the four Beasts, with the four Empires in question, and the utter destruction of the symbolic harmony, when the Roman is thrust out, is shown with great force of argument. Before we dwell on the weighty defect we have named, we must quote one pithy and striking passage which opens the third Lecture:—

“It is assumed, in Rationalist interpretations, that the Fourth Empire is none later than the Macedonian, to which Antiochus Epiphanes belonged. For else there would be prophecy. And since it is an axiom of the school of Porphyry that there can be no prophecy, facts must be made to square with the first principle. There is to be no allusion to the Roman Empire, for in the time of Antiochus human foresight could not yet discern that it would become an empire of the world.

“But if the Greek Empire is to be the fourth, which are the other three? The sum must be made up, though one of the items is withdrawn. 1, 1, 1, and 0 must somehow be made 4. The result is held infallibly certain, else God must be admitted to have revealed to His creatures a future they could not foresee, which, it is assumed, is impossible. Yet no one can dispute that there are four Empires. How is the subtracted fourth to be replaced? The process has been tried on all the remaining three. Two halves are to become two wholes. Only, agreed as to the result, they have been nothing less (?) than agreed as to the process whereby it was to be arrived at. Every possible combination has been tried. 1st, Nebuchadnezzar alone was made the first Empire; the weak descendants of his house the second. 2nd, The Medo-Persian Empire was divided, so that the Medes were the second, the Persians the third. 3rd, The Macedonian was divided; Alexander alone being to form the third, his successors, amidst the weakness of their perpetual divisions, the fourth. This was Porphyry's expedient. 4th, Lastly, all these were left entire, and the Empire, subtracted at the end, was replaced at the beginning. Ewald was rightly dissatisfied with those former solutions; yet, with the contempt for evidence so often characterizing German theory, he assumed that Daniel lived, not at Babylon, but Nineveh, and that the winged lion traditionally meant the Assyrian Empire. The bear then became the Babylonian; the leopard, the Medes and Persians; while the Fourth represented the sway of Alexander. Of these theories, each concedes by turns as much of the truth as it can afford. The adherents of three concede or contend that the Babylonian is one and the same Empire; three maintain this of the Medo-Persian; three as to Alexander and his successors. The interpretation of both the Jewish and the Christian Church, nay, of the heathen world before Christ, has in each case the support of three out of four parties which oppose it. No one hesitates to admit whatever, in order to make out his case, he is not constrained to deny. Each opposes the other, just as much as the old-established interpretation.

Then, in regard to their disagreement; one makes the rapid, resistless conqueror, Nebuchadnezzar, the sluggish bear; two make the Medes and Persians the swift leopard; one makes Alexander's successors, who fell one by one an easy prey to the Romans, the all-crushing iron, or that Beast which was more terrible, mighty, world-trampling, than all before it! But apart from this, each is, on the first view, untenable and baseless."

The third Lecture, which follows, is a complete and almost exhaustive refutation of all these rival theories, and little can be added to the clearness and force of the argument. The proof at the close, from the first book of Maccabees, how little Rome's world-wide empire was actually foreseen, even after the death of Antiochus, completes the evidence that these visions are no human guess-work, but are the words of Him who "declareth the end from the beginning, from ancient times the things that are not yet done."

The remarks, however, in the second Lecture, on the ten kings, and the fifth kingdom, are by no means so convincing or satisfactory. Dr. Pusey's school of theology here leads him to slur over the testimony the visions really contain against Papal Rome. The two legs of the image are referred to the Eastern and Western Empires, and the ten kingdoms to the further division, when "Germans and Slaves advanced into Roman ground" (p. 67), and "the mingling with the seed of men," to the intermarriages of the Roman and Barbarian races. "And so it continued," it is added, "till the end of all earthly power, and until its final ramification into ten kingdoms. To attempt now to mark out these, would be as misplaced as to fix the coming of Christ, with which they stand connected, to-morrow or the next day." But still the setting up of the kingdom of the mountain is viewed as a thing of the past. The Author remarks on these points as follows:—

"Above eighteen centuries have verified the prediction of the permanence of that kingdom, ever conquering and to conquer in the four quarters of the world; a kingdom one and alone since the world has been, embracing all times and claims, and still expanding, unworn by the destroyer of all things human—time; strong amid the decay of empires, the freshness and elasticity of youth written on the brow which has outlived 18 centuries. . . . The question is this, granted the author was right in predicting the founding of a kingdom of God, which should not pass away, was the fourth kingdom, in which he foretold it should arise, that of Alexander's successors; and did he wrongly look that the kingdom of God should be founded soon after the death of Antiochus, B.C. 164; or did he expect that kingdom to come, when it did come, in the time of the Roman Empire, as almost all have believed, from our Lord's time until now? . . . The intervals in the vision (chap. vii.) are marked very distinctly. . . . The idiom in all these cases (verses 4, 6, 7, 9, 11, 13,) expresses an abiding condition, a period during which the objects remained before his sight,

and he gazed on each till the next came. The continuance of the sight in the vision implies a duration of that which is exhibited. Once only is the idiom omitted to correspond with the circumstances. Daniel saw the vision in the first year of Belshazzar. As to the Medo-Persian Empire alone, which was to continue a very few years, he does not use that idiom." "The Fourth Beast appears at first with the ten horns at once. But although, to manifest its unity, it appears as one whole, the explanation shows that the ten horns belong to a subsequent stage. The kings or kingdoms which should arise must, from the force of the terms and the context, be kings or kingdoms which should arise at some later stage of its existence, not the first kings, without whom it could not be a kingdom at all. These are also to be contemporary, and all prior in time to the Little Horn. To arise up after, and yet among, is incompatible, unless the former things abide. . . . So, then, there are these distinct periods; 1st, The time until it is divided into the ten portions symbolized by the horns; 2nd, The period of those ten horns; 3rd, That in which the Little Horn held its sway. This is marked to be no brief time, both from the events, and the wondering, lengthened contemplation; 4th, The period after the destruction of this power, and of the Fourth Kingdom. . . . The latter part of this, being still future, we cannot explain certainly. The prophecy reaches on to the end of time. Much of it is confessedly expanded in the Revelation as still to come. It would be as inconsistent in us to attempt to explain it, as in the school of Porphyry not to explain it. Christians can point out the correspondence of the Fourth Empire, as far as is incumbent on them; viz., in its beginning. . . . The vision (chap. vii.) in all its parts corresponds to Nebuchadnezzar's dream; only, whereas that mentioned the beginning of the kingdom of God, as well as the annihilation of all human power by it, this exhibits merely the last rebellion, and its subdual."

There may be seen here, we think, a singular contrast. The same author, so clear, pointed, and forcible, when he vindicates the Catholic exposition, among Jews and Christians alike, of Four Empires, and of the Fourth as that of Rome, becomes obscure, vacillating, and inconsistent, when he would explain the latter part of the same visions, without admitting their reference, so generally held by Protestant interpreters, to Papal Rome. At the moment he lays down the broad contrast, that we are bound to explain what is fulfilled, and to leave unexplained what is unfulfilled, he contradicts himself on the question how far the fulfilment really extends. He condemns, with justice, the anachronism of a century and a-half in Porphyry's exposition, and at the same moment admits one of twelve times the amount, or eighteen centuries, in the close of his own interpretation.

Let us examine this important question more closely. If the Fourth Empire be the Roman, four main inquiries must follow. Have the ten toes and ten kingdoms already appeared? Has the Little Horn, diverse from them, appeared, or is it future?

Is it an individual, or a dynasty, a king in the sense usual in the visions? Has the kingdom of the mountain and of the Son of Man begun, or is it still future? On the first point Dr. Pusey seems to us to contradict himself, and hold in turn both opinions. On the second and third, he holds plainly that the Little Horn is a Personal Antichrist still future; on the fourth, that the predicted kingdom has been in existence eighteen hundred years.

On the first point, we have a threefold admission, that in these visions "the king represents the kingdom, and the kingdom is concentrated in its king" (p. 77, l. 1); that the "iron and clay" denotes the mixture and dissolution of the barbarian inroads, the joint strength and weakness of the later condition, when Germans and Slaves occupied the provinces, (p. 66, l. 24, p. 67, l. 10—20,) and the mingling with the seed of men the intermarriages of European sovereigns (*id.*), and that the ten horns answering to the toes are represented as lasting "no brief time" (p. 78, l. 3). Yet having thus, by direct force of evidence, accepted separately all the elements of a distinct historical application, the learned lecturer shrinks back, as if appalled by his own conclusions, and affirms (p. 67, l. 20) that this ramification into ten kingdoms is still future, and that to identify them is almost as presumptuous as to fix to-day or to-morrow for the coming of Christ. This lame and impotent conclusion is a strange contrast to the clearness of the reasoning on the general application of the Four Empires.

Again, it is affirmed, not proved, that the Little Horn is both future, and a single person. To begin with the latter statement, it is an assertion at variance with the premises in the rest of the Lecture. For Dr. Pusey has affirmed that the four kings are four Empires, the ten toes or ten horns alike kings and kingdoms, not single persons, but dynasties, whether lasting one lifetime or many, and so the four horns of the he-goat in the next chapter. Whence, then, this sudden contrast—this assertion, without proof, that the Little Horn of the Fourth Beast must be a single person? By the principle he has laid down before, that the pauses in the vision indicate continuance, this power, which holds just the same space in the description as all the stages before it from the lion onward, ought to last for some similar period to the four unbroken Empires, all combined. This is exactly true on the current view of our Reformers and of the chief Protestant interpreters. Dr. Pusey, like the Futurists, renounces their view, but offers no attempt at an explanation of those features of the vision which so plainly confirm it. He makes the visions anticipated history, in regular sequence, down to the barbarian invasions, and then suddenly introduces an opposite

principle of exposition, so as to postpone the Little Horn for twelve or thirteen hundred years.

The only ground that we can find for this view is the assertion that the ten horns last a long time before the rise of the little horn (p. 78, l. 42). But for this the text gives no warrant. In the vision of the image, what Dr. Pusey calls the second and third stages of chap. vii., form one stage only. None intervenes between the ten toes and the judgment in which the image is destroyed. We have two stages of the Empire, one whole, the other in tenfold division; then the stroke which destroys. In the later vision we have also two stages, one whole, the other marked both by the ten horns and the little horn, and then the judgment. Dr. Pusey's criticism on the repeated phrase, *I beheld*, or *I continued to gaze*, &c., seems just and forcible. But he overlooks the fact that it is flatly opposed to his own separation of the periods of the ten horns and of the little horn, as each "no brief time" and still successive. The horns are named, without any pause, at the close of the description of the unbroken Empire. They are here a symbolic link between a first and second stage of the history, present at the first, but not vivified into political life; in the later symbols of the Apocalypse, horns, but not yet crowned, till they become characteristic of the Fourth Empire, when three are uprooted, and the rest subdued, by the rise of the ambitious Little Horn. For our own part, the application of Dan. ii. 40, vii. 7, 19, to Pagan Rome from Antiochus to Constantine and Augustulus, seems hardly clearer, or more plainly required by the nature of the symbols and the historical sequence, than the application of Dan. ii 41—43, vii. 8, 20, 21, 24, 25, to the divided and Papal Roman Empire, which has lasted almost as long as the Four Empires themselves, from the days of Justinian and Phocas to the last Papal Allocution. The Lecturer's ecclesiastical predilections, in this part of the prophecy, seem to have wholly clouded his perception of the natural force of the symbols, which is so clear and accurate in the earlier portion.

Once more, the kingdom of the mountain, according to the Second Lecture, began from the first days of the New Testament. Yet it plainly follows that stroke upon the feet and toes of the image, which issues in their destruction. But the ten toes, like the ten horns, according to the Lecturer, are ten kings still to arise. Here, then, while he justly condemns the anachronism of 150 years in the school of Porphyry, he commits one of twelve times the amount, and seems quite unconscious what a licence he has assumed. When he dwells on the actual fulfilment of this conquering kingdom in the history of the Church, he forgets that the toes cannot be smitten and destroyed till their time of rule is come and past, a time which

he asserts to be still future. As "the infection of nature doth remain even in the regenerate," so we suspect that this great error in the lecturer's scheme is a remaining infection, which he shares with many others, from the predicted character of the Little Horn, which was to change times as well as laws. What changing of times can better deserve the name, than the transfer to the time of the Church's widowhood of the promises that relate to the glories of Messiah's reign; and the attempted mimicry, on this ground, by a fallible and sinful man, on the seven hills of Rome, of that Melchizedec reign of Christ, that kingdom of righteousness and peace, which is still to come. The true counterpart of the past times of the Church, in the first vision, is not the kingdom of the mountain, but the cutting out of the mystic stone. The faithful are included with their Lord, the members with the Head, the remnant of the woman's seed with Him to whom that name pre-eminently belongs. The smiting of the image by the stone, and the growth of the stone into a great mountain, are events still to come. Our Lord Himself expounds the promise,—“And he that overcometh, and keepeth my works unto the end, to him will I give power over the nations; and he shall rule them with a rod of iron: even as the vessels of a potter shall they be broken to shivers, even as I have received of my Father.” (Rev. ii. 26, 27.)

So far as Dr. Pusey maintains the constant catholic view of the Four Empires, his reasoning is clear and forcible, and the symbols lead him, as it were, by the hand. But when he silently passes by the Protestant exposition of the later portion, and adopts the view of Ribeira, the Jesuits, and the Futurists, he contradicts the symbols and even himself, and exposes himself to a retort from a skilful adversary by the inconsistency of his explanations. The sequence of the symbols is clear from first to last, and corresponds with the broad outlines of history. The head of gold, the eagle-winged lion, denote the lordly empire of Babylon; the breast and arms of silver, the bear rising up on one side, the ram with two horns, the higher last, are Media and Persia joined in one; the belly and thighs of brass, the swift four-headed leopard, the swift four-horned he-goat from the west, are “the king of Javan,” the brazen-mailed and eloquent Greeks, the kingdom of Alexander and his successors; the legs of iron, the beast dreadful and terrible and strong as iron, treading down all the earth, describe the unbroken, world-conquering power of heathen Rome. So the feet and ten toes of iron and clay, the kings that mingle with the seed of men, the ten horns of the fourth beast, and the little horn, with a man's eyes, ruling in the midst of them and diverse from them, describe as clearly the divided Roman empire, after the fall of Paganism and the barbarian inroads,

with many confederate or rival kingdoms, and one petty Italian state in the midst, the ruler of which is diverse from all the rest, and claims to be a seer, a vice-god, the Vicar of Christ, prince over all the kings of the earth. Even now we have begun to witness a further stage in the prediction. His dominion is being taken away before our eyes, though not yet "consumed and destroyed unto the end."

But we must pass from this important subject to the Fourth Lecture, on the Seventy Weeks. No prophecy has been more vexed, of late years, with oppositions of science, falsely so called. The standing faith of the Church from the beginning, that it was fulfilled in our blessed Lord, has been set aside as antiquated folly by learned theorists, who have pretended to replace it by a clearer and more satisfactory exposition. Dr. Pusey collates and compares these new systems, submits them to a close analysis, and reduces them to shreds and tatters, till one would think that their own authors must cover their faces with shame that such things could ever be palmed on the credulity of their disciples as the ripe conclusions of superior learning. No less than from twelve to twenty schemes of this kind are compared together, and shown to contradict each other and the plain words of the prophecy almost at every point. We might quote page after page of clear and powerful argument; but must content ourselves with one or two extracts. And first we have the sketch of Eichhorn's theory:—

"Marsham's hypothesis, however, was obviously absurd, and in flagrant contradiction to the text; so Eichhorn tried to mend it in his way. He began, as others after him, at the end, as easiest. He paraphrased rather than translated, as no one else would. 'During a week of years, religion will show its power with many;' from A.S. 143 to the re-consecration of the Temple at the beginning of A.S. 148 he counted six years (of course, since he did not choose to count both extremes, five, and not six; the actual persecution had lasted three years only). Six years might very well in poetry stand for seven. The suspension of the daily sacrifice was to be three and a-half (really three) years. Then he left the early part of Epiphanes' reign a vacuum, and calculated that sixty-two weeks would reach back from its beginning, when Onias was deposed, B.C. 175, to B.C. 609, three years only before Jeremiah's prophecy; 'but two years,' he said, 'cannot come into account in a reckoning by septennia, since a round reckoning never troubles itself about a trifle.' Then, as to the seven weeks, he so far took the plain meaning, that the decree to restore Jerusalem must be some actual command to rebuild it, and chose the first year of Cyrus. 'From B.C. 536,' he said, 'the years, counted forward, would come to no year of much importance to the Jews. Messiah the Prince must be an oppressor; and Xerxes, though very nearly one, was not. Counted backward, forty-nine years would be,' he says, 'only two years short of the destruction of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar (really three, he himself calls them fifty-two years). All then,'

he says, 'was plain. It was to be a new interpretation of Jeremiah's prophecy. Jeremiah, when speaking of seventy years of misfortune (not misfortune, but captivity!), did not mean seventy years in their most special sense, but seventy seven-years. To the end of the captivity were not seventy years; only seven weeks, or forty-nine years. But if you take seven seven-years, and count in addition sixty-two seven-years, which elapsed from the time Jeremiah spoke, to Epiphanes, and add the seven years of his persecution, you have then the exact point of time when the new good fortune of the Jews was to take its beginning.' In other words, because seventy years elapsed from the prophecy of Jeremiah to the end of the captivity, but only forty-nine after the destruction of Jerusalem, therefore, on the one hand, you were to count seventy weeks of years, or 490 years; on the other, to deduct from them forty-nine years. Why? He says,—'The word *after* is used to mark succession of time; since, then, it is not used here, it is implied that the time is coincident.' In this way, by counting at one time backward, at another forward, and by dishonest criticism [amply proved in a note], Eichhorn veiled the fact, that the simple words, 'from the going forth of the command to restore and rebuild Jerusalem unto Messiah are seven weeks and sixty-two weeks, street and wall shall be rebuilt,' were to mean, from Cyrus' command to restore Jerusalem unto the anointed prince Nebuchadnezzar who destroyed it are seven weeks, and during sixty-two weeks shall street and wall be rebuilt. Threescore and two weeks from when? Not from the command to rebuild, not from the destruction he had specified; but from Jeremiah's prophecy before it was destroyed. So that the point of time prefixed to the whole was, in regard to the two first words, to mean the decree of Cyrus, and for the next three the prophecy of Jeremiah, seventy years before it! Eichhorn owned the unnaturalness of all this, and called it cabalistic; but the fault was to lie with the prophet, not with his own interpretation. In this way he veiled also the fact, that even from Jeremiah's prophecy, sixty-two weeks brought him to an unmarked period, the fifth of Epiphanes, and that so the last week, really eight years, had no marked beginning; and the deposition of Onias III., which according to him was to be the cutting off of Messiah, took place *during*, not as in the text *after*, 434 years. Eichhorn, however, was an oracle in those times, and the result was what was wished for; so it was ruled that this was an adequate representation of the prophet's meaning. It was received by those who were themselves received as theologians. Only for Nebuchadnezzar Paulus substituted, as Messiah, the weak Zedekiah, who imprisoned God's prophet, rebelled against God and man, destroyed his country, and died a natural death, as a perjured rebel, in the prisons of Babylon! . . . Having reached to Zedekiah from Cyrus, he rebounded from Zedekiah's captivity, B.C. 588, to the *murder* of Onias, B.C. 171, so far at least in conformity to the text. This, however, being only 417 years, was seventeen years before the close of the 434 he had to fit in. So the words were to run,—'And during the flowing by of the times, and after the threescore and two weeks, shall Messiah be cut off, and the people of the prince which shall come shall destroy the city and sanctuary;—*i. e.*, Onias III. was to be murdered seventeen years before their close, and Antiochus to destroy

the city and sanctuary after them. Only every one but himself, and probably himself too, knew that the words must mean 'in straitness of the times,' not 'in the flowing by of the times;' so the new explanation was only another confession of the difficulty. Another (Bertholdt), who was long the recognised interpreter of Daniel, virtually avowed their incompetency to explain the numbers; only, of course, since the application to Antiochus was infallible, the fault was to rest with the prophet, not with these expositors. It was owned that the seventy weeks could not be counted; it was alleged they were not meant to be counted. They were to be an indefinite poetical number. The word *weeks* was only to stand, because in sound it resembled *seventy*—a comment, or rather a parody, on the seventy years of Jeremiah." (pp. 198—202.)

The history of interpretations is thus continued in a pithy and forcible description:—

"So for 26 years Daniel had rest. The three main plans for getting rid of the superfluous years had been tried. Corrodi disposed of them beyond the time of Epiphanes; Eichhorn made them run parallel, and so had thrown them out of the calculation; Bertholdt declared that the largest was not to be taken precisely, *i.e.* no more of it than was convenient. 'O ye sons of men, how long will ye love vanity and seek after leasing?' One who should so keep accounts would meet the penalty of dishonesty; one who should so make an astronomical calculation would be counted a fool. But anything would do for 'scientific Neology.' For God says, 'My people love to have it so.' No one, then, had any interest in offering a new solution; no one doubted that some one of the three solutions would do; and no one heeded *which*. So that the reference to our Lord was buried; our rationalists, like the Jews, were hushed, for fear they should awake it. The less said about it the better. Bleek disposed of the whole discussion in two pages. It was otherwise after Hengstenberg revived from the dust the old belief, that Jesus and His Atoning Death were the end and object of the prophecy, and that we have a real definite prediction. Thenceforth all was commotion to tread out the spark ere the fire should be kindled. Yet the new schemes were only the old ones recast, mostly with some fresh monstrousness."

"And so the weary changes were rung, each refuting his predecessor; the last awaiting his refutation from his successor, or oftentimes taking up that he had before condemned. Lengerke refuted Rösch, and Wieseler refuted Lengerke, and Hitzig Wieseler, or they mutually exchanged with each other. Wieseler took up with Corrodi, and Hoffmann exchanged his theory for Ewald's, and Ewald gave up what Hoffmann took for Hitzig; and at last the fault is to be thrown, not on the infallible theory, but on what, whether men will it or no, abides what it was—the Word of God. Hitzig, in his arrogant way, says, 'If in this way the reckoning does not agree, then Daniel has erred, and the question is how to explain the error.' The seven weeks form the *πρωτον ψευδος* in the calculation. The Hebrews had no chronology of the Persian period.' Those who were more courteous to the aged prophet say the same thing more courteously. 'Why should not the author have found and adapted a calculation of the time from Cyrus

to Epiphanes wrong by 70 years?" "Anyhow one must here assume a blending of different calculations, if one will not content one's self with the mere erroneousness of the hereditary chronology. But the numbers are too important to admit of a mere accident, &c." (Bunsen.)

"Such, then, is the result of this 'scientific' criticism. It fixes the interpretation beforehand at its own will; then it endeavours, in every way it can, to adjust with its theory the clear and definite statements of the text. It adjusts the numbers, adapts the descriptions of those spoken of, as it will; no one for the time interferes with it; it has free scope; it adjusts, re-adjusts, turns, re-turns, every way as it wills. It gives its explanations authoritatively, no failure damps its confidence; it has but to please itself, and it cannot. After eighty years of twisting, untwisting, hewing at the knot, the knot is to them as fast and indissoluble as ever. 'Except the Lord build the house, their labour is but lost that build it.' They form a rope of sand, and wonder it does not cohere; but twist it how they will, it is but sand. And so at last they throw up the problem, and, like insolent scholars, accuse not their own ignorance, but their master's. 'It is not we who have erred, but Daniel. The problem is insoluble in our way, therefore it cannot be solved at all.'"

But the Lecturer, with the pertinacity of a righteous zeal, follows the rationalists into this their last refuge of lies, and exposes its utter inconsistency and folly.

"And yet in this very charge of error on the writer of the book they forget their own previous charges. They object to the book, that the writer had too minute a knowledge of the history of Alexander's successors. 'God does not,' they say, 'so minutely reveal the future.' Good. So far, then, it is conceded that the account is accurate. Again, it says that the writer was ignorant of the Persian history; that he believed there were only four Persian kings in all, and that the Persian Empire lasted but fifty-four years; that the Empire of Alexander was divided immediately after his death. (Lengerke, Bertholdt.) Good again. It concerns not us, whether God revealed to Daniel more of the future than he has actually set down. But how this is to help the adaptation of the seventy weeks to the period from Jehoiakim or Cyrus to Epiphanes, these theorists have to explain. According to them, this writer knew accurately the period from the battle of Ipsus, B.C. 301 to B.C. 164. This gives 137 years. Add the 54 years, during which these assume the writer to have believed the Persian Empire to have lasted, and the 10 of Alexander's Asiatic wars. This gives us 201 years, which the writer is supposed to have placed between Cyrus and the death of Epiphanes. Yet they would have us accept this as an explanation why the writer should have supposed 63 weeks, or 441 years, to have elapsed from the 4th of Jehoiakim; or, if they would be decently honest, from the decree of Cyrus to restore and rebuild Jerusalem, to Epiphanes. They assume that he supposed the period to have been little more than half what it was—201 years, instead of 374; and then retaining the general term, inaccuracy of chronology, they urge this as an argument why he may have fixed a period, *more than twice the*

length of the time which they suppose him to have imagined the actual time to be. Their charge of inaccuracy tells only against themselves.

"And yet, what one (Hitzig), the more bold because the least believing, speaks out, must have been in the consciences of many. 'After the death of Jesus, the Son of Man, it was inevitable that they to whom he was the Messiah should refer to him the words, "Messiah shall be cut off." . . . One might easily be tempted to interpret Messiah, ver. 26, who was to die a violent death, of Jesus and his death; and if one thought of this Messiah, notwithstanding the absence of the article, as *the* Messiah, as Christ stands in Greek for the Christ, they with whom the name had weight naturally understood Messiah, ver. 25, to be also Jesus Christ.' Yet with a strange inconsistency, *any* chronological difficulty was a solid ground not to believe that Jesus was foretold; *no* such difficulty was any ground against believing any one else to be spoken of! The alleged unanimity of this unbelieving criticism has been in pulling down, not in building up. It has been agreed in rejecting Christ. It would, if it could, blot the mention of Him out of the Old Testament. But when the question is, how to replace it, *quot homines, tot sententiæ*. All agree in bearing witness against Him; but it is still as of old, *their witness agreeth not together*. If they waited till they found those whose witness would agree together, the old faith would not have been parted with until now." (pp. 211—214.)

The closing paragraphs of the Lecture, in which it is shown how remarkably the immediate hope of Messiah's coming was absent in the time of the Maccabees, and how great was the contrast when the time drew near, form a beautiful key-stone to its able, learned, and decisive argument. We must quote once more a single page:—

"The prophecies of Daniel explain both the previous tranquillity in that long winter which lay upon them, and that sudden burst and glow of spring-like hope, all nature ready to expand and welcome Him, when the Sun was indeed to come and put forth his power. Daniel had pointed out a long time, lasting at the least (nearly?) five centuries, during which the Messiah should not come. The people believed him, and during those centuries looked not for Him then to come. The latest edict having been given B.C. 445, there remained only ninety-one years, at certain periods in which the prophecy could be fulfilled. Of these forty-two only had elapsed when the then tributary king, and all Jerusalem with him, was troubled at the announcement that strangers from the East were inquiring for the new-born king of the Jews, whom they were come to worship. Nearly thirty years more, one appeared, arresting the thoughts of all by the austere garb of Elijah, while his herald voice proclaimed, the kingdom of heaven is at hand. A few months more, and He came, who spake not as man spake, who did miracles man could not do, who drew hearts, men knew not how. Expectation was excited; men's souls were prepared; they who were His listened to the voice men had so long waited to hear. But the awful freedom of the human will was respected by its Maker. Messiah was cut off, as Daniel foretold, legal

sacrifices end, sin is forgiven, everlasting righteousness brought in, the new covenant confirmed.

"Look steadily at the emptiness, irrelevancy, inharmoniousness of the things which men have fastened—not meanings, but unmeaningness—on the book of Daniel; and then look how that book lights up with its true meaning, reflecting beforehand Him who had not yet risen,—and you cannot hesitate to choose between the darkness and the light."

The foot-note, pp. 167, 168, on the date of Artaxerxes' accession, and the view of Kruger and Hengstenberg, who depart from the canon, and place it earlier, condenses much into narrow compass, and on a secondary point of some importance justifies the view of Prideaux from an exception which has been raised against it. Indeed the interpretation of this prophecy by Dr. Pusey, in almost every detail, agrees closely with the views to which we had been independently led by a comparison of the text with the chief varieties among Christian expositors. On two or three points only we incline to a slightly different shade of thought. And first, in ver. 25, we think the construction is easier, and the separation of the seven and sixty-two weeks better explained, if the last words are referred to the latter period and not to the former, or else to the whole as a brief definition of their character. During the seven weeks, "the street and the wall shall be builded;" and again, during the sixty-two that follow, or else the whole period, "the times shall be in straitness." Besides including the special afflictions under Antiochus, the interval was mainly one of subjection to Gentile power, and a contrast to the brilliant early days of the theocracy.

Again, Dr. Pusey expounds the debated clause in ver. 26, "There shall not be to Him (*i. e.*, what hitherto was His) His people;" and in a note rejects six or seven expositions, including "he hath none," or "he hath nought," because *pn* is neither *nought* nor *none*. But this seems a distinction without a difference. If the supplement "His people" is lawful, there seems no reason why "any thing" or "any one" may not equally be supplied; and with the constant Hebrew idiom, like the Latin *est mihi* for *habeo*, this gives at once the rejected interpretations. The best rendering, we conceive, is literally, "and there shall be none for Him," or more freely, "none shall be on His side." In the crisis of our Lord's suffering, even His disciples forsook Him and fled. It was, indeed, a marvellous fact, that the long-expected Messiah, when He came to His own, should not only be rejected by the body of the nation, but should have no single helper in the hour of darkness, when He was cut off by violent death.

Once more, in ver. 27, he prefers the rendering, "upon the pinnacle of abominations shall be a desolator;" and reasons in

a note that the word *abomination* must express the moral ground why the desolation came. "The Temple was, by God's appointment, His holy house; men made it a den of thieves. Only desecration from within could make it a pinnacle of abominations." But here, we think, he deserts the key which our Lord Himself has given us. "When ye see the abomination of desolation, spoken of by Daniel the prophet, standing in a holy place," or "where it ought not;" expounded in St. Luke's Gospel,—“When ye see Jerusalem compassed with armies, know that the desolation thereof is nigh.” Here, we think, a comparison of the Gospels proves that the Roman armies around Jerusalem, on the bordering heights, were the abomination that maketh desolate. They were abominable with their idol standards in God's holy places, and were a sign that the desolation was close at hand. Hence we conclude that the true rendering is not a pinnacle, of which there is no Old Testament example; but a *skirt* or *border*, of which there are many instances. The skirt of the "daughter of Zion" is the immediate environs of the city, the hills that stand round about Jerusalem; while the literal rendering, "and on a skirt of abominations shall be a desolator," gives no warrant for the assertion that the abomination was completed before the desolator came. The abomination and the desolation are alike objects of the prediction; and in the Hebrew phrase may both refer to the same party, the Roman invader, as they clearly do in the version used in the Gospels, and in St. Luke's paraphrase of its meaning. It was not corruptions in the Jewish worship, but the presence of the Roman armies investing the city, which were, by the general consent of historians, the predicted sign which the Christians observed, and fled to Pella, when, by the retreat of Cestius, a short respite was given.

Our space compels us reluctantly to pass over the remaining Lectures, which are not inferior in value to those which precede them. The fifth, on the harmony of Daniel's predictions with the rest of Old Testament prophecy, and the sixth, on the time when the Canon was closed, are full of striking and valuable thought, weighty in matter and decisive in argument. We close, as we began, with expressing our thankfulness to God for the appearance, from Dr. Pusey's pen, of a work so full of scriptural truth and solid learning; so well adapted to furnish a bulwark to the faith of unfixed minds, and to deepen their confidence in the Divine authority of the Word of God. May He, whose wisdom continually brings good out of evil, overrule all recent assaults upon the faith once delivered to the saints, so that all who love the Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity may unlearn their several errors, and grow up into the fulness of truth and love; the Saviour's image be formed more clearly in their minds and hearts; till at length, by simple faith in

the cross, and growing insight into the teaching of the lively oracles, all remaining sin and darkness shall pass away, and they meet in the presence of their Lord, with robes made white in the blood of the Lamb.

CORRESPONDENCE.

PUBLIC SCHOOLS.

To the Editor of the Christian Observer.

SIR,—I thank you for inserting my letter on this subject, though I wrote anonymously. If you will allow me to make a few more remarks in answer to what Mr. Poynder has written in this month's *Christian Observer*, I shall be obliged. Mr. Poynder misunderstands my views on the subject of fagging. He writes:—"Z. stands up for fagging, and ignores all the evils connected with this unjustifiable practice." Now, so far was I from ignoring all the evils of the system, that I expressly refused to discuss it. I refused to agree to Mr. Poynder's wholesale condemnation of it, or to think with him that "it is in vain to attempt to mitigate the evils of this unjust, unreasonable, and unnecessary system;" and that "there is but one remedy, and that is its total abolition." I said, and I still say, that I had rather be guided in such a matter by the authority and experience of Dr. Arnold than by the opinion of Mr. Poynder. If you will allow me to say a few words about fagging, I will say that, while I believe the system to be on the whole a good one, it needs to be carefully watched and kept in check. I believe it to be good, not because it enables schoolmasters to dispense with servants (which effect, as far as I have seen, it has not), but simply because it legalizes the kind and amount of work which junior boys may do for seniors; and because, unless that work is regulated by law, senior boys, as a rule, will tyrannize over juniors. They may be tyrants, if you allow them to have fags. They certainly will be, if you do not. And not only boys, to whom, in consequence of their place in the school, the power is granted, will use power over junior boys; but others will use it, from whom it is withheld in any school in which fagging is legalized. Big idle fellows, who have but small chance of getting into the upper school, will, if a system of fagging is not legalized, oblige small boys to do services for them. Mr. Poynder may say, This ought not to be. I say, It will be so. I may observe also, that Mr. Poynder writes of fagging as though it consisted *only* in the performance of menial offices. He says, "There is a very simple remedy for this great evil. Employ servants for doing servants' work; but do not employ the sons of gentlemen . . . to perform the duties of servitors and scullions." But here he is wrong. He must know that a fag at a public school has, as a part of his work, to perform certain duties at cricket, foot-ball, and other games. Suppose, then, that the performance of no menial work was henceforth required from a fag (and very little is

now required), the question would not be settled as Mr. Poynder supposes. Is a junior boy never to "fag out" at cricket, &c.? Is an order to be issued that under no circumstances any such service is to be rendered by a junior? I have seen the plan attempted, and I know that it did not answer. Mr. Poynder says, that "it is a great mistake to suppose that fagging is productive of any good either to the boy who fags, or to the one who is fagged;" and he writes as though fagging and bullying were convertible terms. Now we who advocate a legalized system of fagging believe that where it exists there is a better chance of avoiding bullying than where it does not exist. We may be wrong, but we ought to be believed when we declare our aversion to bullying, and say that we think that small and weak boys are protected from this evil by the system in question.

Mr. Poynder writes of the Commissioners just as though they took his view of this question. But they do not. They do not say that fagging ought to be abolished. In their Report, (vol. i. p. 55.) they say,—"The system of fagging should be watched. Fags should be relieved from all services which may more properly be performed by servants; and care should be taken that neither the time which a little boy has for preparing his lessons, nor the time which he has for play, should be encroached on unduly." With regard to Eton, they say (p. 95), "Fagging at Eton is now much milder than it formerly was." "There is no doubt, on the whole, that fagging, as it now exists at Eton, is a popular institution, that it creates a connexion which is often *an advantage and protection to a young boy*, and sometimes leads to lasting friendships." (p. 96.) And so satisfied do they seem, that in their "Summary of Recommendations" I find no change in the fagging system at Eton recommended!

As to Winchester, they recommend attention to the recommendation quoted above from p. 55, evidently thinking that the fags are not protected as they ought to be from over-work. As to Westminster, they evidently think the fagging of too menial a character, and recommend (p. 173) that an additional servant or servants in College should be provided to do work now done by the fags. As to Charterhouse, they recommend (p. 186) that the keeping up of fires in three sitting rooms occupied by the Foundation Scholars, should be performed by a servant instead of a fag. As to Harrow, no special recommendation is made, but the Commissioners say that all their general recommendations (one of which, concerning fagging, I have quoted from p. 55) may well be attended to. As to Rugby, no special recommendation on the subject of fagging occurs, but it is said not to be menial or extensive. As to Shrewsbury, the remark is made, (p. 320),—"There appears to be very little fagging;" and no recommendation on the subject is made.

I fear that these remarks may seem lengthy, but I am unwilling to seem to avoid the recommendations made by the Commissioners, and I certainly cannot see that they bear out Mr. Poynder's conclusion. They show that fagging needs to be watched, that it is liable to abuse, as most human institutions are; but the Commissioners do not say fagging is so evil a system that it ought to be abolished.

I ventured in my last letter to observe, that the statement that no attention is paid to the morals of Public School boys, is utterly

untrue. I spoke strongly, I fear too strongly; but I felt what I said. Mr. Poynder says that I should have some difficulty in proving what I said. I could prove it; but surely the *onus probandi* rests on him who makes gratuitously such a statement. I assert that great care is taken at some Public Schools, and I expect at all, to protect boys' morals. And I have no wish to shirk the yet higher question of religious teaching. Doubtless religion and morality are intimately connected, and I wholly demur to the statement, that little attention has been paid either to morals or religion in most of our Public Schools. I may refer to Dr. Arnold's School Sermons at Rugby, to Dr. Vaughan's at Harrow, to Dr. Moberly's at Winchester, to Bishop Cotton's at Marlborough, for a proof that I speak truly. Some of these teachers may, perhaps, not hold precisely similar religious views to those of Mr. Poynder; but it is not therefore true that they neglect the religious training of their pupils; nor do I believe that public school men, as a class, are less religious than those who have been educated at private schools. Clearly no man can prove that they are; and unless it can be proved, it ought not to be stated or suggested.

But I am very unwilling to intrude on your space. I love our Public Schools. They have given to England a fine, noble, manly, and I believe a moral and religious set of sons; and I confess that I do not like to see them attacked in a wholesale way without an attempt to defend them. I beg pardon if I have written a word calculated to hurt your correspondent's feelings; and I still, with your kind permission, subscribe myself only—Your obedient servant,

Z.

ORIGINAL SIN.

To the Editor of the Christian Observer.

SIR,—That when Adam, as the representative of his race, transgressed the Divine command by eating the forbidden fruit, the whole of his posterity sinned and died in him, in so far as they all inherit his sinful and mortal nature, is a proposition which no sound theologian will controvert. But there are some Christians who maintain that, exclusively of the hereditary taint and its consequences thus transmitted, every descendant of Adam is implicated in the guilt of his first transgression, and that consequently, over and above his responsibility for his own personal misdeeds, he is obnoxious to punishment on account of that transgression, just as if it had been his own personal act. Now, assuming it to be true that the guilt of Adam, in his first transgression, involved the guilt of all his posterity in the sense above intimated, it is equally true that no sooner was Adam justified by faith in the promise that the seed of the woman should bruise the serpent's head, than the guilt of his first transgression, as well as of all his other sins, was at once done away. But, by the hypothesis, the guilt of Adam involved the guilt of all his posterity; therefore the guilt of every descendant of Adam was done away by the same act of faith; unless it can be proved that the posterity of Adam, who had not committed the sin, were in a less favourable position with regard to its consequences, than Adam who had committed

it, which will scarcely be pretended by the most strenuous assertors of imputed sin.

Of course this argument will have force with those only who believe that Adam was justified and saved; but all such—and I believe this description would include the general body of Christians in all ages of the Church—must, I think, consider the argument conclusive.—I am &c.

JOHN EDM. CARR.

The Oatwoods, near Derby;
Dec. 19, 1864.

THOS. SCOTT AND THE DORDT SYNOD.

The following letter is addressed privately to the Editor. We print it with a few omissions.

“Wappenham Rectory, Towcester.

“DEAR SIR,—I venture to write to you because of a sentence in the new Number, which seems to me perfectly unaccountable. The sentence concerns my late grandfather, and is as follows (p. 74):—“Thomas Scott was at least an honest commentator, and upright in controversy, but he knew nothing of the Synod of Dordt; he thought the *Remonstrants were the Calvinistic party*.” Is there any ground whatever for this charge? I only possess his History of that Synod, as it stands in the collected edition of his works; but *there* you can scarcely find a page without the word *Remonstrants* occurring in it, and I fancy *always* in the sense opposite to that asserted in the Christian Observer. Surely there must be a mistake somewhere. Still *I* may be the person mistaken after all, and reference may be made to something in an earlier part of my grandfather's life. I am not at all *jealous* for his fame; but for a man to pretend to write a history of the Synod, and to make so preposterous a mistake, would seem contrary to the *good sense* for which he certainly was remarkable. If there *is* known to yourself any evidence for the charge, I should really be greatly obliged by one line of reference to enable me to understand it.—I remain, yours very truly,

“THOMAS SCOTT.”

[NOTE.—We cannot recall the precise authority on which we depended for the charge against the venerable Thomas Scott; and therefore, after this letter, we are anxious to withdraw it; but we are satisfied that the charge has been made by his Arminian opponents. We have a general impression that we met with it in Nichols's “Life and Works of Arminius,” but we cannot verify it by a reference to chapter and page. It is possible, however, that the charge of ignorance refers to an early period of his public life.

The probability is however, that, trusting to some unfaithful writer, he was drawn into statements which were unfair, without himself intending it, or being conscious of any wrong. The history of the Synod of Dordt is one of the most perplexed in ecclesiastical annals. The doctrines discussed were very imperfectly understood in this country; and the heat and passion which inflamed both parties were great. Bishop Hall, who appeared in the council with two others, as the representatives of the Church of England, gives the highest praise to the assembly, as eminently wise and good. Richard Baxter speaks of it as partaking more of the character of a general council, of

whom the majority were moved by the Holy Spirit (which, our Article reminds us, has not always been the case), than any which have been held since Apostolic times. By other historians every epithet of contempt and scorn has been heaped upon it, till we come down at length to the following piece of scurrility, which is quoted from Mosheim, who on his part quoted it from Neil; who says that "the verses were made in England with a desire to pour contempt upon the Synod, and to turn its proceedings into ridicule."

"Dordrecht Synodus, nodus; chorus integer, sager:
Conventus, ventus; sessio, stramen. Amen!"

We will only add, that the Arminianism chiefly known in England has been that of the school of Laud, which is widely different from that of Arminius himself, of which Wesley and his friends were the only representatives. His works contain many doctrinal statements which might very well pass for the sentiments of Calvin, so nearly do these great theologians often touch each other on the grand essentials of the Gospel; though on others we think Arminius partial and defective. In fact, Wesley himself passed for a Calvinist amongst the theologians of his day. In a dissuasive from Methodism, of which an English bishop was the author, Calvinism is charged upon him as the greatest of his errors. The tract remained on the list of the Christian Knowledge Society until about the time when Nichols's translation appeared; its unfairness was exposed in these pages; and it was in consequence of the efforts of the editor of those days that it was finally removed.

Editors and critics ought to be especially careful not to bring forward statements affecting either the living or the dead, without having good reason for doing so. But we cannot subscribe to the canon, that they must be always ready at a moment's notice to produce their authorities. The only authority in many cases must be the editor's reputation, and this he is not likely to throw away. All of us in daily life make a hundred assertions for which we can give no authority, and we are seldom required to do so. An Editor can often do no more. We were acquainted with Mr. Nichols, who was a Wesleyan Methodist. He was a self-taught man, and occasionally consulted us in his translation.—EDITOR.]

POETRY.

HYMN FOR SUNDAY EVENING.

KING of Grace and King of Glory,
Thou whom heavenly hosts adore,
We would bow the knee before Thee,
And Thy covenant grace implore.
Now another Sabbath's ended,
We our grateful voices raise;
Thou this Sabbath hast befriended,
Lord, accept our song of praise:

Praise for Thine abundant blessing,
 For Thy Gospel's joyful sound ;
 Praise that we, Thy truth professing,
 May within Thy courts be found ;
 Praise Thee for our sins forgiven,
 Through a dying Saviour's love ;
 Praise Thee for a hope of heaven,
 And a heritage above.

Lord, we love Thy habitation,
 Lord, we love Thine house of prayer,
 Love to meet the congregation,
 And present our praises there :
 And we wait in expectation
 Of a nobler rest above,
 Endless as Thine own duration,
 Everlasting as Thy love.

And when Sabbath suns are smiling
 On the turf that wraps us o'er,
 And when Sabbath bells are chiming,
 And we hear the sound no more,
 May our spirits be before Thee,
 Hymning Thine eternal praise ;
 Strike our golden harps in glory
 Through the course of endless days.

M. S.

[The above hymn was written by one to whom part, and we humbly hope the whole, of the last verse has just become applicable.]

NOTICES OF NEW BOOKS.

The Ways of God ; or, Thoughts on the Difficulties of Belief, in connexion with Providence and Redemption. By T. R. Birks, M.A., Rector of Kelshall. London : Seeley & Co. 1864.—Scripture teaches two things, with equal plainness and decision, which may for a moment appear to contradict each other, but which are, in truth, entirely in harmony. The first is, that man “cannot by searching find out God :—it is high as heaven ; what canst thou do ? deeper than hell, what canst thou know ?” (Job xi.) “There is no searching of His understanding.” (Isaiah xl.) The second is, that to seek to know God is our duty—our plainest interest. The promise is, “I will give them a heart to know me” (Jer. xxiv.) ; and the golden days yet to come are thus described, “All shall know me, from the least to the greatest.” (Jer. xxxi.) The condemnation of the unbelieving is, “He that loveth not, knoweth not God” (1 John iv.) ; and “eternal life” is declared to be, “to know thee, the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom thou hast sent.” (John xvii.) The union of these two seemingly opposing truths is indicated in Hos. vi. 3 :—“Then shall we know, if we follow on to know the Lord.” The ocean of the Divine love and attributes is boundless, unfathomable ; yet a knowledge in measure begins with the Divine life in man, and will go on increasing through all eternity.

In the numberless and difficult questions connected with the Divine Government of a race of sinful creatures, Mr. Birks is a thoughtful and trustworthy assistant and guide. He follows Bishop Butler, handling with judicious skill various intricate matters respecting which the bishop had only suggested topics for investigation. "The long-continued prevalence of moral evil" is the topic of the first chapter; "the perils of human probation" are reviewed in the second. "The moral anomalies of the Divine Government" furnish the subject of the fifth; and "the supposed failure of Christianity" is considered in the tenth. Here are some of the hardest problems on which the mind of man can be employed. But so calmly and reverently does Mr. Birks conduct the investigation, that the reader feels himself in safety, although traversing paths of more than Alpine peril. The key to this feeling of security is, that never once does the writer let go his firm hold on God's word. "It is written" is the only final argument to which he pays respect; and hence any one who rightly appreciates the firmness and security of this reliance, climbs, with such a guide, the most dizzy heights, without any shrinking of heart.

A striking instance of this loyal trust in the written word, is given at the very outset. In the opening essay, "On the long continuance of Moral Evil," Mr. Birks thus writes:—

"An excellent and well-known commentator reasons on the present subject in the following way:—'Every dispensation of Providence, and especially the whole plan of salvation, shows that God delights in the happiness and salvation of sinners; and that He has done all which was consistent with His own glory to prevent the necessity, so to speak, of executing vengeance. He could, doubtless, convert and save all men and all devils, but He has wise reasons for not doing it. May He not be allowed to be good, because He has not absolutely excluded all evil from creation, which He doubtless could have done? All such objections are the offspring of pride, unbelief and enmity; and while vain men would be wise, they are often little aware that they are running into direct blasphemy.'

"Now if God had expressly revealed to us that His own Omnipotence includes a power to convert and save all creatures, however perverse and rebellious, by a momentary act of the Divine will, and that for wise and mysterious reasons He forbears to use this power, our duty would be humbly to receive the announcement, however perplexing to our faith in His goodness, and to wait in patience for the clearer revelations of the life to come. But since, in the course of a thousand messages from heaven, no such statement can be found, and a solemn oath seems to imply the exact reverse, can it be wise or safe to assume, as undoubted truth, that our first crude impressions of Divine Omnipotence are its true definition, when they clash with impressions of the Divine goodness no less natural and instinctive, and even seem to destroy the force and emphasis of one of the most solemn and weighty of all these messages of God? Is it just or equitable to make the supposed certainty of our inferences from one Divine attribute, unsustained by a single text of Scripture, the ground for charges of pride, presumption, and blasphemy, against those who think those inferences wholly inconsistent with a true faith in the Divine goodness? The force of the difficulties, a frank admission of which is here so indignantly repelled, rests on the assumption, wholly unproved, which is twice repeated in the course of this brief quotation; an assumption, I believe, of which the inevitable effect, when rooted in the understanding, is to obscure and falsify the whole course of Divine providence for six thousand years." (pp. 3, 4.)

And the conclusion of the whole matter is thus summed up:—

"The Most High is dealing with a problem of immense difficulty in the control and government of a rebellious world. All the means which infinite love can dictate, or infinite wisdom can devise, are used, from age to age, in order

to resist and overcome those mysterious powers of evil that would otherwise drag down the whole race into utter ruin. Events, it is true, which seem like failures to our short-sighted vision, are no absolute failures, but foreseen steps in a plan which never fails—a scheme of hidden perfection, which moves on steadfastly towards a final triumph of Divine holiness and love. But there is, from first to last, no connivance with evil, no withholding of means more effectual than those really employed, to expose its malignity, unmask its delusions, and rescue mankind from its fatal and destructive power. There is a ceaseless warfare, like that of the house of David with the house of Saul; in which the seeming weakness at the outset of the struggle only serves to bring out the nature of the moral conflict into clearer relief, and will render the victory of truth and goodness at the last more intensely beautiful, blessed, and glorious." (pp. 14, 15.)

This all-important fact, of the limitation of the Divine power, by moral considerations only, meets us in various passages of Scripture; and therefore we may reverently but plainly speak of it, because "it is written." "He could not do many mighty works there, because of their unbelief." "How often would I have gathered thy children together . . . but ye would not." Nor are these inabilities ascribed to Immanuel, to "God manifest in the flesh," only; they are declared to attach to "the Lord God Omnipotent," who "doeth as He will in the armies of heaven." He "cannot lie" (Tit. i. 2),—"cannot deny himself" (2 Tim. ii. 13). These are moral limitations, arising out of His own nature and attributes. And we may be sure that for other instances of apparent weakness, ("It repented the Lord that He had made man on the earth, and it grieved Him at His heart." "What could have been done more to my vineyard, that I have not done it? Wherefore, when I looked that it should bring forth grapes, brought it forth wild grapes?")—equally solid reasons could be given, were it possible for man "by searching to find out God,—to find out the Almighty to perfection."

The ninth chapter, on "Predestination," is full of the same kind of wise and reverent discrimination. Mr. Birks observes, that—

"The Divine decrees are the expressions of the will of God, by acts of direct power; but foreknowledge refers to the contemplation of all future events, in the exercise of Omniscient wisdom. The knowledge of God must include all possible relations among all possible creatures, with all their various limitations, depending on the essential laws of created being. The decrees of God embrace all the direct and immediate acts of the Divine will, and more remotely, all their consequences, so far as they result from the exercise of active powers bestowed by the Almighty. But the Divine foreknowledge includes all the relations of these beings and actions to each other. It views every act not only in its relation to God himself, as its mediate or immediate Author, but in its relation to the necessary limitations of created existence, and all moral acts and agents in their relation to all possible evil, as well as to the great Author of their being. Immediate acts of the Almighty are foreknown, because they are decreed. The acts of creatures resulting from active powers originally bestowed, and modified by a thousand circumstances, are virtually decreed, because they are foreseen results of their first creation and of the modifying influences that have since arisen. But the limitations of those acts, and of the creatures themselves, are simply foreseen, and not decreed. They flow out of the eternal necessities or possibilities of being derived from its original nothingness, and are the objects of Divine Omniscience, but not the results of any separate act of the Divine will. And this is most emphatically true of all moral evil. It is foreseen, but not decreed. On the contrary, the acts in which it reveals itself are forbidden, and it is the object of the deepest abhorrence, in all its forms, to the infinite holiness of the Only Good and Wise." (p. 172.)

The case of Judas affords a signal illustration of the difference between foreknowledge and decree. Our Lord repeatedly warned his

disciples that He was aware from the first of the treason which Judas would commit—aware of it long before the purpose had been formed in the traitor's mind. And St. Peter adds, in the first chapter of the Acts, that the betrayal and the punishment of the betrayer had been foreseen and foretold by the Holy Ghost more than a thousand years before. Yet the act itself was merely suggested by Satan, and carried into effect by the apostle. Neither our Lord nor His Father had any more participation in it than in the first temptation which took place upon earth. Thus the whole matter resolves itself at last into that one inscrutable mystery:—Evil, sin, and misery, whence came they, and why permitted? And here all men are on a level. The heathen and the sceptic see, as clearly as we do, that wickedness and misery exist, and they can give no other account of them than we can. All must admit alike that evil exists, and none can tell how it came to exist. This is one of the mysteries reserved for a future state; probably the reason, if revealed to us now, would be beyond our powers of understanding. But when the fact is admitted, (and who dares deny it?) it includes all the inscrutably obscure and difficult questions which beset our path. There is a tempter always about our path. He tempted Judas, and Judas fell. All this was permitted, as evil itself is permitted; but while Christ saw and foresaw it, He said unhesitatingly that "it had been good for that man if he had never been born." Christ was "delivered by the determinate counsel and foreknowledge of God;" but it was not the less true that it was "by wicked hands that He was crucified and slain." We allow that it may be right and expedient in a wise and just ruler among men sometimes to visit with punishment, and at other times to pass over, breaches of his law; at one moment inflicting the penalty without delay, at another suspending it for a time. But the latitude and discretion which we concede to a fallible man, if we know him to be wise and just and merciful, belongs of eternal right to the All-wise and All-seeing; and the least thought in His creatures of censure or criticism is folly and arrogance of the highest degree.

The great problem, already alluded to, of why evil was permitted, is one which Mr. Birks dreams not of solving. The attempt to do so is the root and parent of all doubts, and difficulties, and sceptical suggestions. As we have already said, no reasonable man can deny the existence of sin and misery; nor can the wisest among the sons of men tell us whence they came, or why they were permitted. But so far as this earth of ours is concerned, Scripture tells us—what no other writing or writer can—how and when they entered this earth, and how they will finally be expelled from it. Scripture also tells us, that between God, our Heavenly Father, and the spirit or spirits of evil, an unceasing war is waged. God is light, is love, is blessedness; while Satan is darkness, cruelty, and woe. It adds, also, that the final victory will assuredly be with the Holy One, and that the powers of evil shall be overthrown, cast down, and finally expelled. No other book, or writing, or gospel, has any such news for man. How delightful is the thought, that this "glorious hope" is not only proclaimed to us, but is assured to us in the strongest manner. "Heaven and earth shall pass away; but my words shall not pass away."

There is a fashion in our day, of praising books, which it is diffi-

cult to praise on any other ground, as "suggestive." We dislike this fashion, and have not often complied with it. But if ever such a phrase could be justly and deservedly applied, it is in the case of the present volume. There are three or four of Mr. Birks's chapters which we have read several times over, and which have each time raised new trains of thought, and cast light on various questions which are the most difficult of solution. One there is, on the Atonement, to which exception has been taken, as striving to explain what is meant to be simply and implicitly believed. We think that the criticism has been carried too far; but we could not enter into the discussion of it without the occupation of more pages than we can at present spare.

PUBLIC AFFAIRS.

THE Pope has issued an Encyclical letter. It is meant to be a very formidable document, and it certainly promises to be a very useful one. As to the floods of pious wrath, with which it persecutes us, in common with all other heretics, we know, on good authority, what is to be the worst of the flood with which the dragon hoped to drown the woman in the wilderness. (Rev. xii. 15.) But it happily sets at rest a question on which good Catholics have been seriously disconcerted. They were just in the midst of a happy chorus, and their leaders sang it, with an air of triumph, in Parliament and out of it. They had made a great discovery. The Pope, they said, had not, for two centuries at least, interfered in secular politics, and he never would do so again. He held the spiritual keys; but those of the kingdoms of this world he laid no claim to. It was in the midst of the exultation produced by this discovery, that the Encyclical letter, like a shell from one of the monster guns, fell amongst his subjects. We cannot afford to quote its "lengthy" verbiage. It is enough to say, that there is no power on earth, secular or spiritual, to which the Pope does not lay claim, and that there is no form of government to which he does not deny a rightful authority, unless it be held from him, or in submission to himself as the representative and vice-gerent of God. For our own parts, we are much obliged to the Pope, and make him our courteous acknowledgments. He has written up his account-books to the present date. For the future, we shall have no occasion to grope our way amongst decrees of Councils, and opinions of canonized saints. A quotation from this Encyclical of Pío Nono will spare us all further trouble, even should Sir George Bowyer himself venture to repeat the assertion, that the Pope never intrudes into secular politics.

His holiness has ventured upon a bold stroke; he has thrust his circular letter into France, and no less than five archbishops and eight bishops have republished it, in direct violation, not only of their allegiance to their sovereign, but of the rights of the Gallican Church. It remains to be seen whether the Emperor will submit to the indignity or not; that is, whether, for the future, France shall be governed by the Jesuits or Napoleon. It is evident that a crisis is at hand.

We are occasionally favoured with a sight of the Jewish Chronicle

and Hebrew Observer. No doubt the managers of it wish to call our attention to what they regard as a triumphant answer to Dr. M'Neil and others, at a late meeting of the Society for the Conversion of the Jews. It is to us a distressing document. "Have you been candid, doctor?" they ask with an air of triumph. "Have you stated the case fairly and fully? Would it really satisfy you if we were to acknowledge Jesus as the Messiah? What of the doctrine of the three gods, of whom this Messiah is one, so diametrically opposed to the Ten Commandments? What of that extraordinary doctrine, known by the name of the Incarnation, and which, were it found in any Rabbinical writing instead of the Gospel, would be pointed out as the most striking proof of the credulosity and superstition of the Jews? What of the doctrine of the Atonement, so antagonistic to common sense, morality, and the distinct declaration of God, 'Children shall not die for parents, nor parents for children;' and again, 'The soul that sinneth, it alone shall die?' What of the doctrine of Satan, a created finite being, who nevertheless succeeded by cunning to mar the plan of an all-mighty, omniscient, and all-wise God, and actually compelled him to resort to a new scheme, which the Evil One should not be able to thwart? Do you really mean to let us off with these doctrines, if we will only consent to admit the claims of Jesus to the Messiahship? If you mean this, say so openly and frankly, and it will then be time to take into consideration the claims of the Messiah, which you so pressingly urge on the attention of the Jews.

We need not tell our more learned readers, that the doctrines here treated with contempt were held, and publicly taught, in the ancient Jewish Church. The proofs, in many instances, if not in all, may be seen in Bishop Pearson's notes; and every reader can substantiate them from his own acquaintance with the Old Testament. But it seems as if, as time rolls on, the veil grew thicker. As if, to counteract the arguments of infidels, the argument on the other side is becoming stronger day by day. Israel becomes day by day more infatuated, and the Scripture concerning them is still receiving fresh fulfilment. How dark, for instance, is the Jewish infidelity of this day, even compared with that which Paul found at Rome when he closed his ministry amongst them with these solemn words:—"Well spake the Holy Ghost by Esaias the prophet unto our fathers, saying, Go unto this people and say, Hearing ye shall hear, and shall not understand; and seeing ye shall see, and not perceive: for the heart of this people is waxed gross, and their ears are dull of hearing, and their eyes have they closed; lest they should see with their eyes, and hear with their ears, and understand with their hearts, and should be converted, and I should heal them."

No wonder that his theology has led the modern English Jew, like another Esau, to despise his birthright. In the same article we find it made a matter of sore complaint, that the Jewish community, for nearly twenty years, knocked at the door of the Legislature, soliciting the recognition of their rights as Englishmen. They possess no such rights; they are a foreign nation, the most ancient, the noblest in the world; and had they a spark of the faith and patriotism of their great forefathers, they would despise all foreign dignities, in comparison

of those which still await the people "whose are the promises, of whom as concerning the flesh Christ came, who is over all, God blessed for ever. Amen."

Our space is exhausted, but not our matter. In such times as these, four or five pages once a month are a very moderate allowance, when it would be easy to fill ten or twenty.

Parliament is about to open, and it is rumoured that the Queen in person will be present. We fear that it is a mere rumour, but the industry with which it is circulated shows how deeply her Majesty is beloved. Neither queens nor their subjects ought to sorrow as those who have no hope; it is now time that her Majesty should resume her duties with a cheerful spirit, rejoicing in the public, and still more the domestic, blessings with which she is surrounded. Our prayers ought to ascend both on behalf of her Majesty and her Parliament; and, since we must have a Convocation, for that body once grave and reverend, that at least it may not bring things ecclesiastical into popular contempt, but serve some better purpose than to make pungent satires for the *Times*.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

THE Number of our Correspondents has greatly increased, so that we are compelled to say we cannot notice those who are anonymous. They can give us hints which may be useful, but they must not take offence if they are not acknowledged. A little good feeling and common sense might teach some of them that an Editor cannot fairly be held responsible for every date and fact introduced by a wide circle of contributors. One such complainer thinks we were rather hard upon "a Subscriber," on the question of "*Balaesus*," whereas we thought "a Subscriber" rather hard upon us. The works of Bishop Bale, the Irish prelate, are published by the Parker Society with his English name; and the Latin *Balaesus*, sometimes applied to him, proves nothing conclusively; since, in that age and long afterwards, whoever wrote in Latin, either assumed a Latin name, or had it assigned to him by others. Grotius and Arminius are examples of two Dutchmen thus euphoniously transformed. However, there was another Bale, who died before the Bishop of Ossory was born, and who, like him, was a Carmelite Friar, and Prior of the Order at Norwich. He wrote, among other things, *Annales perbreves Ordinis Carmelitarum*, and it seemed not unlikely that he should have severely lashed the vices of the Benedictines. But, as we have said from the first, we took the verses at second-hand, and have not been able to trace them to their source; nor is the question of much consequence. Mr. Lyne, or Father Ignatius, says the Benedictines were always a pure and very (scripturally) religious body. We say they were, in the fourteenth century, neither the one nor the other, and we quoted *Balaesus* as an authority. The only point of importance is, who is right — Mr. Lyne, or the Christian Observer?

We agree with Mr. Peachey, and thank him, but would rather not provoke a controversy.

MR. ELLIS thinks that, in our note upon Mr. Gib's Correspondence, we meant to cast reflections upon the Scotch secession of 1733. We had no such intention. Though, whether Mr. Gib's piety was "cast in a narrow mould," when it led him to call Modern Methodists "blasphemers of free grace who had yet to be plucked as brands out of the fire," we will let others judge. We have several other letters on hand, which we mean to publish if opportunity offers, but every month our matter is too much for us.

SAVONAROLA.—We lately gave a sketch of the Florentine Martyr. Correspondents should consult with us before they write long papers in expectation that we shall accept them.

THE CHRISTIAN OBSERVER.

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[1865.

THE QUESTION OF THE DAY : SHALL WE KEEP THE BIBLE ?

It was a pleasing and re-assuring thing to find more than ten thousand of the English Clergy, on a recent occasion, prepared and willing to avow their conviction, in the face of many opponents, that the Bible "not only *contains*, but *is*, the Word of God." Still, however, the scepticism which has latterly shown itself in the Church of England, remains there, neither silenced nor abashed ; while many of those who have long been ranked among the most orthodox of Christian professors, now astonish us by admissions and concessions which imperil the very foundation of our faith. As one instance of this, let us remark that the *Quarterly Review*, a journal read by thousands of the clergy, and by tens of thousands of the laity of the Church, in its 230th Number thus wrote :—

"Is there no escape from the alternative, of either denying, on the one side, the possibility of the presence of any error in the Scripture, or on the other, the certainty of its Divine inspiration? We believe that there is ; and that it may be found in following the simple thought, that it was, properly speaking, the writers who were inspired, and not the book."

So that a supposed champion of the faith, when called on for his belief, is willing to admit that the Bible is not an inspired book ; and that we have, in fact, no Word of God ! This is one notable exhibition of the instability and uncertainty now observable on every side ; but it is only a single instance of a very wide-spread evil. Almost every day that passes we have to mourn over the shortcomings and perilous concessions made by good men. Orthodox Churchmen are found giving up the only basis on which any kind of a church can be built ; earnest Evangelicals are heard advancing suppositions which leave the very fact of the Atonement in doubt ! In this state of things it seems absolutely necessary to make an attempt to draw the

line, and to show where concession ought to end, and a stubborn resistance begin. Truth is always one—consistent and simple in its assertions ; error is generally hydra-headed ; and in the present case we find a Stanley and a Jowett fighting essentially the same battle in this century which Voltaire and Paine fought in the last ; although the forms of the temptation are as various as the shapes and hues of the passing clouds.

The central truth for which we have now to contend, is, that we have a Word of God. Not a shapeless, evanescent, impalpable something ; but a tangible and positive fact—a written and well-known document. So speaks the Bible itself—"The law of the Lord is perfect, converting the soul ; the testimony of the Lord is sure, making wise the simple ; the statutes of the Lord are right, rejoicing the heart ; the commandment of the Lord is pure, enlightening the eyes." (Psa. xix.) This is language only applicable to a known, tangible, and unquestionable writing or document ; it could have no meaning if applied to a merely human work, in which Divine communications were believed to be somewhere hidden. In the same tone speaks St. Paul, who describes the Divine books as "the oracles of God" (Rom. iii.), and declares that "all Scripture is given by God's inspiration." So also St. Peter, who declares that "holy men of God spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost."

Here, however, we are often stopped by the inquiry, "What is your theory of inspiration?" To which we reply, that we have no other theory than that which is conveyed in the opening words of the epistle to the Hebrews ; where we are told that "God at sundry times, and in divers manners, spake in times past to the fathers by the prophets." Since we are distinctly told that He spake "in divers manners," we are not going to assert that He spoke in only one manner. But the great and vital truth which it concerns us to notice and to receive is this, that "God spoke." He spoke through His prophets, that our fathers and we might hear and obey His word. Now, it deeply concerns us to receive this statement loyally, and without any reservation. "God spoke ;" His words were conveyed, first by speech, and then by writing. That writing we have ; and it differs from all other writings in being His word. In it we have the very "Word of God."

But do we claim this rank and estimation for every syllable in our English Bible ? This introduces the question of, What limitations and reservations may lawfully be used in speaking of the Bible as "the Word of God ?"

The writers of the books of the Old and New Testaments were God's secretaries. He used them as kings and rulers use their secretaries now. No king permits his secretary to write in his name anything of which he does not wholly approve.

This rule holds good with far more certainty in God's case; for He ever was, and is, Omniscient and Almighty. None of His secretaries could write a syllable in His name without His knowledge; nor could He ever want power to make His instruments work His will with precision and exactitude. Even sceptics like Bishop Colenso admit that, in some way or other, "God spoke" in the books of Scripture, and that it was His will and purpose to counsel and direct men by those books. We accept the admission, and we say, therefore, that since the books of the Bible were, in some sense, a work of God, they must be perfect and infallible. "He is the rock: His work is perfect." (Deut. xxxii. 4.) "My word, that goeth out of my mouth, shall not return to me void, but it shall accomplish that which I please, and it shall prosper in the thing whereto I sent it." (Isa. lv. 11.)

"But there is a human element," it is said, "discernible throughout Scripture." Undoubtedly there is. When a king employs two secretaries, an observant eye will remark the difference between the papers written by the one and those written by the other. Each will have his own style, his own handwriting, his own turn of thought and expression. Yet, while all this can be discerned, he who receives a letter from the secretary of a wise and prudent king, well knows that its whole contents and purport are really and truly the word of the sovereign, and not of the secretary. So it is in the case of the Bible. No one who entertains worthy thoughts of God can doubt that, in these communications to man, every word and thought was perfectly given, and conveyed to the hearer and reader exactly what God purposed to convey.

But the original documents no longer exist. This is unquestionably true; and this fact gives room and scope for legitimate criticism. We have, at present, only copies made from copies, which copies were themselves made from other copies, two or three thousand years ago. And in translations we have a second opening for inaccuracy; since, to make a perfect translation of a large and very ancient writing, is a work which exceeds any known human powers.

Errors in copying, and other errors in translating, may, then, have crept in; and this fact affords an abundant scope for loyal and reverent investigation. God has not preserved His Word from all error; to have done this, would have amounted to a perpetual miracle; and by miracles He does not now work. But He has preserved it by His Providence from any material error; and this is a wonderful fact. Among hundreds and thousands of private and unimportant errors of the copyist, not one of the least importance has ever been pointed out—not one which confuses or obscures the Divine message in the least degree. He who watches over the sparrows, and feeds

the young ravens, and numbers the hairs of our heads, has so guarded His Word as to keep it substantially intact and uninjured ; and this, without that supernatural perfectness which would have been a visible miracle.

The great fact, then, at which we arrive, may be thus set forth :—We have a book, or collection of books, which are, in the whole, and in each and every part, the Word of God—given to man by the agency of certain chosen messengers, who spoke, in every word and every syllable, “as they were moved by the Holy Ghost.” This Word, however, has been handed down to us by successive copyists, who have been kept, in God’s Providence, from any material error, but not from trivial and insignificant variations. And it is given to men of the present age by the hands of translators, who are or were men like ourselves, and who often fall into errors of their own, which are to be corrected by many renewed examinations of the ancient text. Such we believe to be the true and only tenable belief as to the real character and authority of the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament.

We come now to the opposing view, or rather to the multifarious views, promulgated by sceptics of various shades and characters. While Truth is essentially one, error is always multitudinous. And in the present case we have a long gradation of scepticism, from the rampant infidelity of Voltaire and Paine, down to the moderated unbelief of Belsham and Aspland, and, at last, to the refined and learned doubts and difficulties of Dr. Colenso, and the writers of *Essays and Reviews*. There may be a prodigious difference between the tone and manner of a declared enemy of Christianity, who delights in pouring contumely on God’s Word, and the courteous and moderated diction of a calm and studious sceptic ; but the final result is the same. A Paine may utter ribaldries and blasphemies when speaking of the books of Moses, while a Colenso may only doubt whether Moses ever wrote those books, or whether one-half of their statements can be believed ; but the effect on the hearer’s or reader’s mind will be substantially the same. If he gives credit to the sceptic, he ceases to believe in the Bible. He gives up all confidence in the fact that we have a Word of God ; he has, in short, a Divine Revelation no longer.

The different stages, or methods, by which the infidelity of the last century has been “toned down” in the present day may be thus described :—

1. We had the vehement animosity of the days of Voltaire ; when the Bible was openly declared to be a forgery and a fraud, —a wicked and immoral book.

2. This, however, disgusted men, and did the cause of infidelity more harm than good. Hence we next had the more

refined scepticism of Unitarianism and German Rationalism. The Hebrew and Greek Scriptures were now admitted to be ancient writings, and to possess many claims to respect and veneration. Still, they were only to be ranked with the writings of Homer and Plato, and were handled by critics with equal freedom.

3. Up to this point, however, the attacks upon Scripture came *from without*. Such a thing as a declaration of scepticism issuing from the bosom of the Church of England was scarcely dreamed of, and if an isolated instance of the kind now and then occurred, it was treated as the vagary of a man of unsound intellect. About five years ago this reverent abstinence was terminated by the appearance of the *Essays and Reviews*; followed, after a short delay, by the publications of Bishop Colenso. Here we found beneficed clergymen, and even a prelate of the Church, questioning, though with many professions of diffidence and respect, the truth of the miracles and prophecies of the Bible, the credibility of the Scripture account of the creation, and at last the historic character of the Pentateuch itself. Thus, under the guise of "criticism," men who still called themselves Christians did as fully and effectually set themselves to destroy the whole basis of the Christian faith, as did Voltaire and Paine in their avowed and virulent hostility.

4. One more stage remained, and that was a more insidious and perilous one than either of the former. Within the last year or two several writers have appeared, especially among the clergy of the Church, whom it would be wrong to class with infidels, either of the flagrant or of the more moderate kind. Most of these "know not what they do," and err from constitutional timidity and hesitation. They have an innate horror of "going to extremes," and hence they shrink from the thought of "verbal inspiration." They search about for some middle-course;—some theory by which the Bible shall be deemed to be inspired, in the main, but not wholly. Certainly, they admit, it is God's Word, and yet it would be too much to say that every word contained in it was inspired by God. This hesitating, vacillating, half-hearted spirit is shown in a multitude of different ways. Many years ago Coleridge wrote in his "Confessions:"—

"In the books of Moses, and once or twice in the prophecies of Jeremiah, I find it asserted that not only the words were given, but the recording of the same enjoined by the special command of God, and doubtless executed under the special guidance of the Divine Spirit. As to all such passages, therefore, there can be no dispute. Whatever is referred by the sacred penman to a direct communication from God, I receive with full belief."

Coleridge deemed himself, and was deemed by others, a defender, and not an assailant, of the truth of Holy Scripture.

Yet he defends it, we see, in the above passage, by assuming that portions of it are the very Word of God, while other portions, constituting by far the larger part of the whole, are not so.

Again, in some University sermons, recently published, Dean Stanley thus distinguishes :—

“There can be no one in this place to whom the historical portions of the Old Testament are more precious than they are to me; but I cannot refuse to acknowledge the limitation of the Sacred text, which says that ‘God spake’ not by the historians, geographers, chronologers—but in a special sense, ‘by the prophets.’”

The distinction is fallacious and deceptive; for the historians and geographers of the Bible were prophets also. (Deut. xviii. 15; 1 Sam. iii. 20; Acts ii. 30, 31; 2 Sam. xxiv. 11; 1 Kings i. 8.) But the main thing to be noticed is, that Dr. Stanley, like Coleridge, wishes to represent some parts of the Bible as “God’s Word,” while other parts are not His Word.

Dean Stanley, however, is an acknowledged leader of the “Broad Church” party, and his language, therefore, may be said to commit no more than a certain small section of the Church. When we turn to the *Quarterly Review*, this plea cannot be urged. That journal has always assumed to itself the character of a thoroughly “Orthodox” journal,—a journal which might be trusted never to betray the ancient faith of the Church. Yet, in the article from which we have already quoted, this *Review* thus speaks :—

“Is there no escape from the alternative of either denying, on the one side, the possibility of the presence of any error in the Scripture, or, on the other, the certainty of its Divine inspiration? We believe that there is, and that it may be found in the following, carefully, the simple thought, that it was, properly speaking, the writers who were inspired, and not the book. For if the intention of the Almighty was, through His word, to reveal religious truth to man, what would be more natural than that He should pour into the minds of His instruments a flood of light upon those truths which He intended them to declare, leaving them still uninformed as to matters of which they were bearers of no message to their brethren? Assuming, then, this simple law as pervading the gift of God’s revelation, it may, without any violation of the great dictum that God is the author of Scripture, be affirmed that there may be parts of the canonical books which, on subjects unconnected with religious faith or moral duty, were not written under the inspiration of the Holy Spirit; but were left of God’s special purpose to the natural acting of the writers’ powers.”

Thus this reputed defender of the Church’s faith is of opinion that St. Paul was wrong, when he declared that “all Scripture is given by inspiration of God;” and that Bishop Colenso was nearer the truth, when he asserted, that “the Bible is not itself ‘God’s Word,’ but assuredly ‘God’s Word’ will be heard in

the Bible, by all who will humbly and devoutly listen for it." (vol. ii. p. 387.)

Our readers will observe, that all these professed defenders, but real betrayers of the truth, are agreed in one main principle. Bishop Colenso, Professors Jowett and Baden Powell, Dean Stanley and the "*Quarterly Review*," all concur in holding, that there are parts of the Bible which are inspired and true, and parts which are uninspired and often stained by error. They also agree and concur, in a total avoidance of all attempts to discriminate between the true and untrue portions. Not one among them all has ever proposed to show us, which portions are inspired and which uninspired; which are undoubtedly true, and which in all probability false. The necessary result, therefore, to the unlearned reader, is, that he is utterly at a loss to draw any line between the two; and thus to him, the Word of God, the authoritative revelation, is lost and disappears.

For instance, the first question that occurs to the reader is this;—Is the first chapter in the Bible true, or is it untrue? One of these critics replies, that "the Bible was not given to teach men science," and that "we are not to be surprised if on such subjects it speaks inaccurately." The "*Quarterly Reviewer*" observes, that "there may be parts of the canonical books, which, on subjects unconnected with religious faith or moral duty, were not written under the inspiration of the Holy Spirit." Well, then, is the description of the six days' work of creation "connected with religious faith or moral duty?" Who shall decide this question? On the whole, the enquirer is left in doubt and darkness, fearing that his Bible opens, at its very first page, with an uninspired chapter, full of the merest romance and fiction. And with this impression, what will his Bible be to him in future? Its certainty, its undoubted truth, its Divine inspiration, are gone. His new teachers, Dean Stanley and the "*Quarterly Review*," concur in assuring him, that parts of it are true, and parts of it untrue; but they offer him no help in discriminating between the one and the other. The result is fatal. "If we have not a Christianity resting upon written documents, we have none." The written documents which constitute the foundation of our faith are questioned alike by the Dean and the Reviewer; and if we give credence to these writers, our faith of necessity perishes. If the Bible is not, absolutely and throughout, God's Word,—if all Scripture is not inspired, "then is our faith vain, we are yet in our sins."

Our sheet-anchor, amidst all these "winds of vain doctrine," must be, "the Bible, God's Word, throughout and in every part." Holy men of God, who wrote it, "spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost." We admit that the coin, of pure

gold, in passing from hand to hand, has received a few insignificant deteriorations, and has been slightly blemished by the fingers which have touched it. But its substance, its intrinsic value, remains the same. Gold it was at first, and gold it remains still. Placed in the balances, it is still full weight. Its surface may be somewhat stained and sullied : but this matters little. Its real and intrinsic value is still just what it has ever been. Cast a golden sovereign into the filthiest puddle in the street, then draw it out and offer it to a trader ; he wipes it, weighs it, and at once admits it to be of equal value with its fellow just issued from the mint. There is no copy of God's Word which has been so stained, but that even the worst editions, of the worst translations, if not purposely perverted, remain God's Word still. And so our belief, firmly held, must be, that the Bible, as it came from God, by the hands of His secretaries the prophets, was throughout, in every word and syllable, God's Word ; the Law by which we shall be judged at the Great Day. Slight soils and blemishes it may and must have contracted, since then, from human hands ; and these it is the peculiar work of criticism patiently and reverently to remove. But he who, whether Dean or Bishop, would persuade us to believe that parts of the Book are from God, and other parts not from God—while he makes no attempt to discriminate between the one and the other—does as effectually rob us of a real, available, Divine Revelation, as if he insisted, with the open blasphemer, that the whole book of " Holy Scripture " was a forgery and a fraud !

While we are writing, a fresh device appears. Mr. Fitzjames Stephen, in a letter recently published in the *Times*, says :— " Mr. Keble tells us that, by the common law of the Church, it is laid down that the whole Bible is to be taken to be true, when fair criticism has ascertained what it is. This, of course, involves the admission that the authorised version as it stands, is not entirely true. Hence the common law of the Church is not, ' The whole Bible is true,' but ' There once was a book, being since destroyed, which was true.' "

What is asserted of the Bible is equally asserted, and is equally true, of all other ancient books. There once was an original manuscript of Xenophon's *Cyropædia*, of Cæsar's *Commentaries*, of Homer's *Iliad*. All these have long since perished, and we have not even a copy of a copy, but only manuscripts of four, or six, or ten degrees removed from the original, with the moral certainty that every copyist introduced scores of variations. What then ?—do we say, " There once was a book called the *Commentaries* of Cæsar, and another book called the *Iliad*, and another called the *Cyropædia* ; but all these have been destroyed, and exist no longer. If we had them, we should know what Cæsar, and Homer, and Xenophon

said; but as they have all perished, we now know nothing about it."

Does any one use this language? Does Mr. Stephen adopt it? Not at all: he will say, like other men—"Homer tells us," or "Cæsar asserts." What does he mean, then, by speaking of the Bible as "a book which was destroyed," but which, if we had it, would speak the truth? The only difference between the writings of Homer and those of Isaiah, in this respect, is, that we know nothing of any peculiar care taken of Homer's or Xenophon's writings: while we do know that the Jews, to whom was committed the charge of "the oracles of God," evinced their sense of the importance of that charge by a reverent punctiliousness in copying and collating, quite without a parallel in the history of mankind.

Those in whose behalf Mr. Stephen writes are always ready to admit two facts of the most vital importance in this question: 1st, That "God spoke" in the Bible; and 2ndly, That there is such a thing as the Providence of God. Now, these two main facts ought to decide this question.

If there is any such thing as a "Word of God," (and even Bishop Colenso grants as much as this), then no one who thinks reverently of God will venture to suppose that He spoke lightly, or with carelessness as to whether His word should be heard or understood. "Thou hast magnified Thy Word above all Thy name," says the Psalmist; and God Himself says, "My Word shall not return unto me void, but it shall accomplish that which I please, and it shall prosper in the thing whereto I sent it."

And this is accomplished by the All-seeing Eye, and constant Providence of God. He has caused miracles to cease; and hence copyists and translators are still liable to err. Were they not—were every copyist of the Bible divinely prevented from erring in a single letter, we should have constantly before our eyes a miracle as great as the arrestation of the sun's rays by Joshua. This is not His Will; but by His ever-watchful Providence He can protect, and He has protected, His Word from all real injury. Critics and collators detect various readings by thousands, but not one which affects any fact or any doctrine. The way in which this has been done is partly visible in the extraordinary precautions taken by the Jewish priests and rabbis, to fence round the sacred text with every conceivable safeguard.

And, as a general result, we may with confidence assert that we have the text of "the oracles of God" handed down to us with a certainty of truth which exceeds beyond all comparison any guarantee we can possibly have of the writings of any other ancient book or author. And hence, when Mr. Stephen talks of the Bible as "a book which once existed, but which

was destroyed," he is merely uttering nonsense—insolent nonsense, and most inconsistent nonsense—unless he is prepared to go on to assert that we have no writings of Xenophon, or of Plato, or of Cæsar, or of any other ancient author. Let him take this ground, and he may be consistent; but we shall then leave him, as a person with whom it would be a waste of time to argue any longer.

Once more:—Let us illustrate what is called "the human element in Scripture" by an instance which sceptics are themselves very fond of adducing, as disproving, in their view, all theories of "verbal inspiration." We allude to the title affixed to the Cross. This is given by all the four Evangelists; but no two of them agree in the words. "Here," say the objectors, "is a clear and irrefragable proof that the words of the four Gospels, at least, were not dictated; and that, although we may believe the Evangelists to be generally truthful and correct, we must not lay too much stress on the particular words which they happen to employ."

Now, we wish to look this argument in the face, and to see exactly what it is worth. It is a favourite proof with the opponents of verbal inspiration; and if it can be satisfactorily met, and repelled, the same reasoning will apply to all the other cases of "seeming contradiction" which those arguers are accustomed to bring forward.

First, then, we premise, that differences of phraseology are like differences of feature among men; they are more than common, they are nearly universal. Let any four men be sent, apart from each other, to report a public event happening, words spoken, and things done, in London next week; it is not only possible that they may give differing accounts, it is nearly certain that they will do so. A brief but important speech was spoken; they may all be true men, yet they will assuredly put it into different words. If the four men came back with identically the same account, any experienced observer would say, "There has been concert and collusion here: if these were four independent accounts, they would not verbally agree."

Such is the universal experience of human nature. And this being so, it pleased the Holy Ghost to cause four different Evangelists to record this one fact, the Inscription on the Cross. But in so employing them, He did not transform them into "organ-pipes," or pass through their lips or pens one narrative of His own. He left them men; He used them as men; and one of the chief characteristics of men is the endless variety of form, visage, mind, and language which runs through the whole race.

Remaining men, Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John spake and wrote "as they were moved by the Holy Ghost." They

were divinely and irresistibly caused to write their several narratives, as "God's secretaries," but as human beings, not "organ-pipes." Now, we have said, and we repeat, that if four true men, not in concert with each other, had been present at the Crucifixion, and had been ordered afterwards to write down what occurred, their four accounts would have shown slight and immaterial variations. We say that this is the universal experience among men. But these four men did not thus write down, at once, their personal testimony of what they saw. One, Matthew, writing his Gospel about twelve or fourteen years after, says, "They set up over his head his accusation written, 'This is Jesus the king of the Jews.'" A second, Mark, writing when twenty more years had past, says, "The superscription of his accusation was written over, 'The king of the Jews.'" He, Mark, does not say that the prisoner's name was not there; but he says, that the crime with which he was charged was a pretending to kingship over the Jews. Next comes Luke, who states himself to be a collector of the facts of the Gospel history, and who, writing probably under St. Paul's superintendence, tells us that "the superscription was in Latin, and Greek, and Hebrew, 'This is the king of the Jews.'" The fact thus added, that there were three inscriptions, at once makes variations probable. For the Hebrew inscription might have been that spoken of by Matthew and John, and the Greek that described by Mark and Luke. Last of all comes John, who was the latest of the four, but who was himself, we know, actually at the foot of the Cross. He speaks with more decision, and with more fulness, saying, distinctly, "The writing was, 'Jesus of Nazareth, the King of the Jews.'" We accept, implicitly, this statement, and believe that such was the inscription, probably the Hebrew one. But if one, like Luke, who was of Greek extraction, speaks of the Greek copy, and says it was, "This is the king of the Jews," we have no difficulty in accepting his account also. In fact, we see in the four accounts, just that sort of variety which is common among men—true men, but not one word of contradiction. All four agree in the main fact, that the accusation was, the pretending to be "king of the Jews." Two omit the prisoner's name, confining themselves to the accusation: and probably these do literally give one of the three superscriptions.

And what is the general result? Clearly this: One Divine Spirit moves four human writers to record, and bear testimony to, this, the greatest of all human events. Their independence of each other is shown by the variety and difference perceptible in their narratives. Each adds some fact or feature omitted by some of the others. But amidst all, the Overruling and Divine Hand is visible, "guiding them into all truth," and forming their different works into one whole, while yet the four human

testimonies are preserved, varying and yet agreeing, and giving us, unitedly, the whole truth on this, the most momentous of all earthly transactions.

And thus, our general conclusions on the whole subject may be thus summed up :—

1. The inspired writers, throughout the Bible, are to be regarded as God's secretaries, speaking and writing "as they were moved by the Holy Ghost."

2. But they were still human creatures, and were used *as such*. When one of them narrates what he saw or heard, it is a true statement, and not a story put into his mouth. When one Evangelist speaks of two angels, when another speaks of only one, we understand that the first saw two, and the second only one; the time being different, or the point of view not the same. All these differences, which might be expected in true human testimony, are permitted by the Holy Ghost; and yet, as all the writers were to speak the truth, and truth is necessarily consistent, their differences never amount to contradiction.

3. Then, as to the transmission of these writings, we know, by historical evidence, that they have been handed down to us with a thousand times more care than any other writings. And hence, if we suppose that we have, substantially, the Commentaries of Cæsar, we may be far more sure that we have the Gospels of Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John, as they were written. And, beyond this, it is admitted, by even our opponents, that a Divine Hand was employed, and that God Himself was speaking. Reason, therefore, adds, that a superintending power must have been at work, and that, over and above historic proof, we may safely conclude that such writings as these have been divinely kept, and are assured to us by the abundant guarantee of a perpetual and all-powerful Providence.

A COMMENTARY ON THE EPISTLE TO THE EPHESIANS.

By DANIEL BAGOT, B.D., Dean of Dromore, &c.

[Continued from page 103.]

Chap. i. 15. *Wherefore I also, after I heard of your faith in the Lord Jesus, and love unto all the saints,*

16. *Cease not to give thanks for you, making mention of you in my prayers ;*

It would have been a very great privilege to have heard Paul preach ; but it would have been a much greater privilege to have heard him pray, a still greater privilege to have been permitted to join with him in his supplications at a throne of

grace. Although his calumniators at Corinth represented his speech as contemptible, yet judging from his discourses at Athens and at Antioch and elsewhere, and from the impression which they made upon Festus and Felix and Agrippa, and upon the men of Lycaonia who called him Mercury—the name which they gave to the fabled God of eloquence, we may well infer that his sermons must have been characterized by clear and suggestive statements of truth, by lucid and persuasive arguments, and by noble and commanding language and elocution. His prayers, too, must have been distinguished by a sacred and solemn unction, by an earnest and chastened importunity, and by depth of piety and Christian love. There are two such prayers referred to in this Epistle—one at the end of the first, and the other at the end of the third chapter. There is, however, a remarkable difference observable between them. The former refers rather to the enlightenment of the faculties of the mind, by the acquisition of heavenly wisdom, so as to promote a growth in knowledge; the latter to the strengthening of the affections of the heart, by an increasing appreciation of the infinite fulness of the love of Christ, so as to promote a corresponding growth in grace.

In the prayer before us, we have proof of the great interest which Paul felt for the spiritual welfare and progress of the Ephesian Christians. It was about five years since he had ministered amongst them, and he was now a prisoner at Rome when he heard of their state. This was his comfort in his affliction, to receive intelligence, from time to time, of signal triumphs of Divine grace in the churches of Christ and in the experience of His people. The word “wherefore,” with which the 15th verse commences, should rather be translated “for this cause.” The connection is with the first clause of the 12th verse and the concluding clause of the 13th, as if he meant to say, “for this cause”—that is, in order that you may be “to the praise of His glory.” Thus did the apostle feel that God is ever glorified in the sanctification of His people.

It was not of their worldly or temporal prosperity that he had heard, but of their spiritual—“of their faith in the Lord Jesus and love unto all the saints.” These are abiding and progressively increasing graces, which always co-exist in the Christian character. Wherever genuine faith is, love will also be found; both the love of gratitude to Christ who died for us, and the love of benevolence to those for whom He died. Faith, as the instrument of justification, is the “assent and consent” which the sinner gives to God’s message of pardoning mercy, through Christ, in the Gospel. Faith, as the animating and actuating principle of spiritual life, by which the justified sinner walks, and works, and overcomes the world, is the realization of the constant presence of Christ within us, for He dwells

in our hearts by faith. It is the glass through which he looks to Christ, the author and finisher of our redemption, for guidance and encouragement. It is the staff with which he leans upon Christ, the rock of his salvation, for strength and support. This faith apprehends, embraces, clings to, and appropriates Christ, and enables the pardoned sinner to say, "He loved me, and gave Himself for me." The apostle here speaks of the Ephesians' "faith in the Lord Jesus." We read of "faith toward our Lord Jesus Christ," as in Acts xx. 21; of "believing on the Lord Jesus Christ," as in Acts xvi. 31; and of "faith in Christ," as in Gal. iii. 26, and in the passage under consideration. This variety of phraseology is used to suit the variety of illustrations which are given in Scripture of our connection with, our dependence upon, and our confidence in Christ. We look *towards* Christ, by faith, as a saviour, as the Israelites looked to the brazen serpent in the wilderness. We rest *on* Christ, by faith, as the foundation upon which we build, by the grace of His Holy Spirit enabling us, the gold, silver, and precious stones of our principles, purposes, and performances. We dwell *in* Christ, as in a house of defence, by faith, as Noah and his family dwelt in the ark, safely protected from the deluge by which the world without them was overwhelmed; or we abide in Him by faith, as a branch in a tree from which it derives all the sap and nourishment which give it fruitfulness and beauty. Or these different phrases may be intended simply to denote different degrees of nearness and adhesion to Christ. Faith, however, of every degree, enables the believer to form an estimate, from his experience, of the love of Christ in proportion to its own strength, which, by the force of spiritual association and sympathy, produces in him a correlative love to Christ, and a corresponding love to all whom Christ loves. And the love of the Christian should be as diffusive and comprehensive as that of Christ. It should be "unto all the saints;" not to a mere section or party in the Church, but to all them "that love the Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity." In fact, this love is an emanation, as it were, of the love of Jesus to His Church, which descends, like the precious ointment upon the head that ran down to the very skirts of Aaron's garment, until it encircles with an atmosphere of sweet-smelling perfume the entire mystical body of Christ, so as to make the very heart of Jesus rejoice at feeling how good and pleasant a thing it is for brethren to dwell together in unity!

The apostle recognises these graces of "faith in Christ," and "love unto all the saints," as gifts from God, which should call forth intense expressions of constant gratitude to Him from whom cometh down every good and every perfect gift. He takes it for granted that the Ephesian Christians gave thanks to God for them on their own account; for he says, "I also"

(or "I as well as you") "cease not to give thanks to God." Gratitude to God is a distinguishing feature in the character of the Christian, and one which should ever be unceasingly exercised and displayed. As the mercy of God endureth for ever, and His gifts of kindness are bestowed without intermission, so we should never cease to give thanks for them. Paul gave thanks for the graces which were manifested by the members of the Church in Ephesus, as a faithful servant of Christ feeling glad and rejoicing in his Master's glory, and in the welfare of His people; and they likewise thanked Him for those benefits of which they were the favoured recipients, and which contributed to their happiness and joy. And how free from everything like jealousy was Paul! He was as ready to thank God for mercies bestowed upon others as for those which he himself received; thus showing his possession of the same spirit as the beloved disciple displayed when he said, "I have no greater joy than to hear that my children walk in the truth;" or resembling in disposition the pure and holy angels in heaven, who rejoice over every sinner that repenteth; or rather breathing forth the same mind that is in Christ, whose highest satisfaction it is to see of the travail of His soul, in His people's growth in grace and in moral conformity to Himself.

The minister of Christ may learn, from the example of Paul, that he should always be ready to recognise and rejoice in the faith and love of Christians, wherever these graces are evidently possessed. He should not always reprove and rebuke, nor direct his exclusive attention to the errors and failings of others. These, alas! are too numerous in all; but such is the weakness of our nature, that we require the encouragement which is derived from knowing that we have made some progress, however small, in spirituality and grace. At the same time, such is the tendency of our nature to self-complacency and vain-glory, that every minister should be especially careful, while he takes approving notice of his people's faith and love, to abstain from the use of any expressions calculated to excite or foster spiritual pride. The apostle gives an example here of the safe and proper mode of acting in this respect. He fully recognizes the prosperous condition of the members of the Church at Ephesus; but in the same moment he traces these back, as to their origin, to God alone, by ascribing to Him all the praise and glory of their existence.

But thanksgiving should be a preface as well as a supplement to prayer; and the petitions of the believer should rise out of, and be impregnated with, a spirit of gratitude throughout; and prayers for an increase of grace are the best proof and expression of our thankfulness for grace which has been already received. Every mercy which God confers is not only precious in itself, but is also a pledge and earnest of more, and

should therefore be an incentive to urge us—not only that we should “not cease to give thanks,” but also to “pray without ceasing.” The apostle evidently alludes here to his private and secret prayers—to his prayers in prison; for we may consecrate any place, by faith, into a sacred oratory, and pray in every place, because God’s throne of grace is everywhere to be found. The zealous and devoted servant of Christ will give himself to prayer as well as to the preaching of the Word. The earnestness and ardour of his affection for his people will best be shown by the importunity and perseverance of his supplications in their behalf. He serves his Heavenly Master most effectually when he has the interests of His Church at heart, and when the wants of His redeemed people constitute the burden of his unceasing petitions. What an impressive specimen of this has the great apostle of the Gentiles left to us! His own afflictions, and sufferings, and sorrows were lost and forgotten in an overwhelming solicitude for the prosperity of others. His feelings and affections, even his entire soul and spirit, were baptized in the sacred fountain of the undying love of Jesus! Would that the Holy Spirit of our God would send down more of this noble and disinterested magnanimity upon the ministers of the Church! even such an expansive and illimitable affection as would burst through every barrier of selfish or sectarian exclusiveness, and issue forth in perennial streams of supplication at the mercy-seat! The churches of Christ can no more prosper without the prayers, than they can without the pastoral labours, of their ministers. In every petition, therefore, which Paul presented at a throne of grace, there was a clause pre-eminently devoted to the Church at Ephesus. And, on the other hand, the members of the Church should pray for those who are placed over them in the Lord. There should be, in short, a reciprocity in prayer—ministers praying for their people, and people for their ministers. The intercession of Jesus at the right hand of His Father was never intended to supersede or dispense with that delightful exhibition of Christian companionship which consists in believers praying one for another. Devout and earnest prayer is the key, in the hand of faith, which unlocks the ark of the Gospel testimony, which is beneath the mercy-seat, where Jesus meets and communes with His people, and from which He dispenses those spiritual blessings which were purchased by His blood. When the united prayers of ministers and people ascend as incense to a throne of grace, mercy and love will come down from heaven, like angels hand in hand, and pour out blessings in rich abundance upon the Church on earth. But we should never pray without at the same time giving thanks. Praise is, in fact, the highest and most sublime form of worship, and the most acceptable to God, as it is a more freewill offering than prayer,

and a more spontaneous expression of our sense of the value of His goodness and loving-kindness. Necessity and a sense of want may force us to pray; grace alone can lead us to give thanks.

17. *That the God of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Father of Glory, may give unto you the spirit of wisdom and revelation in the knowledge of Him :*

18. *The eyes of your understanding being enlightened ; that ye may know what is the hope of His calling, and what the riches of the glory of His inheritance in the saints ;*

19. *And what is the exceeding greatness of His power to us-ward who believe,*

Here Paul states what was the object of his prayers for the saints that were at Ephesus. The word "that," with which the 17th verse commences, is the representative of a more emphatic word in the Greek, which means "in order that:" as if the Apostle had said, "I pray with this end in view," or "that my prayers may lead to this result," which result he then proceeds to specify. It is to God the Father, as He is related to and manifested in the Lord Jesus Christ, that he looks for the blessings to which he refers. Christ as Mediator is GOD and MAN in one person—Emmanuel, God with us. With reference to His abstract or divine nature, as the Word, He is God, One God with and EQUAL to the Father. With reference to the human nature which He took into union with the divine, He voluntarily became *inferior* to the Father; and with reference to the mediatorial office which He has undertaken and sustains, He has voluntarily become *subordinate* to the Father: but His assumed inferiority as man, and His assumed subordination as mediator, are quite distinct and substantive considerations from His abstract nature and condition as the Word which was God, God over all blessed for evermore, the true God and eternal life, and are not to be regarded as admissible or legitimate objections against His true and essential Deity. The Father may, therefore, be properly styled "the God of our Lord Jesus Christ;" of Christ, who is our Redeemer and our Saviour, our Prophet, Priest, and King. And He is "the Father of Glory," not only as He is inconceivably and infinitely glorious in His own essential and independent nature, but because He is the primeval fountain and original source from which all glory descends. The glory of the creature is but a reflection of the surpassing glory of the Great Creator.

And for what does the apostle pray? For "the Spirit of wisdom and revelation in the knowledge of Him." By "wisdom" is meant that internal illumination of which the Holy Ghost is the author when He shines into our hearts so as to give us a faculty of discerning spiritual things by faith; by

"revelation" is meant a clear exhibition of spiritual things, conveying a knowledge of Christ to the soul, or which is embodied and manifested in an acknowledgment of Him. Such an internal perception and recognition of Christ, as He is revealed in the Gospel, is necessary before we can either put confidence in Him for ourselves, or confess Him to others, as the one and only foundation of our hope.

The effect of receiving this Spirit of wisdom and revelation consists in this, that the eyes of our understanding are enlightened, so that all our faculties acquire a capacity for apprehending the things which God hath prepared for them that love Him, in the exercise of that faith by which we see those things which the bodily eye cannot see, when God reveals them unto us by His Spirit. (1 Cor. ii. 9, 10.) The mind is to the soul of man what the power of seeing is to the body; and the faculties of the mind correspond with the organs of vision, and are therefore called "the eyes of the understanding;" and as the eye requires light both to shine into itself and upon the objects to which it looks, so the mind cannot discern sacred and celestial things, except by the light which the Holy Spirit imparts when "God, who commanded the light to shine out of darkness, hath shined in our hearts to give the light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ." (2 Cor. iv. 6.)

The first thing which the believer is enabled to see and to know when the eyes of his understanding are enlightened, is "the hope of his calling;" or if we consider the word "hope" as being used here to denote the object to which it aspires, we may understand the apostle as praying for the Ephesians that they may know what it is that God calls the sinner at the time of his conversion to hope for—even for the riches of the glory of his inheritance in the saints. When he has been justified by faith, he has peace with God through our Lord Jesus Christ, he is introduced by Him into a state of grace, and is privileged to rejoice in hope of the glory of God, for he is then called by God, through the Gospel, unto His kingdom and glory, (Rom. v. 1, 2; 1 Thess. i. 12; 2 Thess. ii. 14). Without the special teaching of the Spirit of wisdom and revelation, whatever conceptions we might form of the glory that awaits us, or of the inheritance that is reserved in Heaven for us, would be mean and grovelling, "of the earth earthy;" but when, like Moses on Mount Pisgah, we are enabled, with purified and enlightened understandings, to realize something of the nature of the hope that is set before us, we shall be led to feel that our future destiny is so inconceivably grand and great, that no human thought can grasp it, and no human tongue describe it. The apostles are evidently at a loss for words whenever they approach this sublime and attractive

theme, and are generally obliged to have recourse to negative phraseology in speaking of it, as where Peter represents it as "an inheritance that is incorruptible and undefiled, and that fadeth not away." Here, however, Paul calls it "the riches of the glory of his inheritance in the saints," or—the riches of the glory of that inheritance which God will confer upon those who are His children, and therefore heirs, even joint heirs with Christ, amongst them that are holy. The words which are rendered "in the saints," might be rendered "in the holy places;" but it is better to regard it as having a reference to persons, according to the Authorized Version, as this corresponds with the language of Paul recorded in Acts xx. 32, and xxvi. 18, where he speaks of "an inheritance among them that are sanctified:" though in these passages we should observe that it is the participle which he employs, while in the verse under consideration it is the adjective, which is much more comprehensive. When we shall come to the city of the living God, even the heavenly Jerusalem, we shall not only be admitted to companionship with the spirits of just men, who have been made perfect by a previous process of sanctification upon earth, but we shall be also brought into communion with beings who have always been absolutely and completely holy—with an innumerable company of angels, and with Jesus the Mediator of the new covenant, and with God the Judge of all, before whose throne the seraphim bend in joyful adoration, and cry—"Holy, holy, holy is the Lord of hosts." But whether holiness be personal, or imparted, or produced, none but those who are perfectly holy shall ever be found in that "land of pure delight where saints immortal reign;" not that the holiness of the believer can merit this great advancement, but because it is an indispensable qualification for glory, for "without holiness no man shall see the Lord."

And in what shall this inheritance consist? To this inquiry the best reply we can give is in the language of the beloved apostle—"It doth not yet appear what we shall be; but we know that when He shall appear we shall be like Him, for we shall see Him as He is" (1 John iii. 2); and of the promise of Jesus to His disciples—"If I go and prepare a place for you, I will come again and receive you unto myself, that where I am there ye may be also." Yes; we shall, in a future state of glory, be *like* Christ! and *with* Christ! We shall have immortal and incorruptible bodies, divested of all animal tendencies and passions, endowed with angelic attributes and powers, and made to resemble the glorified body of our great Redeemer. (1 Cor. xv. 50, Mark xii. 25, Rev. vii. 16, Luke xx. 36, Phil. iii. 20.) We shall have pure and perfect holiness of nature; for every vestige of sin shall have been entirely obliterated by

the sanctifying agency of the Spirit of God, and every grace shall flourish in full maturity in that crown of righteousness which the ransomed of the Lord shall wear, when they shall have washed their robes and made them white in the blood of the Lamb. We shall be admitted to the everlasting privilege of being with Christ, not merely enjoying His spiritual protection, but having literal intercourse with Him, sitting on His throne, sharing in His glory, and living within the light of His countenance, in whose presence there is fulness of joy, and at whose right hand there are pleasures for evermore. The saints hereafter shall have additional faculties and senses, to enable them to explore the inexhaustible stores of knowledge which the infinite amplitude of creation shall ever present to their view. While everything now in the Christian is imperfect—his acquaintance with God, his love towards Him, and His resemblance to Him—in the world to which he is going he shall know even as he is known, he shall love to the utmost stretch of his capacity, he shall be satisfied when he rises, on the morning of eternity, with the likeness of his Divine Redeemer, he shall recognize in Him the chief among ten thousand and the altogether lovely, the perfect representative of all moral excellence and beauty. Oh! the inconceivable difference between the present condition of the believer, and what he shall be when he shall obtain his unfading inheritance hereafter! Well might the apostle speak of the glory that shall be revealed in us as an “eternal weight of glory,” and here as a “riches of glory;” for who can calculate the superabundant profusion of inexhaustible felicity which the splendid realities of our future destiny shall supply! The brightest imagination is too feeble for the task of dilating upon a subject so vastly overwhelming, in speaking of which the prophets rose, as on eagle’s wings, into the loftiest atmosphere of inspired contemplation, and which the noblest and the sweetest strains of David’s harp could only faintly and indistinctly celebrate! Could we accumulate all that is grand, and noble, and majestic in the creations of nature and the productions of art—could we bring together into one view all the glory of all the kingdoms of the world, as Jesus saw it on the Mount of temptation—we should, after all, have but “a shadow of good things to come, and not the very image of the things;” for what is all the boasted splendour of art, what is nature in her best and brightest garb, in comparison with even a scantling of that magnificence that belongs to a better and a brighter world, and is associated with the unsearchable riches of the glory of the inheritance of the saints in light!

But it would be by no means salutary for us, as regards our spiritual welfare, always to “stand gazing up into heaven,” and to be dazzled by contemplations of the riches of the glory

of our future inheritance. There is much in our present experience of the dealings of God towards us which it is necessary and profitable to investigate ; as, for instance, "the exceeding greatness of His power to us-ward who believe," which is continually exerted for our preservation ; for we are not only begotten again unto a lively hope by the resurrection of Jesus Christ from the dead, but "we are kept by the power of God through faith unto salvation." From first to last the believer is as much indebted to the power as he is to the love and to the kindness of God. Nothing but Divine power can effect the conversion of a sinner ; nothing but Divine power can ensure the safety of the believer. And it is not a mere exercise of ordinary ability on the part of God that is required. Conversion is a new creation—a raising of sinners from the dead, in order that they may walk, under God's protection, in newness of life. In short, the salvation of a sinner, from its commencement to its close, is an amazing and stupendous work, which demands an almighty exercise of the almightiness of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost in its execution !

19. . . . according to the working of His mighty power,

20. Which He wrought in Christ when He raised Him from the dead, and set Him at His own right hand in the heavenly places,

21. Far above all principality, and power, and might, and dominion, and every name that is named, not only in this world, but also in that which is to come,

22. And hath put all things under His feet, and gave Him to be the head over all things to the Church,

23. Which is His body, the fulness of Him that filleth all in all.

We are here informed that the power which God exerts for the preservation of His people corresponds with the power which He exercised in the resurrection and exaltation of Christ. The language which Paul employs is extremely forcible and strong. It might be rendered thus,—“The transcendent magnitude of the power which He displays towards us who believe, which corresponds with the efficacious energy of the force of His might which He efficaciously exercised in the case of Christ, in raising Him from the dead.” The apostle evidently felt that even these weighty and emphatic words came far short of adequately describing the immeasurable and irresistible omnipotence of God. There is no language so rich and expressive as the Greek, and yet how defective as a vehicle for conveying a knowledge of divine things ! It may serve for philosophers, for historians, for orators, and for poets ; but when employed upon heavenly themes, it is only like the lisping and the stammering of a feeble infant's tongue !

Having thus referred to the resurrection and exaltation of Christ, as an illustration of the subject on which he was speaking, the apostle cannot refrain from expatiating, in a copious digression, on this sublime and attractive theme. The believer always loves to meditate and to converse upon the glory of his Saviour; nor can his present trials abate the intensity of that love which leads him to rejoice in the ascendant greatness of his risen Lord.

Whenever we speak of the exaltation of Christ, we should be careful not to understand the expression as implying any change of nature, but simply as denoting His resumption, as the Son of God, of that glory which He had with the Father before the world was created, and the manifestation of His human nature in mediatorial dignity at the right hand of God. This high pre-eminence has been conferred upon Him, not only as the recompense of His previous humiliation, but also for the benefit of His people. A Saviour without power, authority, or influence, would be of no avail. But such is not the Saviour who is held out as the object of confidence to sinners in the Gospel. He is one who is seated at the right hand of God, the highest place of dignity and honour, far above all principality, and power, and might, and dominion :” above all authorities on earth (Titus iii. 1) ; above all the powers of darkness (Eph. vi. 12) ; above all the principalities in heavenly places (Eph. iii. 10). Because He “who was in the form of God, and thought it not robbery to be equal with God, made Himself of no reputation, and took upon Him the form of a servant, and was made in the likeness of men ; and being found in fashion as a man, humbled Himself, and became obedient unto death, even the death of the cross ; therefore God also hath highly exalted Him, and given Him a name which is above every name ; that at the name of Jesus every knee should bow, of those [for so it should be rendered] in heaven, and those in earth, and those under the earth, and that every tongue should confess that Jesus Christ is Lord, to the glory of God the Father.” Jesus, our Great High Priest, is highly exalted above every name which implies honour and power and dignity and glory, not only in this world, but in that which is to come. His dominion is to last not only during this dispensation, but is also to continue throughout the next, and throughout eternity. His authority is absolute and supreme. All the inhabitants of heaven, of earth, and hell, must bend beneath His sway, and own Him Lord of all !

But the power and authority of Christ are not merely spiritual and ecclesiastical ; the Father “hath put all things under His feet.” He rules through the arrangements of His providence, as well as in the concerns of His Church ; for “by Him all things consist.” The ordinary transactions of this

world's history are controlled and regulated by Him for the ultimate welfare of His people. For this is His first and dearest object—the preservation and glorification of those who are to participate with Him in all the splendid and immortal results of His redeeming kindness. And so intimate is the connection between Christ and His Church, that He cannot be fully glorified without His Church, nor can His Church be glorified without Him. The closeness of this union is described in most expressive language in the passage before us, in which Christ is said to be the “Head,” and the Church to be “His body, the fulness of Him that filleth all in all.” By the term “fulness” is meant that which is necessary to make up the completeness of anything. Christ without His Church would be as a head without a body: the Church without Christ would be as a body without a head. How intimate! how close! how mysterious is this union! and how much is implied by it! It suggests a oneness of spiritual nature, a sympathy, a reciprocity and complication of interests between Christ and His Church. And it denotes His superiority and the Church's subordination; that in Him all authority resides, and that from His Church all obedience is due. Every individual member of the mystical body of Christ should therefore learn that it is his duty to submit implicitly to the commandments of His Saviour; and derive comfort from the reflection that the security of Christ's people is even identified with His own, for they are the members of His body, of His flesh, and of His bones, so that “whoso toucheth them toucheth the apple of His eye.”

But Christ is likewise invested with a supremacy distinct from, and superior to, His Headship over the Church: He “filleth all in all.” As Mediator, the Church is His fulness or *PLEROMA*; but as He is in Himself, in His abstract nature as “God over all,” with the Father and the Holy Ghost, He is the fulness or *PLEROMA* “that filleth all in all,” animating and sustaining all creation by His wisdom, His benevolence, and His power. This last clause is interpreted by some in a spiritual sense—that Christ, as the Head, filleth all the members of His Church in all places, out of the fulness of grace that, according to the good pleasure of the Father, dwells in Him (Col. i. 19); out of which fulness they receive, and grace for grace (John i. 16). Still, if they are thus “complete in Him,” or literally filled out of His fulness, He is not only “head over all things to His Church,” but is, at the same time, the “head of all principality and power.” (Col. ii. 9.)

(To be continued.)

ELLIOTT'S HORÆ APOCALYPTICÆ.

Horæ Apocalypticæ, or a Commentary on the Apocalypse, critical and historical; including also an examination of the chief prophecies of Daniel, &c. By the Rev. E. B. Elliott, M.A. Fifth Edition. Seeley and Co.

THE most ardent admirers of Mr. Elliott's great work on the Revelation will not assert that he has given us a perfect exposition of the last and most wonderful book of the Holy Scriptures. But the most hostile of all his critics will not scruple to admit, that in this fifth edition he has made many perceptible advances to perfection. A perfect commentary on this part of the Bible would be a perfect history of the Church, and almost of the world, from the time of St. John to the consummation of all things. When the magnitude of the undertaking is considered, it is really astonishing that the author of a work like this, after twenty years, should have so little to alter or retract, and that he should have received at various times, from different quarters, such decisive proofs of the general correctness of his principles of interpretation.

Strictly speaking, the *Christian Observer* does not belong to any particular school of the prophets; and we cannot close our eyes to the obvious fact, that prophecy, as yet, is an *unpopular* subject. Still, however, it is our decided conviction, that were we to leave altogether untouched so large a portion of the sacred oracles, we should fail in our duty. We, from our watch tower, think it necessary to watch the signs of these times in that "sure word" as well as in other scriptures.

We had read much on the subject of prophecy, when we perused, many years ago, the first edition of the *Horæ Apocalypticæ*. At that time we did not bind ourselves to its minute details. Some of these, in our judgment, appeared to verge rather upon the fanciful. We could not then endorse all its views of unfulfilled prophecy. We do not now so endorse them all. But his great scheme or principle of interpretation, thoroughly commended itself alike to our understanding and our judgment, and we regarded him at once as the expositor of the Book of Revelation. Indeed, it is not too much to say, what Bacon did for philosophy, and Newton for astronomy, and Stephenson for engineering, and perhaps what some one has still to do for geology, Elliott we conceived to have accomplished for the interpretation of prophecy. By a careful consideration and skilful use of the labours of others, perhaps more than by any great discovery of his own, as it appeared to us, he has established, on a firm and immoveable basis, the only true and satisfactory principles of explaining the mysteries of this

wonderful book. In addition to this, we confess, that since our first perusal of the *Horæ*, some of the views and illustrations which then startled and surprised us, have commended themselves to our maturer consideration; while every thing that has transpired, during the last twenty eventful years, has confirmed, in the most marked and marvellous manner, not only the general scheme of interpretation here adopted, but has also thrown a flood of light upon many particulars of its minutest details.

The greater degree of interest which the page of history has yielded since we studied Elliott, is most remarkable. We recollect a celebrated critic has pointed out such a difference in a line of poetry, as it appeared in the first, and a subsequent edition of the *Essay on Man*. Once it stood—

“A mighty maze, and all without a plan.”

Afterwards, by a slight alteration, this most material change was made,—

“A mighty maze, *but not* without a plan.”

Such a change as this is produced in our historical researches, when we make them in the light of prophecy or otherwise. At the first all was dark and perplexing, bewildering and mysterious, in the dispensations of Divine Providence. We saw error enthroned, and truth cast down; wickedness prospering and equity destroyed; and the prophet's appeal to Him who is of purer eyes than to behold iniquity arose from our heart—“Wherefore lookest thou upon them that deal treacherously, and holdest thy tongue when the wicked devoureth the man that is more righteous than he.” (Heb. i. 13.) The sight was too painful for us to bear; the mystery was too profound for us to fathom. The mighty maze “without a plan” was spread before us. We tried to pierce it—

“And found no end, in wandering mazes lost.”

But when we had hailed the sure word that shineth as a light in a dark place, the darkness fled, and confidence returned. We saw then, in the most painful dispensations that filled us with amazement, the overruling hand of Him, whose wise providence ordereth all things both in heaven and earth. Then we perceived and understood that every Antichrist, and every adversary which has so long practised and prospered, was foreseen and foretold; that they are all permitted, until the mystery of God shall be finished, to perform their several parts, and that every one of them is under the sovereign control of the great King of the whole earth, who has set them their bounds which they may not pass. They never yet in time past have prevailed, they never shall in time to come prevail, against the Church of Christ militant here upon earth; and a

time is coming when all things that offend shall be gathered out of His kingdom, while all the persecutions, and trials, and sorrows, and conflicts, that are permitted for a season, are preparing the way for the never ending age of immortal glory and eternal felicity. Now, therefore, though the mighty mazo is still remaining, it is no longer without a plan.

Dr. Arnold once wrote, as quoted by Elliott,—“It is a very misleading notion to regard prophecy as an anticipation of history.” In one sense this bold assertion is true, but not in another. If we look to unfulfilled prophecy, and not to the preceptive parts of the Bible, for the guidance of our steps, that most assuredly is a very misleading notion. But when a long series of prophecy has been receiving from age to age the most exact and evident accomplishment, what was that prophecy, when first delivered, but history anticipated? And what is that history, when carefully considered and minutely compared with the prophecy which went before, but prophecy confirmed? We who confidently believe modern history to be both the fulfilment and the confirmation of ancient prophecy, cannot fail, as our author so justly remarks, to be exceedingly struck with Dr. Arnold’s conclusions (not drawn from prophecy) respecting modern history. “It appears,” he says, “to bear marks of the fulness of time, as if there could be no future history beyond it. If there be any signs, however uncertain, that we are living in the latest periods of the world’s history, that no other races remain behind to perform what we have neglected or to restore what we have ruined, then indeed the interest of modern history becomes intense.”

In order to appreciate rightly the work before us, it is necessary to understand and remember a few of the plain axioms and great principles upon which it is constructed. This commentary, then, takes for granted that the Revelation of St. John is a divine, symbolical, and consecutive prophecy, reaching from the reign of Domitian, when it was granted, to the final consummation of all things. It maintains the old Protestant Church of England belief, that the symbolical Beast and the mystical Babylon, here so minutely described, are none other than the Romish Church and the Papal hierarchy, presided over by the Pope of Rome, whom it unhesitatingly pronounces to be none other than that man of sin predicted by St. Paul (2 Thess. ii. 3—8), and the little horn that rose out of the fourth kingdom so wonderfully depicted by Daniel the prophet (Dan. vii. 8, 24—26). It affirms the glorious Reformation in the early part of the sixteenth century, and the events that followed in consequence of it, to be evidently intended in the tenth and eleventh chapters of this prophecy. The two witnesses that prophesied in sackcloth it explains to be the constant succession of faithful men raised up, both in the eastern

and western part of the empire, to protest against papal error, from the first rise of the Pope's usurped dominion to the time of its final destruction. It believes that these witnesses had completed their testimony (*τελεσῶσι τὴν μαρτυρίαν αὐτῶν*)—that is, denounced every particular Papal error—when first the storm of Papal persecution burst upon them; that they were slain at the Council of Lateran, where no one appeared, when publicly summoned, on their behalf; that, exactly three and a half years after, they were raised to life again, when Luther posted his celebrated thesis on the door of his church; and that they were exalted to the political heavens, when several Protestant kingdoms and governments rose up in Europe. It has not the slightest doubt or difficulty in identifying what we may call the deinotherium of Daniel (Dan. iv. 19—26) with the seven-headed, ten-horned monster of St. John. (Rev. xiii. 1—7.) It is the Roman empire in its last state, as divided into ten several kingdoms, but bearing more or less the papal yoke, and submitting to the antichristian sway of the Latin man. Our author has no manner of doubt whatever that the last head of the Roman empire, under which it is to be destroyed, is the Pope of Rome. Five different heads, or forms of government in the seven-hilled city, had fallen in the time of St. John; and its sixth—viz., the imperial—was then regnant. This form continued nearly two hundred years longer. Then the emperor Diocletian made a fourfold partition of his unmanageable empire, assigning for the head of all the divisions two Augustus' and two Cæsars. "Diocletian," says Gibbon, "was as much the founder of a new form of government as Augustus." Thus Augustus founded the fifth head, and Diocletian the sixth. This sixth form only continued a short time. In about thirty years it was wounded unto death by the sword of Constantine. When a Christian became the supreme master of imperial Rome, the deinotherium was without a head. But when Constantinople, not Rome, was made the imperial city, there was no longer either let or hindrance to the encroachments of the Papal Antichrist. Then that which had restrained him and kept him in check was taken out of the way; and under the specious names of Vicar of Christ, Peter's successor, and Universal Bishop, the Pope of Rome erected for himself in the seven-hilled city a new form of government. In one sense it was a new form, but not so in strictness of speech. It was "another, yet the same." It was certainly the eighth form, and yet most assuredly one of the preceding seven. It is the imperial head and pagan spirit, revived under the Christian name. "I can think of nothing," says Dr. Arnold, "more wicked than the Papal system. In Italy it is just the old heathenism, and I should think a worse system of deceit." The year-day system of interpreting num-

bers is here followed. Three times in Daniel, and six times in the Revelation, is the definite period mentioned, though under different forms of speech, for the continuance of Antichrist's tyranny. Whether it is described as times, months, weeks, or days, the period signified is exactly the same, and the plain meaning most assuredly is 1260 years. Again, in this Commentary, it is assumed that the great earthquake or political convulsion which Sir Isaac Newton conceived must come, to show us our exact place in the calendar of prophecy, actually occurred at the French Revolution. This it affirms to be the sound of the seventh trumpet; and that the successive vials began then to be emptied upon the Roman earth, under which the papal Antichrist is to be finally consumed, and the mystery of God to be finished. One more great principle in this scheme of interpretation must be noticed. Our author neither ignores the glorious millennium, nor leaves us to expect that we shall quietly glide into it, without a most terrible and unexampled conflict. He conceives we are rapidly approaching the last great crisis, when the Lord shall appear to destroy Antichrist with the brightness of His coming, to raise up the bodies of His sleeping saints, to punish the despisers and the corrupters of His truth, to convert and restore His ancient people, and to establish His universal kingdom throughout all the world. In one word, he looks for a pre-millennial, not a post-millennial, advent. How, he argues, could Christians in every age be required to be looking for the coming of the Lord from heaven, if, before that glorious and blessed event can possibly occur, there must elapse a thousand years, during which the grand enemy is evidently bound, and righteousness, and peace, and truth universally prevalent?

After this general sketch of the views and interpretations of our author, we must revert, for a moment, to a few most important particulars. The particulars to which we refer are these:—The symbolical character, the geographical platform, the chronological order, the Protestant tone, and the interpreting key of the book of Revelation, as explained by Mr. Elliott.

I. The Revelation of St. John is a symbolical prophecy. Symbolical or figurative language is the adoption of well-known objects for setting forth more vividly either abstract truths or future events. With few and evident exceptions, all the prophetic parts of this wonderful book are delivered in symbolical language; and so principally is prediction its subject, from first to last, that the whole book itself is called "the book of this prophecy." (Rev. xxii. 19.) It is evident, therefore, that to give the right explanation of the symbols in which these prophecies are given, is one most important work of the expositor. In doing this, we do not hesitate to say that Elliott, in our judgment, has greatly surpassed all that went

before him. The illustrations and explanations which he has given of the symbols that are used, as well under the seals and the trumpets as the vials, are not only remarkably striking, but many of them truly wonderful. The definite signification of each particular symbol is shown to be most accurately applicable to one particular event or object, and to that alone. For instance, the emblems by which pagan Rome is represented under the four first seals, apply only to the empire in that particular state and at that particular time. In like manner the Gothic trumpets. The bold figures by which these destructive invaders are represented lose all their force and all their beauty if applied to anything else. Then again with regard to the two trumpets, which severally describe the conquests of the Saracens and the devastations of the Turks. Though in many things, and especially in their poisonous religion, there is the closest analogy between the two, yet the emblems by which they are represented are totally different; while each of these is as beautifully correct and significant, in its proper place, as they would be unmeaning and wrong if we apply what belongs to the one to stand in the room of the other. So also the striking and apposite manner in which our author has brought out and explained the symbolical language of the 10th and the 11th chapters, to us, at least, is completely convincing. We do not hesitate to confess that for long we were almost satisfied with the old interpretation, so heartily adopted by Scott the commentator; and, with him, we thought the slaying of the witnesses to be still future. Like him, we saw what we thought insuperable objections to any scheme which made them to be slain before the expiration of the 1260 years. But Mr. Elliott's masterly and elaborate exposition entirely changed our views on the deeply interesting point of the slaying, and the rising, and the ascension of the witnesses. He fully satisfied us that they are both slain, and risen, and ascended into the political heavens. As it seemed to us, every reasonable requirement and every grave objection of the venerable commentator was answered and fulfilled by Elliott's explanation. As soon as we admitted the translation, "when they have completed their testimony," for the received translation, "when they shall have finished their testimony;"—and in addition to this, when we understood "the little book that had been opened" not to contain a separate prophecy, but to be the significant emblem of the Reformation,—every difficulty vanished; and we have not now even the shadow of a doubt as to the correctness of Elliott's exposition of these most expressive symbols.

II. The geographical platform upon which the words of the prophecy of this book are to be fulfilled, is another most important point. Symbolical language, of course, may be differently explained; and two able expositors may not always

agree in their explanation of the same emblem ; though it is evident, if their several explanations are materially different, they cannot both be right. But when anything is predicted of a particular city or definite empire, local habitation and circumscribed space are necessarily implied. Now, there can be no doubt that the Roman Empire, with Rome for its capital, that is, the fourth kingdom of Daniel (Dan. vii. 19), is the great platform to which we must look, to see the prophetic visions of "him who saw the Apocalypse" actually turned into veritable history. There was only one great city, in the time of St. John, that reigned over the kings of the earth. (Rev. xvii. 18.) The regions, therefore, to which these prophecies especially relate, are definite and determined as the boundaries of the old Roman Empire ; and the city whose ruler and whose doom are so fully described, and so fearfully denounced, is fixed and unmistakeable as the seven hills upon which it stands.

III. The chronological order of these prophecies is another point of special interest and peculiar moment. We would not desire a better or more lucid definition of this particular matter than that which is given by Dr. Wordsworth. "St. John," he says, "lays open a long avenue of events, rising up one after another, in clear perspective, through the whole interval of time, from that Lord's-day in which he was in the spirit upon the shores of the isle of Patmos, even to the day of doom." We think Mr. Elliott, in his Commentary, has quite as beautifully filled up the details of the prophecy, as Wordsworth, in this sentence, has accurately laid down its great outlines. He never forgets that he is unfolding a consecutive chain of prophecy. To use his own words (we wish he had chosen shorter ones),—"With the precedent of Daniel's prophecies, expounded in great part by inspiration itself, nothing should satisfy us but some chronologically consecutive scheme of apocalyptic interpretation." Very instructive are the terms applied by Mede to Daniel's prophecy of the four great Empires which were to rise up in succession in the world. He calls it "the sacred kalendar," and "the great almanack of prophecy." Then he adds, "The four kingdoms of Daniel are a prophetic chronology of times measured by the succession of four principal kingdoms, from the beginning of the captivity of Israel, till the mystery of God shall be finished. To this great kalendar of times, together with that other, but lesser kalendar of seventy weeks, all mention of times in Scripture seems to have reference." It is by giving the right interpretation in the right place, and at the proper time, that Elliott so forcibly commends what he advances to every candid and unbiassed mind. He does not feel himself at liberty to go backwards and forwards as he chooses ; but step by step, and

from one epoch to another, he leads us forward, and explains the symbols in the very place where they are found in the sacred kalendar. If we knew exactly where to fix the commencement of the nine times mentioned period of 1260 years, assigned for the reign of the papal Antichrist, we should know exactly when it will end, and when to look for the dreadful and glorious events by which its close will be marked. But such exact knowledge is inconsistent with the partial obscurity with which its Divine Author has been pleased to invest unfulfilled prophecy. What Irenæus said of the mystic number 666, may very properly be applied to the exact commencement of definite dates:—"If meant to be known at the time, it would doubtless have been declared by him who saw the Apocalypse." We are, however, expressly told that many things sealed up for long in secrecy, would be more clearly understood as the time of the promise drew nigh. (Dan. xii. 4.) Now, two notable epochs have been mentioned as the most probable commencement of the 1260 years. By the code and decree of Justinian, A.D. 531, the Pope was recognized *de jure* as universal Bishop; and by the decree of Phocas, A.D. 606, he became so *de facto*. If we take the former date, 1260 years from that brings us to 1791, the beginning of the French Revolution, when Popery received such a terrible blow, and its predicted destruction is conceived to have commenced. The same number of 1260 years, from the latter date, will bring us to the year 1866. Our author thinks that as the incipient and imperfect close commenced at the first period, so its final and complete destruction may be expected at the close of the second. It is well known what terrible and glorious things will mark the time of Antichrist's fall, when Babylon shall sink to rise no more. (2 Thess. ii. 8.) But the prophet Daniel mentions a time of blessedness as beginning 75 years after that long-lasting adversary has been finally consumed. (Dan. xii. 12.) Most remarkable is the fact pointed out by Elliott in connection with these two dates. He reminds us that 75 years from 1791 bring us to the year 1866—the very year which touches, according to Clinton's chronology, the seventh chiliad from the Creation. This, we repeat, is a most remarkable fact. Still, however, though shaken and weakened in various ways, most assuredly the Papal Antichrist has not yet been destroyed. While in one way his dominion has been evidently declining, in another it has been marvelously reviving; as if on purpose to bring him to the very state in which he will be found when his final plagues shall come. (Rev. xviii. 7, 8.) Not until this wicked one is judged, and taken out of the way, do we look for the binding of Satan, the restoration of the Jews, and the establishment of our Lord's universal kingdom throughout all the world. Let it not be said, this is prophesying, instead of expounding prophecy. We

cannot soberly expound those prophecies, which expressly mention particular dates, without, at any rate, seeing the shadow of coming events. Our author has reminded us, that the Church has constantly, from the earliest times, made this important use of the Revelation of St. John. Tertullian, in the time of pagan persecution, seized on the true meaning of the souls under the altar (Rev. vi. 9), as especially applicable to their own age. The expositors of the fourth century, in the days of Constantine, had instinctively applied the dejection of the dragon (Rev. xii. 9) to their own times, and spoke of that wonderful event as receiving its fulfilment before their eyes. In like manner the Waldensian witnesses, and all the great fathers of the Reformation, were wonderfully strengthened to deliver their testimony, by considering that they were witnessing for Christ, and giving their solemn protest against the great corrupter of the truth of God. (Rev. xiii. 6.) So likewise in our own day: as the signs of the times seem to intimate that the end approacheth, who can tell what fervent prayer, what glorious hope, what patient endurance for the coming struggle, are at this juncture being called into exercise by a careful and sober-minded consideration of our own particular place in the great kalendar of prophecy? They only who have understanding of the times will know what Israel ought to do.

IV. What we may venture to call the essential Protestantism of this Divine prophecy, is another of its self-evident elements. The interpretation of prophecy in the Church of Christ, like the Word of prophecy in times of old, has been granted in different portions. (Heb. i. 1.) The Waldenses, and all who imbibed their spirit and took up their protest, previous to the sixteenth century, held for doctrine that Rome is Babylon, and the Pope is Antichrist. But at the glorious Reformation, what we believe to be true and Scriptural views of the Papal apostasy, which hitherto, like solitary tapers, had gleamed forth in separate places, appeared all to unite their beams, and to burst forth in one general blaze. Both England, and France, and Germany, had heard the music of its Reformation's morning star; but now, if we may so speak, "the morning stars sang together." The several voices that had been lifted up against the Man of Sin had hitherto been like a single voice crying in the wilderness; but now they were all united, and were heard together, in the loud and unmistakeable shout of Protestantism. In vain did the Council of Lateran forbid either to write or to preach on the subject of Antichrist. From the forests of Germany, and the mountains of Switzerland, and the valleys of France; from the cities of England, from the towns of Sweden, and from the villages of Denmark, was echoed the loud and earnest protest—Rome is Babylon, and the Pope is Antichrist! "On this principle," says Bishop

Warburton, "was the Reformation begun, and carried on, on this the great separation from the Church of Rome was conceived and perfected. For though persecution for opinion would acquit those of schism, whom the Church of Rome had driven from her communion; yet on the principle that she is Antichrist's, they had not only a right, but lay under the obligation of a command, to come out of the spiritual Babylon."

Mr. Elliott has added to the last volume of this fifth edition of his work, a most elaborate and interesting review of writers on the Revelation. Long before we had read this, we had clearly seen, and deeply felt, what undue and powerful advantage was given to Romanists and Tractarians, by surrendering the Protestant and Church of England doctrine concerning Antichrist and the mystical Babylon. In the review to which we refer, we are shown the origin of the two counter-schemes of interpretation, so essential for the defence of Papal delusion, and so paralyzing to the course of Protestant truth. These schemes are those of the Futurist, and of the Præterist. Rome could not endure the fatal charges which were made against her whole system at the Reformation, by the Protestant expositors of Daniel the Prophet, and St. John the Divine. Two Jesuits came to the rescue. These were Ribiera and Alcasar. They adopted severally a completely opposite scheme of interpretation; but either of these, if only it could be established, would be equally available for the defence of the popedom. Ribiera was a Futurist, and Alcasar a Præterist. The former explained everything that is written in the Revelation concerning the mystical Babylon, as entirely future, and not yet developed. The latter applied all this to pagan Rome, and taught that it was past and finished long ago. One or other of these schemes, though in a modified form, is the ground-work of every system contrary to that of consecutive prophecy. The children of Israel were in evil case, and brought extremely low, when they went down to the Philistines, to sharpen every man his weapon. In like manner, Protestants have miserably fallen from their high position, when they go down to Jesuits for interpretations of prophecy, such a prophecy as this. What wonder, after such a process, that all our strongholds are broken down, and the edge of our sword is turned back? If the English Church, and State, and nation thoroughly believed the Protestant doctrine concerning Antichrist, as held by our Reformers and taught in our Homilies, Tractarianism would be extinct, perversions to Popery unknown, and national endowment of the apostasy impossible. For our own part, we have no more manner of doubt that Rome is Babylon, and Popery the apostasy, than we have, either that the Bible is the Word of God, or that every part of it is true from the beginning. We know the doom that impends over the mystical Babylon:—

"A day shall come, a great avenging day,
That low in dust her glittering pomp shall lay,
With all her sorceries in one ruin hurl'd,
Their name, their nature, wither'd from the world."

We are more anxious to stand afar off from the great harlot, than to draw near to the gates of her house. Popery we repudiate in all its manifold forms and disguises, even when its worst features are studiously concealed, and much that is beautiful and captivating is displayed to the eye. Christ's religion, we know, is a thing personal and spiritual, not sacramental and ecclesiastical. We discern, therefore, the dark shadow of Antichrist in everything which interposes the Church, with its priests, and services, and sacraments, between the soul and Christ. If the design of all these be to bring us to Christ, when they interpose themselves as the end, and not the means, they are surely antichristian. The study of this Divine prophecy is eminently calculated to preserve men from that false charity and pretended candour, which is one of the principal dangers of the day. It lifts up the veil from the great deceiver, exposing her hideous features, and describing her hateful character. It solves for us the mystery of iniquity, and sets it before us in broad and open contrast with the mystery of godliness. It speaks with a voice from heaven to every soul of man that is enticed by the blandishments of the spiritual sorceress, and inclined to go after her, and to believe her lie (2 Thess. ii. 11) :—

"Hast thou admitted with a blind, fond trust
The lie that burn'd thy father's bones to dust,
That first adjudg'd them heretics, then sent
Their souls to Heaven, and curst them as they went !
The lie that Scripture strips of its disguise,
And execrates above all other lies ;
The lie that claps a lock on mercy's plan,
And gives the key to yon infirm old man,
Who, once ensconced in apostolic chair,
Is deified, and sits omniscient there !
The lie that knows no kindred, owns no friend
But him that makes its progress his chief end ;
That, drunk with martyrs' blood, makes that a boast,
And canonizes him that shed the most !
Away with charity that soothes a lie,
And thrusts the truth with scorn and anger by !
Shame on the candour, and the gracious smile
Bestow'd on them that light the martyr's pile ;
While insolent disdain, in frowns express'd,
Attends the tenets that endured the test.
Grant them the rights of men, and while they cease
To vex the peace of others, grant them peace ;
But trusting bigots, whose false zeal has made
Treachery their duty, thou art self-betray'd."

V. The true key for unlocking the mysteries of the Apocalypse is the last particular upon which we have to remark. This key is put into our hands by the Sketch of Interpretation appended to Mr. Elliott's work. The Regius Professor of Hebrew has well and wisely said :—"No book can be written in behalf of the Bible like the Bible itself. The Bible is God's Word, and through it God the Holy Ghost, who spake it, speaks to the soul that closes not itself against it." (Preface to Daniel the Prophet.) To this momentous declaration we also add,—No explanation of the Bible can be given like that which is given in the Bible itself. Earnest prayer to the great Father of lights, combined with diligent comparison of one part of the sacred volume with another, is the great secret of the wisest and most skilful interpreter's success. Neither symbols nor dates can mislead him, when he follows faithfully the light that is cast upon them in the Bible itself. When what is spoken symbolically in one place, is expressed plainly in another; and a date, which in one part of the Bible is figuratively used, in another part is openly expressed, or else has been most manifestly fulfilled, who does not perceive that the plain expression, and the manifest fulfilment, is the key for unlocking the meaning of the symbol, and the duration of the date? In addition to this, he who would rightly expound these prophetic wonders, must carefully consider the explanations that have been given by those who have laboured before him. Neither must he conclude, from the conflicting sentiments and fanciful delusions of his predecessors, that it is impossible to bring light, and order, and certainty out of so much darkness, and confusion, and variety. Without calling any man father upon earth, or pledging himself to all the views of any particular person or school, he must select and reject, modify and enlarge upon, the labours of others. Sir Isaac Newton, in these wise and modest words, has thus endorsed this mode of studying prophecy :—"Among the interpreters of the last age there is scarce one of note who hath not made some discovery worth knowing." To us it appears that the diligent and painstaking manner in which our author has carried out this hint, is one great cause of the successful commentary on the book of Revelation which he has presented to the Church. Beginning with the earliest fathers, and passing down to our own times, there is scarcely a single prophetic writer of note whose works he has not carefully reviewed. He shows us, indeed, how much that is foolish and fanciful, and which refutes itself, has been written even by men of note; but for the most part he has levied a valuable contribution from every one of them. The different views of great and good men, when compared together, bring forth what is true and right, and shut out what is mistaken and wrong. "Diamonds," it has been said, "can only be polished by their own dust, and only shaped by the friction

of other diamonds." Our author has embodied in his commentary all that seemed valuable and striking, wherever he found it; very frequently qualifying and modifying his own views and sentiments, by bringing them in contact with those of others. Thus, many a most beautiful thought (like a precious jewel gathered from a heap of rubbish) he has carefully selected from a whole mass of mistakes and crudities. By this means, the work which he has produced, "rich with the spoils of time," is illuminated with contributions from every land, and from every age; the writer having, with singular discrimination, so absolutely necessary for such a task, been enabled to "separate the precious from the vile."

We cannot refrain, in conclusion, from pointing out a most remarkable confirmation, which we have recently seen, of Mr. Elliott's exposition of the Sixth Vial (Rev. xvi. 12—16), as symbolizing the spirit of the age. While the Turkish empire is gradually wasting away, three unclean spirits like frogs (the spawn of the French revolution) were to go forth on their mission of mischief. These were explained with wonderful research, and most striking illustration, as being the three evil principles so notoriously active in our own times, of infidelity, popery, and ritualism. It was thought by some, when this exposition was given twenty years ago, that our author had mistaken England for the whole platform of St. John's prophecy. It was admitted, that both infidelity and popery had most manifestly revived. But the Tractarian movement was thought far too insignificant to occupy a place on the page of prophecy. We make now the following extract from the *Westminster Review*, perhaps the most openly infidel of all our publications:—

"Liberal [*i. e.* infidel] ideas (with attacks on every traditional dogma of Christianity) are beyond all doubt advancing. But something else also is advancing; viz., Roman Catholicism. Twenty-five years ago, Macaulay drew attention to the revival of Romanism; but he did not attempt a solution of the problem involved in the fact. In England, the number of Roman Catholic priests and chapels has enormously increased of late years. In France, the beau-monde, which was once infidel, is now Catholic. Even in Germany the Catholic theologians and controversialists hold their own against their redoubtable Protestant and rationalistic foes. The great main stream of human thought [the infidel] is tending in a direction of which no one can doubt. But there is manifestly a strong back-water carrying many inside away in the opposite direction. Europe, on a grand scale, seems experiencing an immense Tractarian movement, after the manner of England. Thus we get two clear facts, amidst all the confusion and contradiction of modern thought;—the growth of disbelief, and the growth of Romanism; the growth of the party which trusts in reason, and the growth of the party which trusts in authority. Intermediate stand-points are getting less and less liked; less and less tenable."—*Westminster Review* for July, 1864.

How wonderful it is to see such writers as Gibbon and the Westminster Review thus unwittingly bearing testimony to the fulfilment of prophecy. If the predicted tri-partition of decem-regal Europe has not already taken place, surely it is nigh at hand, even at the door. We know of no warning more suitable for our readers than that urged by our Lord upon His disciples, and so analogous to the one which occurs under the very Vial whose effects it is conceived we are witnessing (Rev. xvi. 15): "Watch ye therefore, and pray always, that ye may be accounted worthy to escape all these things that shall come to pass, and to stand before the Son of man." (Luke xxi. 26.)

JERUSALEM AND HER FACTIONS UP TO THE GREAT SIEGE.

The Siege of Jerusalem by Titus, with the Journal of a Visit to the Holy City, and a General Sketch of the Topography of Jerusalem, from the Earliest Times down to the Siege.
By Thomas Lewin. Longmans. 1863.

ALTHOUGH Mr. Lewin's book contains a very graphic account of the siege by Titus, yet we feel that the older part of his work, which treats of the topography and condition of Jerusalem, as a city, from the very beginning to the present day, is the subject of the most engrossing and enduring interest. To every one of us Jerusalem is only second to our own country in our reverence and love, and, in some respects, not second. Her history is our history, if we be among the disciples of the Saviour, and her glory is ours. And as all through the ages during which the mighty plan which culminated in the death of our Lord Jesus Christ was in progress, and through the calamities which followed His crucifixion, we read of the events with clearer knowledge, and a livelier perception, from the information derived from Mr. Lewin's description of the holy city, we cordially recommend the book to our readers. The amount of information to be derived from it is very great; and it is written with a clearness, a power of appreciation, and a calmness of judgment, which make it particularly valuable amid the difficulties which surround many of its topics. It is written, too, in the spirit of one who partakes in the feelings of the Psalmist—"Thy servants think upon the stones, and it pitieth them to see her in the dust."

Cestius was driven away from the walls immediately after the feast of Tabernacles, in the year 66; and Titus commenced the fatal siege at the time of the Passover, in the year 70; the interval being three years and a half. We propose in this present paper to give a sketch of the events which occupied

this period, and brought the city to the desperate state in which it was when the siege began.

There are two subjects which had better be traced separately, because they did not greatly influence each other: one is the conduct and proceedings of the Roman general; the other the havock occasioned by the factions within the walls of Jerusalem.

Nero appointed Vespasian to the command of the army which was to carry on the war. His force, though always sufficient, as he managed it, seems to justify the policy he adopted of subduing every place in Palestine before attacking Jerusalem, that he might not be interrupted in the siege. Josephus states that his army was 60,000 men, including three legions; and as Titus had four legions, his whole force could not have been less numerous. Yet the city resisted him for half a year, and he was obliged to surround it with a wall, because he was not strong enough to invest it completely on account of its extent and the difficulty of its situation. If Vespasian had no other motive, this policy tended to his own elevation; it kept him at the head of an army with all the reasons and facilities for moving and massing troops which actual warfare only can give. He spent the year 67 in subduing Galilee, a small though difficult country. And when, after a siege of five weeks, he had taken Jopatata, the first fortress which made resistance, Josephus the historian, who had been the commander, fell into his hands, and secured his favour by prophesying his advancement to the empire. He then proceeded in his plan of wasting and subjugating the country with rigour and great slaughter; but nothing occurred which told upon the fate of Jerusalem, except the escape of John of Gischala, the commander of the fortress of that name, to the city, where he became a leader of a faction and a scourge to the inhabitants.

Vespasian began the year 68 by subduing Perea, and then he received intelligence of the revolt of Vitellius in Gaul; which made him hasten to conquer Jericho, and all that remained unsubdued; and by the time that was accomplished, he heard of the death of Nero. This caused him to wait till he should see who would become Emperor; and as Galba succeeded, he would not move without orders, and sent Titus to testify his allegiance. But whilst Titus was sailing along the coast of Achaia, he heard that Galba was slain, and hastened back to his father. They then completed the reduction of the places near Jerusalem and to the south of it, approaching the city and making many captives, and ending with Hebron. It was not long after that Vespasian's soldiers proclaimed him Emperor. And then, after having secured Egypt, because it was the granary of Rome, he left Palestine for Alexandria. His regard to his own security had not been unsuccessful nor unnecessary. Tacitus, 16 An., notices the report that he had become ob-

noxious to Nero because he had closed his eyes whilst Nero was on the arena, and adds,—“*Mox imminentem perniciem majore fato effugisse.*”

The subjugation of the country had been so complete, that only three places remained to be taken—Herodium (doubtless taken, but not afterwards mentioned), and Masada, and Macherus. The two last, situated near the Dead Sea, where forces could not have been collected, did not submit, but were taken and destroyed after the great siege. The text, Deut. xxviii. 52, which is clearly part of the prophecy respecting the Romans, seems very apposite,—“And he shall besiege thee in *all* thy gates, until thy high and fenced walls come down, wherein thou trustedst throughout *all* thy land; and he shall besiege thee in *all* thy gates throughout *all* thy land which the Lord thy God hath given thee.”

During this time faction and violence raged in Jerusalem, wasting the resources of the Jews within the city, and preventing them from making a single diversion or attack upon the Romans. But few things are so dreary and uninteresting to read of, as none are more terrible to suffer, than the daily exasperation and destruction of a city split into factions, where humanity and religion are forgotten in their attempts to injure each other and in the oppression of the miserable people.

Before we proceed in this wretched history, it is necessary to notice a few particulars as to the topography of Jerusalem, for which we are indebted to Mr. Lewin's book.

If we had a map before us, a glance would show that on the south the city consisted of two tongues or wedges of land (the eastern being much the smaller), and that it was surrounded on all parts but the north-west by deep vallies, which, with the walls running above at a great height, so protected it, that it was on the north-west only that it was open to a siege. The western wedge of land, originally Zion, and the oldest part of the city, was further defended on the north by another valley, called in Greek by the high-sounding name of the Tyropæon, but in English the Cheesemakers, which, leaving a neck of land at the west, gradually deepened, and then turning to the south, divided the two wedges, and joined the great vallies of Jehoshaphat and the Son of Hinnom, which all but surrounded the city. The south part of Jerusalem might be represented roughly by two letters, Vv, all but touching, the lower part of the Tyropæon running between them. But in the larger V, though tapering, the up-stroke runs into a wide curve to represent the surface; whilst the walls which lay beneath the crest of the hill, stood out so as to be parallel to v, the smaller wedge. At the top of the V was the upper part of the Tyropæon, and beyond it part of the lower town. Above the little wedge v was the Temple platform. The city had in other parts three walls for its protection. The first wall also

encompassed Zion, and then ran across the Tyropæon and round the eastern wedge, up to the defences of the Temple. In it, where the walls on the two sides of the Tyropæon were nearly parallel, we find the gate between the two walls through which Zedekiah fled. It was this ancient part of the city too, so strongly protected by ravines, which David took when Joab got up by the (gutter) watercourse or ravine, after the inhabitants had boasted that the lame and the blind were sufficient for their defence. At the time of the siege, the three strong towers of Hippicus, Phasælus, and Mariamne protected the isthmus which joined it to the rest of the city. It was at that time called the High Town, or Upper Market; and the "first wall," as it is most frequently referred to at the time of the great siege, indicated the wall on the north of this part of the city, running eastward from the three towers along the top of the Tyropæon. The eastern wedge was called the Lower Town.

But a glance at a map would not make us at all aware of the works which adorned and protected the Temple. We are expressly told in Scripture that it was built on Mount Moriah, to which Abraham went to offer up Isaac, and that it was in the place of the threshing-floor of Araunah the Jebusite. But on the west and south of the building it was necessary to raise a foundation from a great depth. The most stupendous part of this work is still to be seen at the south-west corner. It was constructed of stones of immense size, fastened to each other with lead, and so nicely fitted together as to resemble one solid rock, the hollow space between the walls and the mount being filled with solid masonry cramped together with iron. The height, where greatest, at the corner, was above forty feet. On the west the building was supported and protected by this wall, and covered by the Tyropæon. On the south the extent of the support and defence of the Temple can even now be judged of, from the passage, formed in the heart of the masonry itself, by which Solomon went up from his palace to the house of God. Thus the Temple foundation was constructed and fortified on the west and south. The area on which the Temple itself stood, with the cloisters around it, was about 600 feet square.

But there was a *space* to the north, which was also of 600 feet square, called the Outer Temple, enclosed by Solomon. For before the account of the consecration, it is said (2 Chron. iv. 9) that he made the Court of the Priests and the Great Court.

Solomon, however, also enlarged, and on the east and north sides strongly fortified, the Temple *platform*. He built up a wall from a low point in the valley of Jehoshaphat, almost equal, in the size of the stones and their fitting and fastening together, to that already described; but at the south-east angle of still greater length, for it rose to 77 feet. The space behind

the wall was here filled up with earth, except at the top, where there were vaults, and this earthwork, with its facing of stone, Mr. Lewin considers (and we see much reason for it) to have been the "Millo" mentioned in Scripture. The wall afterwards ran on along the brow of the hill, and the whole ground so enclosed made the platform about 1520 feet long from north to south, and 932 broad, being the area of the enclosure within which now stands the Mosque of Omar. The Temple did not occupy the same site as the Mosque, but stood at the south-west corner, the southern or royal cloisters resting on the strong foundation just described.

As these cloisters on the east ended on the edge of the descent to the valley of Jehoshaphat, where the land originally fell away rapidly, the situation of the Temple would have been very exposed without ground in front of it for ornament, use, and defence. It is reasonable, therefore, to conclude that it was part of the original design to add this ground; and we agree with Mr. Lewin, that its grandeur, extent, antiquity, and unity prove that the great work Millo, by which it was accomplished, was erected by Solomon. Let us now go round about this part of Zion, and tell the towers thereof, and mark well her bulwarks, as they stood at the time of Titus. Solomon's great work on the east was the defence of the city as well as of the Temple. Beginning where the cloisters reached the top of the valley and joined the end of the first wall, at the eastern corner of the wedge which we have endeavoured to represent by the smaller v, Millo ran out eastward with its lofty works (to gain ground in front of the Temple), and then turned northward, the base of the wall rising, but the average height being fifty feet. Where, having run northward, it turned to the west, the wall was protected by the pool of Bethesda, the greatest fosse known, 75 feet deep and 130 wide, extending in length 460 feet, which is nearly half of the north side of the platform. Then for a considerable space up to the north-west corner, and again beyond it towards the south, is a wall of native rock, left for its defence when the Jews (as will presently be mentioned) cut away the rest of the site of the Macedonian Acra. Proceeding along the western side, which was covered by the city, we soon come to the tower of Antonia, which must in part have stood within the outer Temple; and then almost immediately to the Temple itself, which completes the circuit.

At the north-west corner of the Temple platform had stood the Macedonian Acra, a fortification which Antiochus Epiphanes had erected about 168 B.C., to command the Temple and hinder the worship of God. It had been a most offensive, powerful, and dangerous neighbour; and it was only after years of effort and suffering that the Jews, under Simon, starved out the garrison and got it into their possession. And then they razed

it to the ground, and even cut away and lowered the rock itself, (leaving the wall of rock before mentioned,) that it should no longer overlook the Temple. It took them three years to accomplish it, working night and day.

Nor must we forget the bridge which connected the royal cloisters of the Temple with the Upper City, over the Tyropæon valley—the length being about 350 feet, the arches having a span of 40 feet. Higher up this valley the first wall crossed it, from the north of the Upper Town, and joined the wall of the Temple.

The inner Temple was separated from the outer by a stone fence $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet high, which no Gentile might pass. On the south side of the Temple was a triple cloister 105 feet wide, and on every other side a cloister 45 feet wide. These cloisters, and especially the roofs, afforded capital positions for troops and engines of war.

We cannot resist the temptation to consider her palaces—at least some particulars of the palace of Solomon. It stood immediately below the Temple on the south. Here again the ground had been terraced by an embankment, supported by a high and massive wall, which of course was a further defence to the Temple. One remarkable piece of work, connecting the palace with the Holy House, is indestructible. It was a gentle ascent of about 250 feet long and 42 feet wide, through the stone-work on which the foundations of the Temple rested, to one of its gates, and terminated at the platform set apart for the kings. The entrance is now 15 or 20 feet above the level of the palace, so that a flight of steps must have led up to it. This is the ascent by which Solomon went up to the house of the Lord, which, when the Queen of Sheba saw it, “took away her breath, so that there was no more spirit in her.” It was at that royal stand, called (2 Kings xi. 14) a pillar, that Athaliah saw Joash standing, and recognised at once his assumption of his kingdom.

The Lower Town lay at first on the smaller and eastern wedge below the palace of Solomon; but it spread up the Tyropæon valley, and expanded itself on the west of the Temple and north of Zion. And this extension (speaking in general terms) was the part of the city enclosed by the second wall. This wall began at the north-west corner of the Temple platform, and the wall of Hezekiah, or the broad wall, extended it to the tower of Mariamne.

There was yet a fourth part of Jerusalem, called Bezetha, or the New Town, which was a further extension of the city towards the north and north-west. It was protected by the third wall, which more or less faced to the north-west, and extended almost from the valley of Jehoshaphat to that of the Son of Hinnom, the ends being both turned back to meet the former walls. At

the north-west point of the city, where the third wall turned towards Hippicus, stood the tower of Psephinus, or the Rubble Tower. On the courses of the second and third walls, which are questioned at every stone, Mr. Lewin's book has thrown great light, and is particularly interesting. We must remember that, as the third wall was built by Agrippa, A.D. 43, it is not the boundary outside of which we are to look for Calvary.

Such was Jerusalem, compact together, and strongly fortified on all sides. But a besieging army had other difficulties to encounter. For as the valley of Jehoshaphat, after reaching beyond the city on the north, turns and runs to the west, and the valley of the Son of Hinnom also, near the tower of Hippicus, turns and runs nearly in the same direction, but approaching the northern valley, it is plain that the space which a besieging army would be forced to occupy would be very narrow and cramped and inconvenient, and that its engines and heavy materials, and indeed all its supplies, must be brought up an ascent or round the heads of the vallies to the west.

We have left ourselves but little space to tell the story of the sufferings of the Jews in Jerusalem from their own factions; but the details are so horrible that it is less to be regretted.

They had been little molested by the Romans during the period through which we have traced the acts and position and hindrances of Vespasian and Titus; but the factions had made the city a scene of continual tumult and bloodshed. The arrival of John of Gischala was a great misfortune. And it was the resort of the fiercest and most violent who escaped when the Romans destroyed the towns and wasted the country. These men were ready to unite with one another, and with such as John of Gischala, and to spread confusion and terror around them. Indeed, men and leaders of this sort had infested all the cities and country of Judæa, and occasioned so much misery that their barbarity and iniquity were scarcely exceeded by the Romans, and to the wretched Jews it often seemed a lighter thing to be slain by the enemy than by their own countrymen. These oppressors soon began to be known as the Zealots—a name which we must be careful not to attribute to any zeal for the law or anything good; Josephus says it seemed given to them as being extravagant and outrageous in the very worst actions.

So full of disorder was the city, that it was at the mercy of these men at once; and they abused their power without restraint, by plunder, rapine, and murder, attacking persons of influence for their first victims. They seized Antipas, who was of royal lineage, and had the care of the public treasuries, and others of rank and importance, and slew them in prison, under pretence that they intended to surrender to the Romans. And then, as the people bore it, they proceeded in their insolence to

appoint high priests, and at last disposed of the office by lot; and thus placed in it a rustic from a country village, so ignorant that he did not well know what the high priesthood was. Having, however, possession of the Temple, they put on him the sacred garments, and made sport of their profaneness.

But this provoked resistance; and the people, under Ananias the high priest, were preparing to attack them, when they sallied, and a fierce combat ensued, the Zealots, when wounded, retiring into the Temple and polluting it with their blood. The people coming up from all quarters, at length, by the weight of numbers, drove the assailants back, and entered with them into the Outer Court and kept it. But the Zealots fled into the Inner Temple, and shut the gates; and Ananias hesitated to attack the holy place, but contented himself with setting a strong guard in the cloisters. John of Gischala, however, ruined all his plans. For, getting by perjury into the confidence of Ananias and the leaders of the people, he betrayed their secrets; and at last, pretending that Ananias intended to deliver the city to the Romans, and that he especially aimed at the destruction of Eleazar and the chief of his associates, he induced the Zealots to summon the Idumæans to their assistance.

The Idumæans, or rather the people of the south of Judæa, being thus invited, and being deceived by the pretence that those in the Temple were held in custody by a tyrannical faction, and that Jerusalem would be given up to the Romans unless they prevented it, came up with a force of some thousand men; and although Ananias shut the gates, yet during a stormy night the Zealots found means to let them in, and then carried plunder and slaughter into the city, but chiefly sought for Ananias and other priests, murdered them, and jesting over them, cast away their bodies without burial. They filled the prisons with the nobles, whom they at once tormented and put to death, and cast out their bodies to make room for more to suffer; whilst the terror of the people was so great that none durst give burial even to their friends; some took a little dust and cast it upon them by night. During the stay of the Idumæans in the city, the Zealots attempted to destroy one of the chief of the inhabitants, named Zacharias, by a mock trial; when he was declared innocent, two of them murdered him in the Temple.

Soon after, the Idumæans suddenly left the city, and the Zealots at once renewed their violence, and tried to cut off every person who, from family, courage, or ability, was likely to become a leader in resisting them. This was the juncture at which Vespasian's officers urged him to attack Jerusalem; but he replied that nothing could be more for the advantage of the Romans than that the Jews should destroy each other, and that

they were not building walls or making any preparation for war. And the Jews were fearfully destroying each other; for many fled from the city, if they could get away, though it was death if they were detected, and many who got out perished or were slain and lay in heaps along the roads; so that those who wished to escape at length for the sake of burial preferred to die within the walls.

And soon another misfortune arose to bring the nation to destruction; the Zealots spread their violence all over Judæa, so that there was not a part of it (except what was actually occupied by the Romans) which was not in a most miserable condition.

After the death of Nero, Vespasian may have relaxed his hold a little as to the open country. At any rate, that was the time at which Simon son of Gioras began to acquire power in the country of Idumæa. We shall not follow the details of this part of his career, as they do not tell upon the catastrophe of Jerusalem. But he was a monster of cruelty, and his ravages of the country were so fearful, that he left nothing behind him but a desert, as one sees (it is the comparison of Josephus) all the trees stripped of their leaves by locusts. After he had driven numbers before him, and compelled them to enter the city, he encompassed the walls, and became a greater terror to the people than even the Romans themselves. But the condition of Jerusalem itself was awful. For as the Galilæans had advanced John of Gischala to power, so he permitted them to practise all sorts of enormities. They were insatiable in plunder, and searching the houses of the wealthy; and as for murdering the men and abusing the women, it was sport to them; they devoured the spoils they had taken with the blood; put on women's garments, decked their hair, besmeared themselves with ointments, and were guilty of intolerable abominations and impurity; whilst personating women, drawing their swords from under their finely-dyed cloaks, and running through the body any whom they met. Simon watched on the outside, for those who escaped from John, and he was the more bloody of the two; and they who fled from the tyrant within the walls, were destroyed by the other tyrant who lay before the gates.

Many of the supporters of John at last became weary of him, and drove him into the Temple; but his adherents gathered there to support him; and whilst the collision was impending, the High Priests, fearing that the Zealots, in their madness, might set the city on fire, consulted how the conflict might be avoided. God turned their counsel into foolishness; for they agreed to bring in Simon to overthrow John, and thus introduced another tyrant into the city. The people welcomed him with acclamations as a deliverer; but as soon as he got in, he took care to secure his own authority, and re-

garded those who had brought him in as his enemies, as much as those against whom they had sought his assistance.

Titus had returned to Cæsarea to make his preparations for the siege of Jerusalem. But before he advanced, conflicts again recurred in the city, the consequences of which were afterwards heavily felt when there was famine within the walls. Eleazar, who at first had separated the Zealots from the people, but had afterwards given place to John of Gischala as a leader, now endeavoured to make himself independent of John, and seized upon the inner court of the Temple, where his followers laid their arms in the holy places, and consumed the provisions which had been laid up in great abundance, and consecrated for sacred purposes. This party of the Zealots was few in number, but they had the advantage of the highest ground. Simon had possession of the upper city and great part of the lower, whilst John's position was between Simon and Eleazar; and as he was at a disadvantage as to the ground compared with Eleazar, he had a corresponding advantage over Simon's followers in his front. He was of course open to the attacks of both of them between whom he was placed. In repelling the attacks of Eleazar from above, he made use of engines to throw darts and other weapons and stones, which often reached the Priests and Levites and worshippers, so that many who came from remote places fell before their own sacrifices, and the court of the Temple itself was defiled with heaps of bodies, and ran with blood. Against the assaults of Simon he made sallies, and set the city on fire, and Simon did the same, until the space round the Temple became wasted and bare and open. Here there had been in many houses stores of grain, enough to have fed the city for many years, but it was thus madly destroyed. And as Titus had then returned from Egypt into Judæa, the Jews had not a fresh harvest, or any means of making good the loss, before the Romans were upon them.

This was the condition to which Jerusalem had been brought by the factions within her walls, when Titus began his march against it.

WORDS OF CAUTION IN REFERENCE TO THE POSITION OF THE
EVANGELICAL MEMBERS OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND AT
THE PRESENT TIME.

EACH successive period of the Church's history has its own peculiar perils and difficulties. It is not wise to be always sounding the alarm, nor is it safe to take it for granted that all is prosperous because no adverse events of a startling character are taking place.

Caution is especially needful in a time like the present, when rapid changes occur in the sentiments of men, on almost all subjects. Everything is now in motion. Old opinions and time-honoured authorities are being daily called in question. Novelties are eagerly sought after. Religious questions are canvassed with the utmost freedom.

The public press aids in disseminating the popular views of the day on religious questions, in a manner never before known. An unusual activity is pervading the Church of England. Our bishops are setting the example. The clergy are devoting themselves to their sacred duties with an energy and zeal unseen in former times. Meanwhile, there appears to be a disposition among influential members of the several parties into which the Church is divided, to combine and fraternize in a way not hitherto attempted. The three great bodies which the Church of England now embraces, appear in some measure to be losing their distinctive character, and to be undergoing a moral fusion.

One of the most remarkable features of the day is the manner in which the High Church or Tractarian body, and the Broad Church or Movement party, are working together. It is true that there are certain marked exceptions; but in the main the two are walking hand in hand. The effect of this union is, that much of the sceptical and rationalistic tendency which marks the Broad Church division, is being diffused among those who have hitherto strictly maintained the High Church system. The injurious influence of this cannot but be keenly felt throughout the Church. Men who profess to be strongly opposed to the extreme views of the Broad Church leaders, do not hesitate to avow their sympathy with many of the favourite tenets of that body.

The inspiration of the Bible is no longer held by them with that unhesitating faith which it once was. It is admitted that the Scriptures may be in error, in matters not affecting the faith of the Gospel, without injury to their general authority as the Word of God. The tendency of all this is to lower the tone of religion in our Church, to increase the sceptical tendencies of the age, to get rid of dogmas, and to leave as many open questions as possible, with a view to produce a large and comprehensive scheme. The safeguards of our Church are being knocked away one after another. The laity are becoming unsettled in their minds, and the door is being thrown open for a tide of worldliness and infidelity to flow in.

"Religious questions," to use the eloquent language of one of our prelates on a recent occasion, "are now discussed in reference to society and general order. The result is a worldliness of tone almost frightful. The Church is regarded as a useful society for the suppression of vice; her ministers are deemed a spiritual police. Its sceptical spirit is not anti-Christ-

tian, but non-Christian. It does not oppose the truth, but uses it for its own purposes. The spirit of the world is the moving spirit. The trail of the serpent is on every green leaf."

That a degree of sympathy should exist between the two divisions of the Church above alluded to, was perhaps to be expected. They agree in dwelling mainly on the externals of religion. They agree in their dislike to spiritual and evangelical piety. They agree in combining a conformity to the world with supposed orthodoxy of doctrine. They agree in idolizing intellect, and in regarding the discoveries of science as qualified to regulate and modify our religious belief. Rome and Germany thus shake hands. But the more serious ground of anxiety arises from another quarter. There appears to be a desire, on the part of those to whom I have alluded, to lay the basis of a loose, comprehensive churchmanship, which may open the door of admission to a third party. I allude to the Evangelical members of the Church. That body now occupies a position of peculiar importance and responsibility. It has not suffered, as the other two parties have done, from the sceptical tendencies of the age. German neology is not preached in their pulpits. They are now the Conservative party in the Church. They do not desire, as a body (whatever certain individuals among them may wish), any important changes in the Articles and formularies of the Church, nor do they wish to alter the Final Court of Appeal, to which their orthodoxy is ultimately to be referred; however much they may regret the recent decision respecting *Essays and Reviews*. They are, in fact, the only thoroughly united and unchanged body in the Church. It was, therefore, to be expected that attempts should be made, from time to time, to court their co-operation. Their numbers are large; their influence, more especially among the middle classes of society, very considerable. Their opinion on public questions, when they choose to express it, is of undoubted weight. They cannot now be overlooked as they once were, and their very existence ignored. They have recently taken an active part in preparing and obtaining signatures to certain protests, which have been circulated against the novel doctrines which are now broached. In this undertaking, a large number of the High Church School have worked with them. Thus, names usually representing the most opposite opinions, have been found appended to the same document.

I am not prepared to say that, in taking this step, our Evangelical friends have been guilty of any undue compromise; but I strongly feel that caution is needed, lest this should pave the way to further amalgamation.

The public Congress which is now annually held, and in which certain leading members of the Evangelical body take a prominent part, is a further step in the same direction. I question much the wisdom of this course. What has been

gained to religion by this Congress? What practical results of a beneficial character have followed? Men of extreme views, in the High Church and Broad Church schools, have thus had the opportunity of uniting with the Evangelical clergy in expressing publicly their sentiments on questions on which no great difference of opinion exists between them. And yet these men are opposed to each other, in the widest possible manner, in reference to the principles on which these very measures should be carried out. The result is, that those who have convened the Congress have had the satisfaction of stating that all parties in the Church were duly represented, and that a bond of union had thus been formed between them; when the fact is, as they well know, that they differ from each other on matters of the most vital and interior character, affecting the state of the heart before God, and the entire life and conversation before the world.

In reference to this point, my attention has been recently called to a pamphlet,* containing the substance of an address, delivered last October, before a large meeting of Evangelical clergy, and which appears to have been received with very general approbation. In this address, the practicability of union between the different parties in the Church is advocated. The Oxford address is supposed to have laid the foundation for this union. The writer proposes to discuss the principles which are to serve as our guides in these matters. These are said to be mutual candour and frankness in avowing each our own sentiments; mutual respect and forbearance toward each other; the adoption of a greater intimacy, both in spirit and action, with those of the other schools; and the seizing upon opportunities for promoting this union of an unceremonious and informal character. The writer tells us that he looks upon the Church of England as a *via media*, exhibiting a wise avoidance of extremes. "She stands," he says, "on two feet—the one Evangelical or Puritan, the other Sacramentarian or High Church; and the stronger and sounder the condition of both, the better will it be for the Church." He also recommends forbearance towards those who are still "floundering," as he expresses it, "in the Sceptical Slough of Despond;" and bids us to beware of surrendering the right of private judgment.

Now, I venture to enter my solemn protest against these attempts, however well intended, to bridge over the broad abyss which ever must subsist between truth and error. The points of difference between us do not admit of this sort of compromise, nor can they be decided by argument alone. They affect the interior work of the Holy Ghost in the soul. It is true that there is something plausible and attractive in the

* "The Practicabilities of Union," by Rev. W. S. Lewis, Incumbent of Trinity Church, Ripon.

suggestion, "they will learn from us, and we shall learn from them." I also joyfully admit, that in the ranks of the opposite parties some humble and sincere Christians are to be found. But I am now referring to measures of a public and comprehensive character, which would tend to break down the barriers between the parties above referred to.

The above suggestions may emanate, as I doubt not they do, from motives of kindness and love; but a higher and more momentous principle is at stake. Is this line of conduct in accordance with the precepts and example of our Divine Master? Let us act with all courtesy and Christian forbearance towards those who differ from us; but let there be no compromise of principle.

The question resolves itself simply into this,—How far a clergyman holding Evangelical truth is at liberty, for the sake of apparent union, to merge the points of difference between himself and others, and to stand forth in a public assembly to discuss matters of secondary importance side by side with those who are aiming to subvert the very principles which he holds to be dearer than life; who are either maintaining, at all cost, the Sacramental system, or are lowering the supreme authority of the Word of God.

I am, of course, not referring now to Diocesan meetings, called by the bishop for certain definite purposes, and where the clergy meet strictly in their official capacity; nor to those which are gathered for some specific practical object, such as church extension. What I object to is, the voluntary gathering of men of opposite sentiments on essential matters, in order to discuss religious subjects which, however important in themselves, are yet subordinate to fundamental truth.

The effect of this must, I fear, be to lower the tone of piety, and to lead the laity to imagine that the clergy do not attach the importance which they were supposed to do to these primary matters. A more disastrous state of things I cannot imagine, than a fusion of all religious differences in one general mass of lax churchmanship and loose profession. The very life and power of religion will be eaten out, the Spirit of God grieved, and genuine piety effaced. Not that I at all anticipate such a state of things at the present time, I merely venture to throw out these thoughts by way of caution. I am jealous for the purity and integrity of religion in the bosom of our Scriptural Church. God has hitherto greatly honoured and blessed those of her members who have boldly maintained Evangelical principles.

The great religious movement which has taken place both at home and abroad within the last half century has originated mainly with them. They form the very life and soul of the Church of England. They faithfully represent the doctrines and sentiments of the Reformers, as expressed in our Church

formularies. To them, in an especial manner, is the deposit of the faith committed. Let them guard it with due jealousy, as it was handed down to them by their sainted fathers.

With this view, perhaps I may be permitted to add, in conclusion, one or two practical suggestions.

And first, I would venture to urge upon my Clerical brethren the duty of being bold and faithful in their statements of Divine truth, and in their unflinching reproof of error, more particularly when the authority of the sacred volume is called in question. The entire Bible must either be the inspired Word of God, or it ceases to be what it claims and professes. Difficulties there have always been in explaining certain matters of detail. The remote period at which it was written, and the scanty materials of contemporary history, must create perplexities; but the humble Christian is content to wait. Light is continually being thrown upon these obscurities, as critical study and historical research advance. A bold stand must be made against the daring spirit which now prevails, and which would fain cast doubt and uncertainty upon God's revelation of Himself to man. It may be, that our Church has not thought it necessary to embody in a distinct article her belief in the plenary inspiration of the Bible, but she does not hesitate to build her entire faith upon it, and to declare that "nothing is to be received as an article of faith or necessary to salvation, which is not read therein, or may be proved thereby." She has embodied large portions of the Scriptures in her formularies; they breathe its spirit throughout. If the Bible falls, the Church of England must fall. She has no status, no foundation, no claim to our allegiance irrespective of God's Word.

I would further suggest the duty, at the present time, of dwelling much on first principles in our pulpit ministrations. Let the clergy follow the old paths. Let them not be ashamed of old-fashioned statements of truth. Let there be no morbid aim at novelty, either in the doctrines they utter, or in their mode of stating them. Let them not be too much afraid of being thought commonplace, or of falling beneath the demands of the age. Truth is unalterable. There are no discoveries to be made in the Gospel. The revelation was complete eighteen hundred years ago.

Once more let me ask, whether the Evangelical members of our Church take as full advantage of the press as they might do. I fear that, in this respect, they have lost ground. The religious literature of the day is far too much in the hands of the movement party. Their works are ably written and eagerly read. They seem to adapt themselves to the requirements of the age better than their opponents do. The Evangelical periodicals of the day, including that in which this paper

appears, are not so well supported as they ought to be. Why do not our Evangelical friends rally round them; furnish papers of interest and importance; circulate them among their friends, and encourage the editors by a warmer support?

The Evangelical societies of our Church, too, claim a larger measure of aid than they are now receiving. Their incomes do not bear a due proportion to the growing numbers of those who sympathise in their labours. There is, I fear, too much self-indulgence, too large a personal expenditure, too little practical self-denial in the cause of Christ.

One word more, and I have done. There seems to be a desire in some quarters to imitate certain practices of the High Church party, which, though not in themselves of much importance, indicate a leaning towards form and ceremony. I allude to processions in surplices, preaching in the surplice, musical services, anthems, decoration of churches, and other things of this character. It is true that there is no great principle involved in these things, but I am jealous of anything likely to interfere with the simplicity of Divine service. If our people are not drawn to the church by the simple preaching of Christ's Gospel, I doubt how far we are justified in holding out other attractions.

After all, our great requirement is a larger and fuller effusion of the Holy Ghost. May we all be led to more earnest prayer; to a deeper study of the Divine Word; to a greater simplicity of faith in Christ's Gospel; to a humble, waiting posture of mind, looking for and hasting unto the coming of Christ. "Blessed is that servant, whom His Lord, when He cometh, shall find so doing."

CLERICUS.*

FORSTER'S BIOGRAPHY OF SIR JOHN ELIOT.

Sir John Eliot: a Biography. 1590—1632. By John Forster. In two Vols. London: Longmans. 1864.

IF the question were put to any well-informed student of English history, as to the causes which have combined to raise our country to such a lofty position amongst other nations of the world, and to make us the most free and at the same time the most loyal people on the face of the earth, he would at once point to the great contests of the 13th and the 17th centuries, between the sovereigns of the time and their respective subjects.

The struggles of the noble band of patriots in the Commons during the reign of the first two Stuarts had been foreshadowed

* The principles advocated by CLERICUS are those of the Christian Observer; and it may possibly spare some of our readers a disappointment, if we say beforehand, that we cannot admit any controversy on the subject.—EDITOR.

by the wars which the Barons of the 13th century were compelled to wage against the only unworthy scion of the Plantagenet race, king John, in defence of their own rights, and eventually of their country's freedom. The culminating victory of Magna Charta, followed, as it was within half a century, by the first true representation of the people in the Parliament of 1264,* though summoned, singular enough to say, at the instigation of a foreigner, Simon de Montfort, was the ground on which the patriots of the 17th century proceeded in their grand work of curtailing the illegal practices of the Crown, and of establishing the just rights and rational liberty of the English people.

Nothing, perhaps, will afford a truer idea of the lamentable condition of affairs in Church and State at that period than a brief consideration of the Grand Remonstrance which the Commons were compelled to make at the commencement of that famous Parliament which met in 1641, and which has been known by succeeding ages by the emphatic title of the "Long Parliament."

This Grand Remonstrance, which was virtually an appeal from the tyranny of the unhappy Charles Stuart to a patient and outraged people, consisted of two hundred and six numbered clauses, each one having been carefully debated, and voted by the House of Commons. The first six related to the *First* Parliament of Charles's reign, and to the recovery of strength by the popish party after their discomfiture by the breach with Spain at the close of the reign of James I. Two subsidies had been granted by that Parliament, yet it had been dissolved without the relief of a single grievance; and then followed the disasters of Rochelle, the desertion of the Protestant party in France, the discreditable attempt on Cadiz, the abandonment of the Palatinate and of the Protestant struggle in Germany, the wrongs inflicted on merchants and traders, the pressing and billeting of soldiers† in all parts of the kingdom, and the illegal attempt, though happily frustrated, to introduce therein large bodies of mercenary troops.

The next four clauses described the *second* Parliament, its dissolution after a declared intention to grant five subsidies,

* On the 14th of December of that year, a day never to be forgotten in English story, writs went forth calling together, for the first time, representatives from the counties, cities, and boroughs, to meet the prelates and great lords; and the first Act of that remarkable assemblage ran, as by common consent, in the name "of the king, his son Edward, the prelates, earls, barons, and commonalty of the realm."

† The intolerable misery implied in this grievance will be better understood by considering the language which Wentworth, afterwards Earl of Strafford, addressed to the House of Commons, when warmly advocating the cause which he subsequently betrayed:—"They have rent from us the light of our eyes! enforced companies of guests worse than the ordinances of France! vitiated our wives and daughters before our faces!"

and the subsequent levy of those subsidies, not by Parliamentary authority, but by the sole order of the king. Commissions of loan were issued, and all who refused were imprisoned; many contracting sicknesses in prison from which they never recovered. Privy seals were sent forth without consent of Parliament, raising enormous sums. Court waste and profusion were spoken of on all sides, while the people were unlawfully impoverished; and a commission under the Great Seal exacted payments from the subject by way of excise, to an extent and in a manner before unheard of.

The *third* Parliament resulted in an attempt on the part of the Crown to evade, by a surreptitious declaration, its enactment of the Petition of Right; its forcible dissolution; the imprisonment and persecution of its most distinguished members; and the Royal Declaration, printed and dispersed among the people, to discredit and disavow its proceedings, and give colour for the violence used towards its chiefs.

Such were some of the terrible accusations which the Commons' House of Parliament had felt it obligatory, for the welfare of the country and the just rights of the people, to publish against that ill-fated and misguided king. That the patriots were fully justified in the course they adopted, may be seen from the acts of the king and his ministers during the long interval of twelve years, during which Charles madly resolved to govern without a Parliament; even forbidding the people, by Royal Proclamation, "so much as to talk of a Parliament."

Never had sovereign more loyal subjects than Charles on his accession to the throne of his ancestors; never was there a more noble band of patriots than those who took the lead in the first three parliaments of his reign; and never was there a body of advisers more anxious and willing to do justice to the claims of both king and people. Yet, notwithstanding the passing of the Petition of Right, which had become the law of the land, with the consent of King, Lords, and Commons, after the most discreditable attempt at evasion on the part of Charles, which Mr. Forster has related at length in his present work (vol. ii. pp. 232—270), the result of this second Magna Charta had only proved with what reckless presumption, by wicked and daring ministers, the laws had been broken and the liberties suppressed, which therein were so solemnly and recently declared. The representatives of the people had been flung into prison, and there treated like felons for words spoken in Parliament. All the comforts of life, all the means of preserving health, all necessary supplies of spiritual consolation, were denied them. Not suffered to go abroad, to enjoy God's ordinances in God's house; His ministers prevented from ministering to them in their prisons; the liberty of read-

ing and writing refused them; with such cruelty and in such misery year after year had glided by. Towards the close of the second year, indeed, some had been released, yet not without heavy fines, and the shame of being required to find security for their future good behaviour. Others might have wasted out their lives in imprisonment, had not the reckless policy of Charles and his ministers forced them to risk the consequences of calling a fresh Parliament. To one, who was in reality the most distinguished of them all, after two years of prolonged cruelty, there had come a mightier friend, when he passed to that bourne from which no traveller returns. In the last days of November, 1682, the noble-minded Eliot died a prisoner in the Tower of London, a martyr in defence of those liberties of which Charles had unceasingly endeavoured to deprive his people. Petition after petition had been sent up for his release; application had been made to the Crown for but a few months' freedom, in order to give him strength to bear further imprisonment; without such alleviation, his physician had declared he would perish; but a cold and stern refusal was the only answer, and release was only to be obtained in the silence of the grave. His blood cried aloud for vengeance on those who had abused the power they possessed, and who had so obstructed the course alike of his Majesty's justice and of that which

——— "becomes

The throned monarch *better* than his crown"—

his Majesty's mercy.

Such was the man whose biography has been recently given to the world. The dedication of the work in question sufficiently discloses the object which the author has in view. "To all," says Mr. Forster, "who value the regulated liberty enjoyed in England, who attribute its preservation to a powerful legislature, and who have any interest in knowing what was done and suffered two hundred and thirty years ago to establish the independence of the House of Commons, I offer this account of Sir John Eliot." And well has the biographer fulfilled his task.

Mr. Forster tells us that he has been enabled to give a complete representation of the domestic and political character of Sir John Eliot, through the kindness of his lineal descendant, the present Earl of St. Germans, who entrusted to his unre-served use "the priceless family papers" at Port Eliot. These appear to have remained undisturbed for more than two centuries, with the exception of a small portion of them which were submitted to the elder D'Israeli, when engaged in his "Commentaries on the Life of Charles the First," but which were scarcely made use of by him, in consequence of the great labour which the examination of the MSS. cost him—the toil of many a weary day, dimming his eyes, as he remarks, "with all such writing as was never read."

To Mr. Forster belongs the credit of having deciphered the entire contents of a book of MSS., of which the imperfect mastery of less than a tenth part so severely taxed the patience and sight of an experienced historical enquirer. The result is, as we have already observed, a valuable biography of one of the first amongst the band of patriots who resisted the lawless acts of Charles.

"For the personal characteristics of Sir John Eliot," observes his biographer, "established by the papers thus given to the world, the biography will speak sufficiently. Few public men have suffered more from evil party speaking. The indignity the king* would have offered to his body after death, royalist writers persist in fixing on his memory. But the veneration and affection of his countrymen may be now given to an unsullied name. Few characters could have stood the test of the sudden masses of light here poured upon him; yet no blood appears, and no brightness fades. Under a pressure which even old friends and associates joined to make it painful to resist, he kept to the close his faith and constancy; he calmly underwent his martyrdom; the last utterances that escaped from his prison were the expression of his belief that upon the abandonment or maintenance of the privileges of her parliaments would turn the future glory or misery of England; and he deserved, if ever man did, that her constitutional historian† should have singled him out and set him apart as **THE MOST ILLUSTRIOUS CONFESSOR IN THE CAUSE OF LIBERTY WHOM THAT TIME PRODUCED.**" (Preface, p. 13.)

Sir John Eliot, the hero of the most recent and not the least interesting of the many valuable works with which Mr. Forster has enriched the literature of our time by his graphic sketches of the most important era in our country's history, was, as Anthony Wood tells us, "a Cornishman born and an esquire's son." His family were originally from Devonshire; and Fuller has identified one of his ancestors as the Walter Eliot named in the Sheriff's return of the gentry of the county of Devon, A.D. 1433, during the reign of the last sovereign of the line of York. The first of the Eliots who settled in Cornwall appears to have been the great-uncle of Sir John, who obtained from the family of Champernowne (a name well known to Devonians in the present day) the priory of St. Germans and its lands, in exchange for property near Ashburton. This estate received then the name of Port Eliot, which it still retains. Its possessions have descended with the name, rendered so illustrious by

* Sir John Eliot's son desired to carry his father's remains to Port Eliot, there to lie with those of his ancestors, and petitioned the king for that purpose. The petition was returned by Charles with these words affixed, "*Lett Sir John Eliot's body be*

buried in the church of that parish where he dyed." And so he was buried in the Tower. "No stone," says his biographer, "marks the spot where he lies; but as long as freedom continues in England, he will not be without a monument."

† Hallam, i. 378.

the great statesman of the seventeenth century, and form a considerable portion of the property of the lineal descendant and present representative of the family, the Earl of St. Germans.

At this place John Eliot was born, on the 20th of April, 1590. At an earlier age than is customary in our day, he became, as Wood states, "a gentleman commoner of Exeter College, in Michaelmas term, anno 1607, aged fifteen;" and after remaining about three years, he quitted the University without proceeding to the degree of B.A., though his subsequent parliamentary life proved that he had not misspent his time. Mr. Forster observes on this part of his life,—

"From nature John Eliot had a fervid imagination; and when this found expression in the House of Commons, it was under the chastening influence of the ancient learning. For quickness and completeness of classical allusion, Eliot had no rival in Parliament. Nor had he strengthened himself for great duties only, by the priceless treasures of language and thought so mastered in his youth; for his resource under great calamities was also to be derived from them. Thus early familiar with the school-philosophy of Greece and Rome, he carried its hopes and aspirations, even its sublime abstractions and reveries, through all the busy activity of his life, into the enforced solitude that closed it; and Plato, Aristotle, and Seneca were friends that remained accessible to him, when his prison excluded every other. . . . It would, indeed, be difficult to overstate the advantages derived by this remarkable man, through life, from having made these studies familiar to his youth. They will appear in every part of his story. Not unknown are other examples, in this great age, of the union, in a high degree, of readiness of action with remoteness of study and contemplation; but in its application and use through the commonest occurrences as well as greatest events of his career, the peculiarity presented itself in Eliot under conditions of singular interest. In whatever circumstances placed, books had become to him a world so real, that he could draw out of it experiences fitted to all his needs and emotions, to which the habit of continual resort had given more than the attributes of counsellors and friends. Nothing of the past was dead to him. The life that burnt into the page of Tacitus was the same that still heated and stirred the world about him; and the parliament chamber in which he sat at Westminster was not to him more filled with eager animation and conflict, than were its old parliamentary parchment rolls, the silent depositories of English liberty, from which four centuries of the past unceasingly appealed to him.

"To the habits and commencements of this early time must also be ascribed the fervency and simplicity of his religious belief. He was not a Puritan; but his sympathies went strongly with all that advocacy of the pure in faith and worship to which the term was applied. Profoundly versed as he was in the ancient ethics and philosophy, and an ardent upholder of their truth and excellence, he had found in the Christian system higher developments and a more divine satisfaction. Less prone than many of his contemporaries, in commonplace and

ordinary straits, to resort to the sacred writings, he yet drew from them ever his practical guidance, not less than his highest wisdom. To him the Bible was, in truth and fact, the book of life, from which he derived all that he believed to be essential to religion, and by which he measured all he held most to be honoured in public as in private concerns. In the first speech he delivered after the accession of Charles the First, as in his last letter to Hampden from the prison to which Charles consigned him, *this* is the compass by which he steers his course to the haven in which he finds his rest. 'Religion only it is,' he told the assembled Commons, 'that fortifies all policy, that crowns all wisdom. Not alone is it the grace of excellence and the glory of power; but it is the strength of government. For, though policy may secure a kingdom against foreigners (and so, I pray God, this kingdom may always stand secure!), and wisdom provide every necessary for the rule at home, yet if religion secure not the affections of the people, the danger is as much in our own Achitophels as from Moab and all the armies of the Philistines.'—'O, the infinite mercy of our Master, dear friend,' he wrote to Hampden, when life was closing upon him in his dreary cell, 'by whom we are, and from whom we have all things; the strengthening of the weak, the enriching of the poor, the liberty of the captive, the health of the diseased, the life of those that die!' Nor for that trying hour alone had such consolations been reserved. We shall find them interfused with all his habits of thought, and sustaining him in every part of his career." (Vol. i. pp. 9—11.)

As Vice-Admiral of Devon, to which he was appointed in his nine-and-twentieth year, John Eliot, who had previously received the dignity of knighthood, first entered public life. This office had been previously held by Sir Lewis Stukely, renowned for his infamous betrayal of the gallant Raleigh, whose execution Eliot had witnessed; and the memory of this iniquitous deed, so discreditable to the first Stuart, who committed it, was doubtless of use in nerving the patriot's heart in his future contest with the second sovereign of that ill-fated race. Eliot has described the matchless fortitude of Elizabeth's favoured courtier, when on that cold October morning he rendered up his life "with so much unmoved courage and placid temper, that, while it changed the affection of the enemies who had come to witness it, and turned their joy to sorrow, it filled all men else with admiration and emotion, leaving with them only this doubt, whether death were more acceptable to him, or he more welcome unto death."*

And so, indeed, it was. The only anxiety which Raleigh manifested was lest the ague, to which he was subject, should return before the axe descended, and his trembling be mistaken for fear. He felt its edge, and smilingly calling it a sharp medicine, said it was a physician for all diseases. Once again he spoke, after laying his head on the block, in consequence of

* Eliot's "Monarchy of Man," MS. Brit. Mus. Harl. Coll. 2228.

the hesitation of the executioner—"Why dost thou not strike? Strike, man!" With these words that famous Englishman passed away; doing more harm to the intensely bigoted Spain by his death than ever he had done in his life. For he left the memory of his gallant deeds, and the iniquitous treatment he had received from his unworthy sovereign, to rankle in the minds of thousands of his countrymen; with not one of whom did it work to more decisive ends than with Sir John Eliot, who turned from his honoured friend's scaffold with the feeling he has so eloquently expressed, and to which his public life, that may be said to have dated from this day, bore the further and more eloquent testimony, of a never-ceasing resistance to the foreign power which had triumphed over Raleigh.

Eliot entered Parliament, as Member for Newport, in the last one which met during the reign of James I., A.D. 1623. Amongst many others, more or less illustrious, in that and the parliaments of the following reign, we meet with the notable names—some of which are still known to the House of Commons in our own day—of Coke, the honoured chief of a group of lawyers, among whom were Noye, Glanville, Heneage Finch, and Selden, the most distinguished of them all, who then sat, the fitting representative of his Alma Mater, for the University of Oxford. Other friends much cherished by Eliot were there: such as Hampden, of Great Hampden; Sir Robert Philips, of Montacute; Walter Long, Member for Bath; Bevil Grenville, and Richard Knightley; and Pym, the Member for Tavistock, undaunted by imprisonment undergone for his fidelity to the cause of freedom in the previous Parliament, was there in the first rank of impressive and weighty speakers, and a man of most ardent religious convictions, and eventually to succeed his martyred friend Eliot as chief leader of that distinguished parliamentary band who gained the fruits of victory to which Eliot's talents had so mainly contributed. With another more formidable group, the Northern men, as they were called, Eliot had no personal sympathy, though he frequently acted with them. Prominent among these was Wentworth, first the friend, and then the betrayer, of the people's freedom; Mr. Lowther, Sir John Radcliffe, and Sir Richard Hutton, who pronounced against Charles's illegal attempt to tax without consent of Parliament, under the head of ship-money; the two Saviles, father and son, from Yorkshire, who were eventually raised to the peerage, and who then passed over to the side of the king; Sir Thomas and Sir Ferdinand Fairfax, Sir John Stanhope, and Sir Arthur Ingram, &c. These men, for the most part, acted together, and constituted a section formidable by their talents and influence, whether marshalled against the Court for public motives, or banded together against the Opposition for purposes of their own.

There appears to have been an understanding amongst some of the people's representatives that the differences which broke the last Parliament, and especially the famous protest for their privileges, torn from their journals by King James's own hand, should not for the present be revived; but Eliot refused his assent to such timid policy. As little of advantage as of honour could proceed, he argued, from a compromise of that on which not only their usefulness, but their very existence depended. He felt, therefore, he must raise his voice at once in favour of those privileges and rights which their ancestors had enjoyed alike under the Tudor sovereigns, and the far nobler and greater kings of the House of Plantagenet. It is worthy of remembrance that Sir John Eliot should have thus spoken his first speech in the House of Commons in defence of those parliamentary immunities, for which, after seven years of unceasing contests, he calmly suffered death.

It was not however in this Parliament that Eliot's fame, as leader of the Country party, was attained. The death of James followed too soon for much to be accomplished; and the accession of a young and hopeful prince was accompanied by a sense of extraordinary relief. "A new spirit of life," says Eliot, "possessed all men, as if the old genius of the kingdom, having with Endymion slept an age, were now awake again, and a successor to their great queen Elizabeth was come at last."

The little which was then known of Charles's character favoured these expectations. His religious practices had given him a reputation for piety. "Many were moved," Eliot remarks, "by what seemed to be the innate sweetness of his nature; the calm habit and composition of his mind; his exact government in the order of his house, in the rule of his affairs, and in the disposition of his servants, whereby his honour had been obtained, yet no thrift neglected."

The emulation for obtaining a seat in the first Parliament of Charles's reign was unusually great. Several elections were hotly contested, and many Court favourites beaten; but the latter were supposed to belong to the system of which the new reign was expected to be the close, and candidates most opposed upon the hustings yet rivalled each other in proffered service to their young king. "The members chosen," wrote Eliot, "forthwith repaired to London, to make their attendance at the time; no man would be wanting; love and ambition gave them wings; he that was first seemed happiest; zeal and affection did so work as even the circumstance of being first was thought an advantage in the duty." Such is the remarkable language (itself an ample refutation of the reproaches in which Hume and the Stuart apologists have largely indulged) used at the commencement of the unhappy Charles's reign by the man who was destined to be its most illustrious victim.

The coronation of the king, which preceded the opening of Parliament by a few days, was attended, however, by sinister auguries, which looked unfavourable. As in the case of William the Conqueror, who was crowned by the Archbishop of York, instead of the Primate, Laud* officiated in place of the discarded Williams. The ceremony was according to the ancient forms, though curtailed of much of the ancient splendour. Sir Robert Cotton was in waiting, with the book of the time of Athelstan of the four Evangelists in Latin, on which for many hundreds of years the English Kings had sworn their coronation oaths; but his faithful services to the people during the parliaments of James were remembered against him, and himself and his book were put aside. When that portion of the ceremony came at which—the king standing bareheaded before the altar—the people had to perform their part of consenting to receive him for their sovereign, there was a dead silence, until the Lord Marshal commanded them to shout. And when all was over, and the king and his chief minister came wearily away, a remark made half gravely by Charles, as Buckingham offered him his hand, probably expressed, as Sir Simon D'Ewes remarks in his autobiography, what was in the minds of both alike:—"I have as much need to help you as you to assist me." Both were conscious of the coming storm, so soon about to burst in the impeachment of the minister; and so pressing was the need to assist Buckingham, that it had been resolved in a council, held a few days before the coronation, to make concessions in religious matters by way of warding off or moderating political discontents. "Methinks," wrote Laud in his diary, on that occasion, "I see a cloud arising and threatening the Church of England. God of His mercy dissipate it!" The prayer, for the moment, was perhaps thought to have been heard. The cloud did not break at that moment; but when it did, it overwhelmed the chief actors in that memorable scene. Buckingham was the first to fall beneath the stroke of a fanatic; Laud was beheaded, and Strafford, who, in the memorable contest with Sir John Savile, for the right of representing the great county of Yorkshire, first displayed the haughty disregard for the rights of the people, which eventually brought him to the scaffold.

The spirit with which Charles met the complaints of his people, will be understood by considering the language which he permitted himself so early in his reign to address to his faithful Commons. On the first rumour of their intention to

* Laud's love of justice in civil affairs may be judged from an existing MS. note of his, on the back of a list of all the Parliaments which had met since the commencement of the Plan-

tagenet dynasty. Opposite the date of Magna Charta, he writes, "It had an obscure birth from usurpation, and was fostered and showed to the world by rebellion."

call Buckingham to account for his flagrant abuse of government, the king wrote at once to the House as follows:—"I must let you know that I will not allow any of my servants to be questioned amongst you, much less such as are of eminent place and near unto me. . . . I see you especially aim at the Duke of Buckingham. I wonder what hath so altered your affection towards him? . . . What he hath done since the last Parliament of my father's time to alter and change your minds, I wot not; but can assure you he hath not meddled or done anything concerning the public or commonwealth but by special directions and appointment and as my servant. I would you would hasten for my supply, or else it will be worse for yourselves; for if any evil happen, I think I shall be the last that shall feel it."

It is unnecessary to remark that this unbecoming language did not prevent the House of Commons, under the guidance of Eliot, from impeaching the Duke of Buckingham, which an angry dissolution alone prevented from continuing to its legitimate end. Had not Felton's knife arrested Buckingham in the midst of his mad career, he would probably have met with the same fate as that of Strafford. The way in which Charles received the intelligence of the Duke's assassination is singularly characteristic. The king was at morning prayers with his household when the news arrived, which it became the duty of Sir John Hippisley to convey to his master. He crossed amid the kneeling servants to where the king was in the same reverent posture, and whispered it in his ear. As Charles knelt, his head was bowed and his face concealed; but whatever may have been the shock to his mind on hearing such intelligence, no outward sign revealed it. He remained still and unmoved until prayers were over, when he proceeded with the same show of calmness to his chamber, and flung himself on his bed in a passion of tears.

Not so the people generally. It is certain that a deep, vague sense of relief followed the announcement of the news, as it permeated gradually through the kingdom. A correspondent, writing to Lord Carlisle after the news had reached London only a few hours, describes the lower orders in the town already drinking healths to Felton, and that he had observed among the better class infinitely more of cheerful faces than sad ones. Hay wrote to the same nobleman that it was of no use attempting to conceal the extraordinary joy of the people. Even the College cellars at Oxford echoed the grief of certain Bachelors of Arts to have lost the honour of doing what was considered so "brave a deed." Eliot, with more regard to Christian feeling, thus expressed himself on the occasion:—"The quarrell being begunn, all men were apprehensive of the injurie, and many did expresse it. Soe hard it is, wher publick wrongs are

done, to keep them from vindication or complaint. Minions maie enjoie the favor of their masters ; but if they once abuse it, noe privilegedg can protect them. The subjects' crie will followe them ; and if it prevaile not upon earth, heaven will heare and help them. Justice is provided for their adversaries. Seldome they escape itt here ; never hereafter. Vengeance does attend them ; and when the offences done are soe hardlie left unpunished, this should make them more cautious in offending. The meeting of the Commons might have been prevented with much saftie ; but, being mett, that crime was thought unpardonable. He that was the occasion of the trouble must have his share therein ; and by that means or more, till the measure of his iniquities was full. And then, Vengeance must surprise him like a whirlwind, and noe favor or greatnesse may deliver him. But as his meritt, such must be his reward."

For the part which Eliot had taken in the impeachment of Buckingham, Charles sent him to the Tower ; but, like every other action committed by that misguided monarch, it was attempted at a wrong moment. It was done while Parliament was sitting. The House of Commons at once interfered, resolutely refusing to proceed with any business until Eliot should be released ; but they had already voted, and were preparing without a moment's delay a stern yet loyal remonstrance against such a violation of their privileges. Without a dissolution Charles had no alternative but to give way ; and so, after some discreditable attempts on the part of the Court to justify the outrage, Eliot was released, and the House of Commons received back its most distinguished member in triumph.

So closed this affair on the king's part, as ignominiously ended as it was ill begun ; a clumsy retreat from a position which there was neither the boldness to attempt to maintain, nor the good sense handsomely to abandon. A similar act of coercion had been attempted in the reign of Elizabeth, but with this mighty difference, as was shown when Eliot's case was discussed. Members had been before sent to the Tower, but not for words uttered in Parliament, one of whose most cherished privileges was freedom of speech within its walls, and the exclusive right of determining whether or not its limits were exceeded. But more than this, as regards the great queen ; the moment she was conscious of having appeared to trespass on the privileges of her faithful Commons, nobody was more prompt in the way of redress. That is what *her* example might have taught the Stuarts, had they been capable of profiting by it. She understood, if ever ruler did, the art in which the highest government consists, of so conforming to the wants and necessities around it, as to make itself the true exponent of the legitimate wants of the people. Charles the First, unhappily, had no faithful counsellors to tell him this,

nor probably would he have listened had there been such at his side. After giving up everything that had sustained the prerogative while it had real work to do, he believed in it to the last as the only thing that could help him; and he was not the less ready to seize Pym and Hampden in 1641, because of his defeat and discomfiture to seize Eliot in 1626.

Between the time of the second and third Parliaments of Charles, a determined effort was made to supply the wants of the Government by means of a general forced loan. Universal was the resistance throughout the country to this novel mode of raising funds without the consent of Parliament. Sir John Eliot, for refusing, was selected from a multitude of other recusants, first sent to the Tower, then brought before the Council Table,* subsequently transferred a prisoner to the Gate House, where he remained until just before the election of the third Parliament, to which he was chosen as Member for the County of Cornwall, notwithstanding all the influence of the Court, which was unscrupulously exercised against him.

Speaking of this Parliament, the biographer of Sir John Eliot has justly observed:—

“The Parliament that was to render itself more illustrious than any yet assembled in the old Chapel of St. Stephen, had now indeed brought itself together. There was to be only one in our English history more famous; and but for the work done in this its predecessor, reaffirming and strengthening the ancient liberties for the struggle which awaited them, that other and greater meeting could not have been. The third Parliament requires to be carefully studied, if the sublime patience of the English people, through the twelve years’ trial that intervened before the Long Parliament met, is to be rightly understood, and if the acts of the Long Parliament itself are not to be judged superficially, or hastily condemned.” (vol. ii. p. 113.)

The cause of this Parliament being one of the most memorable in English history, is the fact of its having passed the PETITION OF RIGHT, in the carrying of which Sir John Eliot played so prominent a part, and which in itself deserves to be characterized as our second Magna Charta. After a struggle, equalling in intensity what has been seen in our own day at the passing of the Reform Bill of 1832, when every influence which the fears of the courtiers could suggest was brought to bear against that patriotic band, of which Eliot was the most distinguished chief; after enlarging the House of Peers, tampering with the House of Commons, and even questioning the judges in the hopes of escape, the King was compelled to give his assent.

* Hampden’s reply to the Council on the same occasion is very striking. “I could be content to lend as well as others, but I fear to draw upon myself that curse in Magna Charta, which

should be read twice a year against those who infringe it.” And Eliot’s petition to the King, when a prisoner in the Gate House, is in the same noble strain. See vol. ii. pp. 87—92.

Mr. Forster describes the scene which took place on this occasion as follows:—

"The last answer of the judges was handed in on Saturday the 31st of May, and prayers were hardly over in the Commons' House on the morning of Monday the 2nd of June, when they were summoned to attend the Lords. The King was already there. 'Gentlemen,' he said, with a sullen abruptness, 'I am come hither to perform my duty. I think no man can think it long, since I have not taken so many days in answering the petition as ye spent weeks in framing it; and I am come hither to show you that, as well in formal things as in essential, I desire to give you as much content as in me lies.' The Lord Keeper said a few words; the petition was read, and nothing remained but the *soit droit fait comme il est désiré*, the form in which, for six centuries of the English monarchy, the royal assent to every statute so framed* had been invariably and unalterably given. But, though never in all that time more anxiously expected, not to-day was the familiar sentence heard.

"Again Charles rose, and placed in the Lord Keeper's hands a paper, from which Coventry read what follows:—'The King willet that right be done according to the laws and customs of the realm; that the statutes be put in due execution; and that his subjects may have no cause to complain of any wrong or oppressions contrary to their just rights and liberties; to the preservation whereof he holds himself in conscience as well obliged, as of his own prerogative.' These strange and unexpected words were listened to in profound silence. The Lords broke up, and the Commons, after returning to their house, and giving order that the answer just heard should be read on the following morning, immediately adjourned." (vol. ii. pp. 232, 233.)

A sense of something like despair appeared to have settled on the minds of the patriots. What availed their loyalty, if the king might be thus disloyal? Were the Commons of England to remain silent as to these things? They were the great council of the kingdom, and against such misgovernment of every part of the State it was their duty to protest. Mr. Forster considers that Eliot stood probably alone in still believing it to be *not yet too late*, and he drew others after him. "It has seemed to me," he says, "taking into account all the circumstances, that for swift application of those truest qualities of a statesman, sagacity and boldness, to an unexpected crisis of supreme danger, there is nothing in the story of these times that excels the conduct of Sir John Eliot on this memorable 8th of June."

The debate which ensued caused such an emotion of various passions, that "the like," says one describing the scene,

* From the time of the Norman Conquest the royal assent to statutes had been given in the following form: For public bills the king saith, *le roy le veut*; for petitions of right, *soit droit fait comme il est désiré*; and in

later times (as in the reign of the great Edward III., when the English language was first used in legislation), for bills of subsidies it is ever thus:—*the king heartily thanks his subjects for their good will.* (Parl. Hist. viii. 237.)

"had seldom been seen in such an assembly; some weeping, some expostulating, some prophesying of the fatal ruin of our kingdom; some playing the divines in confessing their own and country's sins, which drew those judgments upon us; some finding, as it were, fault with those that wept. I have been told by a parliament man, that there were above a hundred weeping eyes; many who offered to speak being interrupted and silenced by their own passions."

Eliot's firmness was successful; after a few more attempts to prevent the course of justice, the king was compelled to yield, and the Petition of Right became the law of the land.

One more instance of Eliot's conduct as the leader of the House of Commons, and we must draw our remarks to a close. On the 2nd of March, in the year following the passing of the Petition of Right, Eliot entered the House of Commons for the last time; and the scene which took place on that day has been for ever rendered memorable by the melancholy results which followed. As soon as prayers were ended, Eliot rose; when, at the same moment, the Speaker said he had the king's command to adjourn the House until the 10th of March. Several members having interposed to say it was not the Speaker's office to deliver any such command, as it remained with themselves alone to direct an adjournment, Eliot resumed his address, when the Speaker announced he had the king's command to quit the House as soon as he had delivered his message, and made a movement for that purpose. Denzil Hollis and Valentine laid hold of the Speaker's arm on either side, and held him fast in his chair, while Eliot spoke without let or hindrance than the growing and gathering excitement of his audience, closing with these memorable words:—"It is fit for us, as true Englishmen, in discharge of our own duties in this case, to show the affection that we have to the honour and safety of our sovereign, to show our affection to religion, and to the rights and interests of the subject. It befits us to declare our purpose to maintain them, and our resolution to live and die in their defence. That so, like our fathers, we may preserve ourselves as freemen, and by that freedom keep ability for the supply and support of His Majesty when our services may be needful."

As soon as he had finished, the three following resolutions were put by Hollis to the House, and tumultuously carried, the Speaker still being held a captive in his chair, and the Black Rod impatiently knocking for admittance, in order to summon the Commons to the presence of the king:—

1st. "Whoever shall bring in innovation in religion, or by favour seek to extend or introduce Popery or Arminianism, or other opinions disagreeing from the true and orthodox Church, shall be reputed an capital enemy to this kingdom and commonwealth."

2nd. "Whosoever shall advise the levying of the subsidies of tonnage and poundage, not being granted by Parliament, or shall be an actor or instrument therein, shall be likewise reputed an innovator in the government, and a capital enemy to the kingdom and commonwealth."

3rd. "If any merchant or other person whatsoever shall voluntarily yield or pay the said subsidies, not being granted by Parliament, he shall likewise be reputed a betrayer of the liberty of England, and an enemy to the same."

As the last shout of assent arose from those four hundred English gentlemen, the doors were flung open, and out rushed a stream of members, carrying "away before them in the crowd" a king's officer, belonging to the guard of Pensioners, who had been sent by the king to force an entrance. Happily that outrage was saved for the present. It waited for twelve long years ere another Parliament was assembled for the king's order to be accomplished, though with such disaster to the sovereign himself. Enough, however, had been done during these two last hours in which Charles's third Parliament had been allowed to sit, to mark it, as D'Ewes terms it, "the most gloomy, sad, and dismal that had happened for England in five hundred years;" and for those who had taken a leading part in it, personal danger awaited them of which no man knew the limit.

Formally the Parliament was not dissolved until a few days later, when Charles went to the House of Lords, and, without summoning the Commons, in a brief and angry speech contrasted "their Lordships' comfortable conduct to him" with the disobedient carriage of the Lower House, spoke of "the vipers" in that assembly, and warned such persons to look for their reward.

Already they knew the kind of reward they were to expect. Previous to the dissolution itself, a proclamation for that purpose had gone forth on the 3rd of March, thereby depriving its members of the privilege of Parliament; and on the following day, Eliot, together with Hollis, Selden, Hobart, Walter Long, and others, had received warrants to attend the Privy Council, which naturally led to a trial in Westminster Hall, and eventually, in Eliot's case, to a two years' martyrdom in the Tower of London.

Eliot took the proper course of declining to recognise the jurisdiction of an inferior court for words spoken in Parliament. And it is curious to see that one of the precedents on which he rested was the case of a clergyman, one Haxie, who, in the 20th year of Richard II., had endeavoured to carry a Reform Bill through Parliament, being some four centuries in advance of his age, for which he was condemned to death. Yet in the next Parliament which met, and of which Haxie was not a mem-

ber, the Commons, as Eliot showed, "caused the judgment against him to be reversed, for the salvation of their liberties. And this when Haxie was fully cleared, pardoned by the king, judicially discharged, and he no longer a member of their House."

It was, however, to little purpose to argue with the venal judges who disgraced the seat of justice during the reign of the unhappy Charles. The sentence upon Eliot and his fellow-sufferers for the cause of England's freedom, was that they should be imprisoned, in the Tower of London and other prisons, during the pleasure of the king. Eliot was fined, in addition, £2000, being considered the ringleader of the rest, who were mulcted in various sums of smaller amount, for "having played," as Lord Dorchester expressed it in the case of Walter Long, "the busybody in Parliament."

It is more than satisfactory to know that Eliot, during his imprisonment in the Tower, was supported by a higher principle than even those motives which governed him in his noble defence on behalf of the outraged liberties of England. He writes to a friend shortly before his death,—“I am wholly at a stand, and have been soe this fortnight or more, by a sicknesse which it has pleased my Master to impose, in whose hands remain the issues of life and death. He only knowes the state of soule and bodie, and in His wisdome orders all thinges for His children as it is best for both. Our duty is submission to the cross which He laies on us, whoe in His mercy likewise will give us strength to bear it. Of which I have had so manie trialls formerlie in the infinit particulars of His favour unto mee, as I cannot doubt it now, however unworthie of myselfe; but in the meritts of my Saviour rest confident in that hope which He Himself has given mee and will fortifie.”

To his intimate friend Hampden he addresses himself, in the last letter which he is known to have written on earth:—"O, the infinite mercy of our Master, DEARE FRIEND, how it abounds to us that are unworthy of His service! How broken! how imperfect! how perverse and crooked, are our waies in obedience to Him! how exactly straight is the line of His providence unto us, drawn out through all occurrents and particulars to the whole length and measure of our time! How perfect is His love, that has given His Sonne unto us, and with Him has promised likewise to give us althinges! . . . How should we then honor and admire soe good a God and Saviour, by whom we are, by whom wee have althinges we possess, who does releave our wants, satisfie our necessities, prevent our dangers, free us from all extremities, naie, to preserve and save, that died Himself for us! What can we render, what retribution can we make, worthy soe great a majestie, worthy such love and favour? We have nothing but ourselves, who are un-

worthy above all; and yett that, as all other things, is His. For us to offer up that, is but to give Him of His owne, and that in farr worse condition than we at first received it; which yet (soe infinite is His goodnesse for the merits of His Sonne) He is contented to accept. This, DEAR FRIEND, must be the comfort of His children; this is the Physicke we must use in all our sicknesse and extremities; this is the strengthening of the weake, the enriching of the poore, the libertie of the captive, the health of the diseased, the life of those that die, the death of that wretched life of sin! *And this happiness have His saints."*

With this song of thankfulness and praise, Eliot's correspondence ends; and what remains of the story of his imprisonment, from which death alone released him a few months later, must ever remain a matter of conjecture and doubt. In after years Ludlow wrote, "Sir John Eliot died in his prison, not without suspicion of foul play." That Hampden and Pym thought so, appears beyond a doubt, as the first step they took, at the meeting of the short Parliament in April, 1640, was to move for a committee to examine after what manner "Sir John Eliot came to his death, his usage in the Tower, and to view the rooms and places where he was imprisoned and where he died, and to report the same to the House." It was known that the illustrious prisoner had been struck by a disease engendered by the unhealthy atmosphere of his prison; that without change of air he must sink; and not only was he left without such change, but the rigour of his imprisonment was increased, comforts he had previously enjoyed were taken from him, the society of his friends was interdicted, and he was left to die. After an ineffectual attempt to petition that poor unhappy king, to whom justice and mercy were alike unknown, for "liberty, that when I have recovered my health I may return back to my prison, there to undergoe suche punishment as God hath allotted unto me," the spirit of the prisoner was released; and in the full vigour of his age (then in his 43rd year) the noble-minded Eliot entered into his rest.

CORRESPONDENCE.

MR. POYNTER ON PUBLIC SCHOOLS, IN REPLY TO "Z."

To the Editor of the Christian Observer.

DEAR SIR,—Notwithstanding the evidence brought forward in the Report of the Commissioners in proof of the numerous evils connected with the system of fagging, your correspondent "Z." still adheres to his opinion that the "system on the whole is a good one,"

though he admits, as well he may, that "it needs to be carefully watched and kept in check." He believes it to be good, "because it legalizes the *kind and amount* of work which junior boys may do for seniors, and because, unless that work is regulated by law, the senior boys, as a rule, will tyrannize over the juniors." Again, he says, "We, who advocate a legalized system of fagging, believe that where it exists there is a better chance of avoiding bullying than where it does not exist." Here I must join issue with your correspondent. I suspect it is a delusion to suppose that fagging legalizes the kind and amount of work which junior boys may do for seniors. Where are these laws laid down, and in what public schools are they observed? How can the existence of such laws be reconciled with the disclosures made in the Report of the Commissioners? "Z." speaks of fagging at cricket, football, and other games, but he takes no notice of the far more objectionable and degrading offices which the junior boys are compelled to perform at some of our public schools. It would exceed the limits of a letter to enumerate all these offices; suffice it to say, they are of a most menial kind, and such as servants only ought to perform. If a sufficient number of servants are not kept, but in order to save expense the lower boys are expected to do a great deal of servants' work, their time will be sadly wasted; and if they make but little progress in their learning, they may fairly assign as a reason that their time was occupied in fagging. I submit that this is a very unwholesome state of things, which ought not to be perpetuated. "Z." says "the senior boys may be tyrants if you allow them to have fags; they certainly will be if you do not." I cannot subscribe to this sentiment. Those who maintain that fagging is a good thing because it prevents bullying, might as well say that slavery is a good thing, because it prevents cruelty; or that the confessional is a good thing, because it prevents impurity; or that the *holy* office of the Inquisition is a good thing, because it prevents heresy. I have lived long enough in the world to know that there is nothing so bad which zealous partisans will not attempt to defend by specious and plausible arguments. This was strikingly exemplified in the case of slavery; and no periodical contributed more to expose the fallacy of such arguments, and effect the abolition of slavery, than did the *Christian Observer*. See, especially, the volume for 1832, pp. 129, 368, 435.

Fagging is the relic of a barbarous and superstitious age, when idolatry, with its attendant evils, tyranny and cruelty, was rife in our own country. Popery, slavery, and fagging are all opposed to the spirit and genius of the Christian religion, and should, I think, be hateful in the sight of all true lovers of freedom.

At most of our public schools there is no proper discipline or supervision, the want of which greatly aggravates the evils of fagging. The masters afford little protection to the juniors. The consequence is, it is a sort of *imperium in imperio*, and so complete is the despotism, that woe to the junior boy who complains of a senior. The case of Mr. Meyrick's son, who was at Westminster School, speaks volumes against the tyranny and cruelty to which the junior boys are subjected. We are told that "the continued *slavery*, of the most irritating and oppressive kind," had such an effect upon his health and spirits, that his father felt it necessary to remove him from the school. Some of the

modes of punishing the unfortunate fags at Westminster were brutal in the extreme, and calculated to injure a youth for life. And yet we are told, "if you have not a recognized fagging system, you will have a bullying system." *Credat Judæus!* Parents have but one remedy if their sons are ill treated, namely, removal from the school.

Constituted as human nature is, boys are not fit to be entrusted with such power as the senior boys are permitted to exercise over the juniors. I could, if it were necessary, relate instances of cruelty that occurred at Eton in my time, in consequence of there being no effective surveillance, and no master near when the collegers were locked up.

The sticklers for traditional and mediæval customs who are in favour of fagging, maintain that it is a very different thing now from what it was formerly. There may be some truth in this; the Report of the Commissioners, however, proves that many and great evils are still connected with the system. If the Commissioners, whose general leaning is towards the schools, are not convinced by their own Report that fagging ought to be entirely abolished, others will be convinced by it, and thank them for it. Sooner or later, such a report must prove a death-blow to fagging.

Your correspondent is quite mistaken in representing me as saying that the Commissioners took my view of the question as to the expediency of abolishing fagging.

There can be no doubt that those great public seminaries which are peculiar to, and the boast of, our country, must exert a powerful influence for good or evil in the formation of the national character. The welfare of the country, therefore, will materially depend on the manner in which these institutions are conducted; the system of education adopted; the religious principles inculcated; and the discipline and supervision observed. It would be difficult to exaggerate the importance of this subject. Impressions are made in our school-boy days which cling to us through life. If the moral and religious training be defective, if our youth are educated for time rather than for eternity, they will not fulfil the great end of their existence, and they will lose sight of the fact that they are beings of immortal destinies. Should such be the case, they are not likely to turn out patriotic statesmen, or prove a blessing to their country; a godless expediency will be the mainspring of all their movements, and selfish ambition their ruling passion. Enough has transpired of late years to furnish humiliating proofs of the truth of these remarks. Men who at one time thought themselves utterly incapable of truckling to Popery for the sake of place, have, like Hazael, done the very thing which they indignantly disclaimed.

If our statesmen were better instructed in the elementary truths of the Gospel, and profited by such instruction, they would not be under the influence of that selfish ambition which steels the heart against everything that is noble, generous, and patriotic. Such as are under its influence will never be able to look back on their political career with any feeling of satisfaction.

"Z." charges me with speaking untruthfully respecting the religious teaching of our public schools. Admitting that a considerable outward reform has taken place of late years, if this religious teaching be

of a sensuous and sentimental kind, like Tractarianism, there may be more outward decency without any true piety. During the time I was at Eton, very little attention was paid to religion. It is true, there was the form of it, for Saints' Days were observed, and prayers said every night, in the presence of the head master, when all the collegers attended; but it was all mockery and formalism, for those prayers were in Latin, and but little heeded by the boys.

The facts elicited by the Commissioners show that religion is still at a very low ebb in our public schools, and that much ignorance prevails, even as to its very rudiments. This ignorance is manifested when the young men go up to the Universities; they are said by the tutors there frequently to know "next to nothing." It is also admitted by one of the masters at Eton, that the religious instruction is very defective. This he attributes to the preponderance of secular instruction, and the indifference to sacred things on the part of the masters.

I am not an enemy, but a friend, to our public schools. What I wish is, to see them reformed, not ruined; but I do think that reformation, or ruin, awaits them; and *that* reformation must be a *bond fide*, not a sham one.

In combating the opinions of your correspondent, I have endeavoured to avoid anything personally offensive to himself. I now take my leave of him with kindly feelings, and hope that ere long we may rejoice together in the total extinction of fagging, and in the introduction of a higher tone of religion and morals.—I remain, &c.,

G. POYNDEE.

To the Editor of the Christian Observer.

Horham Hall, Thaxted, Essex; Jan. 24, 1865.

SIR,—Having just read the article in the January number of the *Christian Observer*, entitled "Sir R. Hill and Rev. Adam Gibb," I venture to inform you that the hymn beginning "My guilty soul, &c.," may be found in Sidney's *Life of Sir Richard Hill*, pp. 530, 531; and in that *Life* you will find (p. 502), that Sir Richard was never married: it was his brother, Sir John Hill, who was the father of the three heroes, Lord Hill and his two brothers.—Yours faithfully,

FRANCIS G. WEST.

[We did not publish Sir J. Hill's poetry, supposing it was the first time Mr. Gibb speaks of it as being already in print. But though we read Mr. Sidney's *Life* of his great and good relation, when it appeared, we had forgotten that it was there reprinted. We had already discovered our error as to the paternity of Sir J. Hill, but are obliged to our correspondent for giving us this opportunity of correcting it.—ED.]

CLASSES FOR YOUNG LADIES IN ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY
AND THE OUTLINES OF THEOLOGY.

To the Editor of the Christian Observer.

Weston-super-Mare, Dec. 13th.

SIR,—In reading your notice on Cardinal Wiseman's "Social position of Catholics in England," in the October number of the *Christian Observer*, I have been struck with the practical sense and utility of your remarks on the advance of Romanism in our upper and middle classes, and on the inadequacy of our preparations for defence. That mothers and wives and sisters exercise a strong influence over the minds of their male relatives, none will deny; but how many of our "ladies" have their minds awakened to the magnitude of their responsibility? how many are able or inclined to take an intelligent interest in the religious questions which occupy so large a number of the *thinkers* among the younger members of society? while of those who *have* what may be called a "religious bias," many fall an easy prey to the emissaries of Rome, or, as I have myself seen, to zealous proselytizers from among the Plymouth Brethren.

Now our "lower classes" have much more chance of being well-instructed in matters concerning our faith and our Church, than our upper and middle classes. Why do not clergymen in towns hold classes, not in preparation for confirmation only, but permanently, for the instruction of the "young ladies," of their congregation, in the outlines of theology and ecclesiastical history? Numbers of these young ladies are admirably well-informed in history, ancient and modern—in geology, philology, and the belles lettres, besides being tolerably "well up" in many of the subjects of the day—sanitary reform, prison discipline, pre-Rafaellism, biology, &c. &c.—their total ignorance of such things as you speak of—the underlying differences between their own Church and that of Rome,—of the authority of our Church—of the Scriptural foundation of her services, of the value of inspiration—of the true connection between Church and State—and similar topics of vast importance, is owing—not to their incapacity, but to the fact of their never having had their attention drawn to them.

Teach them these things—show them the history of human error, synchronising and running parallel with divine revelation—the uninterrupted chain of falsehood (often closely resembling truth) that runs through history, from Ninevite symbols, through sun and moon worship, through the grosser heathenisms, and the refined paganism of Greece and Rome—show the system cropping out in Brahminism, Buddhism, and Mariolatry—unmask before them the magnificently clear system of modern Jesuitism, and see if their stout English hearts do not close against Rome's seductions,—and if you can stay the sisters, the future wives and mothers of Englishmen from drinking or even sipping at Rome's fatal Circe cup, may you not hope with God's blessing to arrest our young men?

I offer these remarks with diffidence, being myself one of the class for whose better instruction I plead; but should you deem them worthy of consideration I shall be happy indeed to have been the means of drawing attention to what I have long felt to be a desideratum.—I am, Sir, yours, &c.,

C. F.

NOTICES OF NEW BOOKS.

We lately drew attention to the fact, that in consequence of the reprints of some of the best commentaries of the Puritan divines, members, with scarcely an exception, of the Church of England, our younger clergy, who are seldom rich, had an excellent theological library within their reach; and that, if to these were added the cheap editions of their critical labours on the New Testament, by Dean Alford and Canon Wordsworth, an almost critical knowledge of that portion of Holy Scripture was now attainable by men of little scholarship. To these we now add two commentaries with which we were previously unacquainted.

1. *A Practical and Explanatory Commentary on the New Testament.* By the Rev. Edward Henry Bickersteth, M.A., Incumbent of Christ Church, Hampstead, and Chaplain to the Lord Bishop of Ripon. London: James S. Virtue, City Road, and Ivy Lane.

Mr. Bickersteth has conceived the plan of a commentary, if not on entirely new principles, yet in a great measure such. It was to write one in which the more prominent features of the narrative or argument in every chapter would be noticed, allusions to Jewish and Roman customs briefly explained, the solution of difficulties given which had satisfied the writer's own mind, and a few devotional thoughts suggested, which might naturally flow from the passages under consideration; so that the whole New Testament with the commentary, might be read through in the course of one year, in households where twenty or thirty minutes at most were assigned to family prayer—that golden girdle of home life. He quotes the expositors and critics to whom he has had recourse, chiefly those of our own day. "And if any apology," he adds, "is needed for the occasional introduction, within brackets, of the Greek text, it will be found in the fact that so many of our intelligent young men (and may I not add young women?) have learned enough of their Greek Testament to find pleasure in seeing the original words before them, and thus sometimes in tracing the more delicate shades of thought."

Mr. Bickersteth's Notes were first issued in numbers, and many thousands have been bought by middling tradesmen and the working-classes, which is a high tribute to their worth. They are now issued in a moderate folio, at a very reasonable price, together with the text. It deserves a wide circulation, and will, we trust, introduce a fuller knowledge and a deeper love of the Gospel into many a family.

2. *Brief Notes on the Greek of the New Testament.* By Francis Trench, M.A., Rector of Islip, Oxon. London and Cambridge: Macmillan and Co.

These brief notes have been composed, the author says, with one single object in view, viz., that of bringing some contribution towards an accurate perception of the force and meaning of the original Greek in the New Testament. He, too, has conferred with all the great critics and expositors of our age, with a view of making these brief

notes available to all intelligent persons, whether acquainted with the Greek and Latin languages or not; all Greek and Latin words are excluded from the body of the page, and placed below, as not essential, although helpful, towards the comprehension of the book. It will be read chiefly in the study, where they will be a great assistance to the pious and intelligent English reader. We subjoin the notes upon a single chapter:—

"St. John vi. 3.—'A mountain.' '*The mountain*;' evidently some special one, though we may not be able to decide which, with any local certainty. So again in v. 15.

"4.] 'A feast.' '*The feast*.'

"14.] 'That prophet.' '*The prophet*.' See on i. 21.

"17.] 'A ship.' '*The ship*;' as one attending them. '*Went over*.' '*Were going over*;' the imperfect tense, denoting the unfinished action.' (*Alford*.)

"26.] 'Miracles.' '*Signs*,' perhaps better; same Gr. being so rendered at v. 30, in connection with the subject on hand.

"33.] 'He which,' &c. '*That which*,' &c.; '*viz.*, the bread,' Alford and Scholefield adding, 'The great truth of himself being this bread, of its being any personal substance, is not opened by our Lord till the 35th verse, in answer to the petition of v. 34.' So Revision of Five Clergymen.

"40.] 'May have,' &c. 'Should have everlasting life, and that I should raise Him up at the last day.'

"42.] 'He saith.' '*This man saith*.' Same Gr. repeated, no doubt with an expression of contempt, as in Matt. xxvi. 61, and elsewhere.

"48.] 'That bread.' '*The bread*.' So in v. 69, '*the Christ*.'

"54.] 'Whoso.' Simply, 'He that.'

"62.] 'What and if?' '*What then if*.'

"63.] 'They.' The italics needless in each case.

"67.] 'Will ye,' &c.; i. e. 'Do ye desire to go away.' Two verbs. Same Gr. construction as in ch. v. 40.

"69.] 'Believe.' '*Have believed*.'

"70.] 'Twelve.' '*The Twelve*,' officially.

"71.] 'It was he,' &c. 'It was he that was about to betray Him,' &c."

Sketches from the Life of the Rev. Charles Smith Bird, M.A., F.L.S., late Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, Vicar of Gainsborough, and Chancellor of Lincoln Cathedral. By the Rev. Claude Smith Bird. Nisbet & Co. 1864.—The outlines of Mr. Bird's honourable career have already been traced in our Obituary notice. It is very different, however, to see those outlines filled up by his own graphic and animated pen, in papers which form the staple of his biography, and bear, like coin fresh from the mint, the direct impress of his peculiarly sound Christian spirit. We wish the great theological doctors of Printing House Square, who weigh all country parsons as chaff in the balance, would throw such students as Mr. Bird into the scale. Educated for the law, and having spent between four and five of the best years of life in a solicitor's office, he went up to Cambridge at twenty-one as a non-ens, and employed his two first terms to such purpose, that from entire ignorance of mathematics, excepting a few propositions of Euclid, he attained to the discovery of a new method of solving equations, whose roots are in arithmetical progression, up to nine dimensions, a high place in the first class at the Trinity May examination, and the public compliment of Professor Sedgwick's declaration, that no one had done so much in the college for the last fifty years. In the Tripos list Mr. Bird stood third, to the disappointment of his admirers; but he shortly consoled them by obtaining the second Smith's prize, contrary to precedent, and a Fellowship

at his first sitting. If there be Arcadian simplicity in men like this, it is shown in their enduring such toil, and devoting such talents to the service of their Church, with the prospect of a curacy and pupils for twenty years, which was Mr. Bird's actual lot, with the alternative choice of benefices, which it would be mockery to call livings, and which he therefore declined.

The history of these twenty years, comprising his early ministry, successful tutorship, and literary conflict with Rome and Romanizers, forms the most interesting portion of the book; and is diversified by many anecdotes of Wilberforce and other eminent men whom Mr. Bird met, and of his own serious or humorous adventures and entomological relaxations. At nearly fifty years of age he was made Vicar of Gainsborough, and at sixty-five was promoted to honourable rest in the Chancellorship of Lincoln Cathedral, where he soon closed his course in peace. Some beautiful and instructive letters adorn this portion of his memoir, and his remarks on modern rationalism, as those elsewhere on liberalism, deserve attention. His life itself, to borrow a stock phrase from our Germans, was "the perfect expression of devout reason," but his devotion caused his reason to kneel to the Gospel, and a right faith to him was the first of all duties. Would that all pastors and divines might emulate, if not the powerful mind and clear head with which this able soldier of the cross was gifted, at least his childlike reverence for scriptural truth, his harmony of zeal and love, his spirituality, tenderness, and genial cheerfulness in social life, unrepressed by the adverse atmosphere which he was often called to breathe, and now expanded in Paradise.

The Four Seasons; a short account of the Structure of Plants, with Illustrations. Dedicated, by permission, to Sir William Hooker. London: Griffith and Farran. 1865.—Nothing can be more tasteful than the "getting up" of the little book now before us, of which the printing, by Clay and Taylor, is in itself beyond all praise. The conception and execution of this attractive volume are singularly happy. Instead of opening with a dry list of hard words, and explanations still more hard to remember, by reason of there being at first no mental hooks to take hold of them, each definition is kept back till the want of it occurs, and is then given as clearly and succinctly as possible. This alone will ensure the popularity of the "Four Seasons" among young readers. Some of the descriptions, too, have the vividness of real pictures; for example, that of the Hyacinth-bulb, (pp. 19, 20):—

"The bulb contains within it the bud of the future plant, which remains quietly in its winter quarters till spring returns to call it forth. Fibrous roots then shoot downwards to the earth from the flattened under-surface of the bulb, and, presently, a shining green spot appears at its top. The points of leaves begin to push upwards, and, before long, show us the young flower-buds closely packed together, and of a pale green colour. Gradually the stalk rises, day by day the little buds expand to the light, the blossoms assume their true colours, and then we have a lovely flower, which may well have enchanted the Dutch florist when he first beheld it."

In the new edition, which we predict will soon be called for, we would suggest to the author the advantage of inserting wood-cuts throughout the pages, the few he has already given being so excellent as to make us wish for many more.

Sunset in Provence, and other Tales of Martyr Times. London : T. Nelson & Sons. 1864.—It is well that the martyrs and their stirring times should never be forgotten ; and these tales, published from time to time, serve to keep their names in remembrance. The little book now before us contains several prettily written stories, illustrative of the heroic courage of some of the Huguenots and Calvinists in the time of the cruel and relentless Duke of Alva, who devastated with fire and sword the fair cities or village homesteads where the seeds of the new religion had taken root. But all in vain. One mightier than the Duke of Alva, or the King of Spain—the King of Kings and Lord of Lords—had decreed that *His Word* should prosper, and bring forth much fruit. In vain were multitudes of men, women, and children tortured and brought to the stake, not accepting deliverance by the denial of their Saviour. The Protestant religion, watered by the blood of the Saints, and enriched by the ashes of the “noble army of martyrs,” grew and prospered. The Duke was driven from Holland, exclaiming, as he turned his back upon its fields of blood, “There lies a country lost by too much forbearance.” The following extract gives a brief account of the change which took place in that country :

“Four years passed away, and then there came a change; a great and happy change for Holland—daybreak after midnight—even though but the dawn of a stormy and uncertain day. The terrible ‘sea beggars’ were in the land; they had taken Brill, and the cry of joy that celebrated its capture was a summons to all brave hearts throughout the country to throw off the intolerable yoke of Alva. From town to town the glad tidings passed,—‘The Beggars are here! The Prince of Orange, the man sent from God to deliver us, is at hand! The hour is come—let us strike for God and freedom.’ The men of Gonda heard that cry, and they obeyed. By an irresistible popular impulse, and almost in one hour, the Calvinists had triumphed, and the instruments of Alva’s tyranny were trembling fugitives. They had need to fly; for woe to the Spaniard—worse woe to the recreant Hollander in Spanish pay—who fell into the hands of the enraged townsfolk!”

In the valleys of the Vaudois, however, the struggle was much more protracted. And for an interesting account of that long and terrible warfare, we cannot do better than refer our readers to a book which we had great pleasure in mentioning some months ago, “The Six Sisters of the Valley.”

In “The Tales of Martyr Times” we think that the fearful agony of a martyr’s death is rather too lightly passed over. And many a young reader might be apt to imagine that to suffer at the stake for Christ’s sake would be almost easy, or even desirable. We have no wish that the harrowing sufferings of those devoted people should be dwelt upon minutely, but, on the other hand, the martyr’s death loses somewhat of its sublime devotion, when the sacrifice of life, and all that man holds dear, is accounted an easy thing for flesh and blood to bear. Who can read good old Fox’s touching yet simple account of the death of so many men and women, of whom “the world was not worthy,” without being thrilled with horror at their sufferings, and filled with indignation at their cruel persecutors? And yet many a one may read the more modern and full account of martyrs in other lands, without being taught to feel deep sympathy with the oppressed, or fiery indignation against the ceaseless persecutions of the Romish Church towards all those who dare to take the Word of God for their guide, and refuse to accept *her* dogmas with implicit faith.

We think one reason is, that now too much attention is paid to making a "pretty story," a thing which was unthought of in the stirring times of Fox. *He* wrote just as the people spoke and acted, and thought nothing of embellishment or effect; so his work will be handed down from generation to generation, and never lose its interest or its power, because it simply relates the sufferings and trials of great and good men. The history of a martyr ought to be simple and grand, and not flowery and fanciful, like a child's holiday story book, or a modern romance. Mr. Isaac Taylor, in his *Ancient Christianity*, has well remarked, that the calmness, the strong good sense, and the total absence of sentimentalism in our noble army of English martyrs, places them far above the martyrs of the Primitive Church, from the days of Ignatius and Polycarp, and gives a weight to their testimony, of which the primitive martyrs are deprived. Their agonies were not so cruel; for Rome Pagan had no scientific refinements in her science of torturing to death to be compared for an instant with those of Rome Papal.

PUBLIC AFFAIRS.

THE Eastern States of Europe seem ripening once more for disturbance. The ambition of Russia, checked but not extinguished by the late war, aims at the subjugation of Constantinople, and of every intervening tribe or nation, until she has rivalled the triumphs of Alexander, and forced an entry into Cabul. Thus it is at once our duty and our interest to instil in all those nations better principles than those of a wild fanatical allegiance to their false prophet; and at the same time to deliver them from the awful spell which makes them devotees of a religion of lust and cruelty. The Moslem Mission, which has now existed several years, seems to deserve our confidence. It is the only mission, until we reach our Indian possessions, in which we are making any attempt for the conversion of the Moslems, if we except the Malta College and a few scattered labourers on the borders of the Mediterranean. The reports of the Society are full of interest, and by no means wanting in encouragement. It is a Church of England Society, and, excepting the American Missions and the labours of Miss Whately, alone in the field. Of Miss Whately the Moslem Society speaks thus:—"It has been a great advantage to the Cairo Mission that Miss M. L. Whately returned to Egypt, to her own mission work among the ragged outcasts of Egypt, after the death of her revered father, the late Archbishop of Dublin. In him and the good Earl of Aberdeen this Society has lost two of its earliest vice-presidents, who gave their name and money when friends were as yet few, and many held back, waiting to see how this infant Society would progress. Miss M. L. Whately is known as the foundress of the school for poor Moslem girls at Cairo, and as the authoress of the two little volumes called 'Ragged Life in Egypt,' which have done so much to familiarize the English mind with the truth that we have 'neighbours' in Egypt in the poor Moslems, and that these were included

in the charge of our Lord, 'that to the poor the Gospel shall be preached.'"

In the Western world there is no promise of amendment. After a short and useless negotiation, Federals and Confederates have parted more bent than ever on the prosecution of the internecine war, which, absorbing as it is, leaves them, it seems, at leisure to nurse an intense hatred of Great Britain. The subject has been brought before both Houses of Parliament, and our Administration seems to reply with "bated breath." They admit the gravity of the circumstances in which we are placed, still determine to observe a strict neutrality, and caution Parliament, however provoked, against indulgence in irritating language. If we are to believe American orators, and newspapers which appear to be the organs of government, the close of their civil war is to be the signal for the seizure of Canada and a war with England.

The Lord Chancellor of Ireland has lately delivered a judgment, in which the Lord Justice of Appeal agrees, which will fall like a thunder-bolt amongst our religious liberals. He has decided that a bequest of £500, left to trustees for the benefit of the order of Dominican Friars, is null and void by statute law; viz., by the 10th Geo. IV. Chap. 7, Sec. 29:—"That if any member of such religious order (as the Jesuits and other monastic orders previously recited) shall, after the commencement of this statute, come to this kingdom, he shall be guilty of misdemeanour, and, if lawfully convicted, *banished for the period of his natural life.*" This act was meant to be one of our national safeguards, when the Catholic Relief Bill was passed. We were constantly told that it had drawn the teeth of Popery. Romanists have long since treated it with scorn, and publish the introduction of a new order of monks, or the opening of a monastery or nunnery, as we publish the consecration of a church. The bequest was meant to be applied to the education and maintenance of two priests of the order of St. Dominic in Ireland. The Lord Chancellor's judgment was very simple, and consisted of few steps. As the law stood, any person coming to this kingdom, and being a member of any monastic body, instantly became guilty of a high misdemeanour; and any person who should become a member of such order likewise became instantaneously guilty of the same offence, and was liable to be punished with banishment for life. If, then, it was penal to commit the misdemeanour, those who assisted in training Romish priests for any such order were guilty of the misdemeanour just as much as "becoming a Jesuit was a misdemeanour." Here, however, was an attempt, not merely to avoid, but to violate the provisions of the Act, to enable other persons to do that which the law declared a misdemeanour.

Henceforth, if our magistrates are to be openly defied by such religious houses as that of Brompton, without the power of rescuing kidnapped minors, let us at least have the manliness to confess our impotence, and repeal our fruitless Act of Parliament.

During the last month the Church of England has suffered a great loss in the death of Archdeacon Hoare, and another which will be no less deeply felt in that of the Rev. Henry Venn Elliott, of Brighton. The former had for some years withdrawn from public life, in consequence of the infirmities of old age. But he was for many years eminent among the faithful ministers of Christ. He was of the old and

wealthy family of the Hoares of London, but was early dedicated to the ministry, and was placed at St. John's, Cambridge, at the beginning of the present century. It was just then that Cambridge, and especially St. John's, was distinguished by names which have never ceased to be had in honour. Mr. Hoare was the friend and associate of Henry Martyn, John Cunningham, and Kempthorne, son of Admiral Kempthorne. At Magdalen College were the two Grants (Lord Glenelg and his brother); and at Queen's, Claudius Buchanan, the pioneer in bringing the Church of England to the work of evangelizing our East Indian possessions. With the exception of the last, all were highly distinguished men, taking the highest honours in both Mathematics and Classics. Buchanan was the only exception, and he took his degree at a bye term, rather than lose another half-year for the honours of a University. The warmest friendship existed among the members of this chosen band; and we have heard one of them say in later years, that the first thing which made him feel that there was a reality in religion which he did not then possess, was the love which he saw them bearing one for another. By this they made it evident that they were His disciples. Mr. Hoare was not the least remarkable amongst them for his affectionate spirit; and such was the vigour of his intellect and the soundness of his doctrinal views, that it would be difficult to say whether he were more honoured or beloved. For many years he was Vicar of Godstone, and afterwards successively Archdeacon of Surrey and of Winchester. His printed sermons remain with us as a record of his piety and his pulpit eloquence. But we doubt whether it was not in conference with the clergy, in his Charges, and in the wide circle to which he always had access, not only from his position, but from the charms of his conversation—always cheerful, but never for an instant frivolous—that his usefulness was most apparent. We take leave of such a man with thankfulness for his example and reverence for his name.

Mr. Elliott followed at the university at a later date. He was an undergraduate, and after he took his degree became at once a Fellow of Trinity. It was an age of great men at that distinguished college, and he never ceased to hold his place amongst the first of them. But we hope to receive a memorial furnished by one more capable than ourselves of doing justice to the subject, and lay down our pen, rejoicing over his life and labours, and deeply grieving for his loss. For the rest, we must refer our readers, for the present at least, to the admirable funeral sermon of Mr. Henry Venn.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

EACH side having now had a full hearing, the controversy between Mr. Poynder and his able opponent "Z." must be allowed to cease.—"B. G." on the Bishop of Salisbury's Charge, we are obliged to postpone, with several other articles, which we hope will suffer nothing by a month's delay.—Several correspondents, known and unknown, write to ask us whether such and such books have been reviewed, or articles on certain subjects have appeared in former years. The very same means of information are (we must remind them) common to them and to ourselves, namely, a careful reference to the indexes in our former volumes. And we must remind them, too, that we have duties to discharge, in comparison of which, even the editorship of the *Christian Observer* is unimportant.

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EGYPT AND HER FUTURE.

PERHAPS few countries at present have more interest for ourselves than that land wherein God was pleased to manifest the greatness of His might, and from whence He brought forth His people with joy, and His chosen with gladness.

And for these reasons :—

Egypt is not merely the high road to our Indian possessions—a halting-place between the West and the East; but the manners and customs of its inhabitants, as well as their religious professions, form a somewhat similar link between Christianity and paganism—the present and the past. Maybe the hour is not far distant when the Almighty shall again make known His might in the benighted land, *not* by signs and wonders and a stretched-out arm, but this time by the gentle power of the doctrines of the Saviour's teaching.

Yes; Egypt is a noble country, abundant, rich, and favoured by nature; and its capital is a noble city. Perhaps no capital is more calculated to make a stronger or more lasting impression on the stranger at first sight, than Cairo the Grand, the possessor of three hundred minarets. There it stands, varied in colour, its outline relieved by citadel and palace, within view of those very Pyramids which perchance looked down on the labour of the Israelite and the cruelty of his Egyptian taskmaster. There it stands, hard by the tributaryless Nile, whose dark and violet-coloured waters form so indispensable an adjunct to the prosperity of the land. There it stands (and here is the point of interest to us), in all probability not far removed from the place of asylum of the infant Saviour of mankind, who found in Egypt that refuge which was denied Him in the land of His birth.

And there is one thought that is ever being brought home to our minds in Egypt, whether we direct our steps along the

crowded bazaars within the city of Cairo, or over the rich country without the walls. And that is, *we are in the land of the Bible*. Every group that we pass, every incident that occurs, every water-wheel which we see at work, reminds us of manners and customs that we have been familiar with from our childhood in God's own Book. Bible stories and Bible characters gain a vividness and a reality which they never seemed to possess before. But with this comes an aching thought. If each step reminds us of the land of the Book, we are at the same time made forcibly aware that in that land the Book of Books is as yet held in no esteem, nor treated with any respect. Alas! the very epithets of abuse that meet our ears, bestowed in derision upon some offender, aye, even on a dumb animal, are, "Thou dog of a Christian! Thou son of a Christian!"

Shall these things be always so?

And if not—if a time shall indeed come—when the words of spiritual re-creation shall be spoken over this now benighted land—what difficulties of character and disposition, what opposition to the doctrines of purity, will the dispenser of those good tidings have to meet with in scattering the good seed.

Let us view our subject from this point, bearing the question in mind, how far are the tenets, habits, and customs of the people such as would be favourable or prejudicial to the spread of truth?

The characteristic of the native is *phlegm*. He is not easily disturbed; and though the noisy scenes often encountered in the capital would seem to lead to a contrary conclusion, in reality the true son of the soil requires a good deal of provocation to arouse him thoroughly. The climate undoubtedly causes this to a great extent; yet much must be attributed to the natural disposition. The better class of native is naturally courteous; and unless his craving for money should induce him to be otherwise, he is also generous. He will take the ups and downs of life in a very methodical manner, and, outwardly at least, appear to bear prosperity or adversity with an equal spirit, attributing all to the will of God.

The root of all this stoicism is unquestionably the strong fatalism which makes part of the Mohammedan's very existence. In illness it is no unusual thing to send for the best European doctors, pay them compliments, and fee them highly, and yet make the smallest possible use of the advice given or medicines prescribed. It is the will of Allah that it should be so. Why should man put himself in opposition to the will of God? If it is His intention that the patient shall recover, medicine will not be needed to aid the cure. If God wills that he should die, nothing that man can do will interfere with the decrees of Providence.

But at the same time, this spirit induces the Arab to bear

pain and discomfort with a resolution truly wonderful. The yearly pilgrim cargoes that are shipped for Jeddah from Suez furnish numerous instances of this fact. Those who thus perform part of their pilgrimage by water are usually the poorest of the devotees, and are carried for the smallest possible sum. Their sufferings, if the weather be bad, are more easily imagined than described. This is especially the case in the return voyage, when many come on board at Jeddah already broken down and shattered by the previous fatigues of their long land journey. Three, and even four bodies are often thrown overboard in a day, while the fact is scarcely noticed by their comrades. The sufferers die without a murmur; and if the sailors did not make active search among the survivors, the lifeless bodies would be allowed to remain unheeded and uncared for. It is the will of Allah that it should be so! Though much of all this may be the result of apathy, we must still give the poor creatures credit for an amount of endurance that would rarely be found in more enlightened lands. This, then, is surely a very valuable portion of the character, and one that, directed into a right channel, might be most useful, and be turned to good account.

But there is, at the same time, one sad drawback to any intercourse, beyond that which necessity entails, between European and Arab. It is the plague-spot of the character. You may speak his language, be conversant with his habits, respect his strictness in religious observance; but no man, no Englishman, will ever overcome the repugnance which his want of truthfulness must ever generate. The experience of some years' residence in the country amounts to this:—An Arab will go out of his way not to tell the truth. There is little shame connected with falsehood in his mind. If you find him out in an untruth, it is that you have outwitted him, not that he is to blame, and the matter is considered a good joke. If he outwits you, he is of course doubly pleased.

This want of truth in the first instance, and the openness of all to bribery in the second, are the curses of the country. The one thought of the native's life is how to make money, and how to keep it; for this is their more difficult task. The first cry that salutes the stranger, on landing at Alexandria, is "*Bakshish*"—largesse. Before the children can lisp ten words in their own tongue, they learn to shriek after every well-to-do passer-by, "*Bakshish!*" In the commonest matters of everyday life, Arab servants will see reasons for a *bakshish*; and no one leaves the country, after even a few weeks' sojourn, without being heartily tired of the sound of the word. But the bribery of the courts of law is, perhaps, the most open, as it is the least excusable. In any case tried therein, he who has the longest purse wins the day, and keeps it. The golden key will unlock nearly every gate in Cairo, and the doors of Cadis' consciences are not double locked and barred.

Such is, to speak in general terms, the character of the Arab. There are of course exceptions to this, as to every other general rule, and an upright straightforward Moslim is occasionally to be found acting up to the lights which he may possess ; but such exceptions are unfortunately rare.

* There is, undoubtedly, an admixture of good and evil in the disposition, requiring much tact and management on the part of the missionary to deal with. He has, indeed, a more difficult task than if it had been his lot to contend against paganism and idolatry.

This is no place to discuss the Moslim religion ; but a few general remarks concerning that belief may not be out of place, as more clearly proving what has been above stated, viz., that there is so much truth mingled up with falsehood, so many tares mixed with the wheat, as to make the task of convincing the holder thereof doubly difficult.

The disciple of Mahomet starts, then, with two tenets of belief:—

1. There is no deity but God.
2. Mahomet is his prophet, or apostle.

God is eternal, immortal, omniscient, omnipresent ; but he is alone. So speaks the Korân. Our Lord Jesus Christ is admitted into the ranks of the prophets, with Adam, Moses, and Abraham ; but he is inferior in honour to Mahomet.

The Moslim believes, further, in a future state of reward and punishment ; but the former of these is pictured to the faithful as almost exclusively filled with joys and delights of a sensual nature. But, nevertheless, the duties of charity, almsgiving, prayer, fasting, and pilgrimage, are strongly insisted upon. It will be perceived, from what has been here slightly sketched, on what sort of ground the Moslim takes his stand in argument with the Christian, who would bring him to a knowledge of better things. His moral code is far from ill-framed, and the mingling of truth and falsehood is just so great as to render conviction a very uncertain matter.

But while talking of the Moslim and his faith, we must not forget how large a section of the Coptic Church is to be found in the land. Cairo is the head and centre of the community. Here their patriarch resides ; and although they have Coptic bishops in Alexandria and in Upper Egypt, it is to Cairo that the Copts look, as Roman Catholics look to Rome. At Cairo, too, a large cathedral is in the course of erection for this section of the Eastern Church. It is situated in the centre of the Copt quarter, and will, when completed, be a conspicuous object in the city of minarets. The present patriarch is a middle-aged man, not particularly striking in appearance, with a pleasant expression of face ; he has held the patriarchate only three years, and was chosen from a monastery of Coptic monks

on the Natron lakes to fulfil his high position. It is to be feared, however, that religion is but at a low ebb amongst the Copts of Cairo. They are looked down upon by their Moslim brethren, and have the character of being over fond both of money and araké (arak). Under the auspices of the Church Missionary Society, large schools, till within a few years, had been worked in connexion with the Coptic establishment. These have been discontinued. There are, however, classes of instruction under the supervision of the Coptic clergy, held near the new Cathedral, while many send their children to the ably-conducted schools of the American missionaries; so that it may be hoped that among this portion of the inhabitants of Cairo the holy teaching of God's word is gaining ground. In manners and customs the Copt almost entirely resembles his Moslim brother, excepting always in the plurality of wives. The men generally wear a black turban as a distinguishing mark, but in other respects their dress is not different to the rest of their countrymen. Not so in face or feature. The straight nose, long face, and regular mouth, will immediately proclaim the Copt; and it is most remarkable to observe the great similarity of outline of face between the Copt of the present day and his ancestors as depicted in the drawings on the temples at Thebes and Luxor. This similarity may, without any great stretch of reasoning, be considered as another witness to the fact that "the Copts are the descendants of the ancient Egyptians."

We can hardly quit our subject without a glance at the position that Egypt at present holds in the political world, which must more or less affect interests of a higher nature. Egypt holds an anomalous position, then, which must ever cause hindrances to the development of her resources. She has rulers, it is true, of her own; but these are compelled to pay a large annual tribute to the Porte, and are bound to allow themselves to be guided by the Cabinet of the Sultan at Constantinople in all dealings with foreign powers. Such, for instance, was the case in concluding the treaty relative to the Suez canal with France. The Porte was long according assent to an undertaking in which Sayd Basha seemed disposed to be over zealous, and which, doubtless, in the future will be the fruitful source of much misunderstanding between France, Turkey, and Egypt.

Egypt, then, is tributary, and can undertake no independent action, unless with the approval of its suzerain. With this exception she is her own mistress.

The great impeding cause to the increase of the country's prosperity comes from *within*, and not from *without*. It is this: viz., that the rule which regulates succession in Egypt, disposes of the vice-regal power, *not* to the next heir in direct

line, but to the eldest male representative of the family. Thus Sayd, a son of Mahomet Ali, succeeded Abbas (his brother by a different mother), although El-Hanny, son of Abbas, was alive at the time. Again; Ismael, the present viceroy, succeeded his nephew Sayd; while it is a great chance whether Toussoûn, the young son of Sayd, will ever sit on the throne of Egypt; so many intervene between father and son. The consequence of this is a two-fold evil.

First, that envyings, jealousies, and hatred between the kindred families are without end; for every possible successor to the throne lives in constant fear of his life on account of the plots of his brethren.

Next, each reigning family endeavours to appropriate to itself as much land, money, and property as possible, during the time of its ascendancy. In addition to this, every reigning prince has a different class of dependents, whom he places in lucrative and official posts. These know that they have little prospect of retaining their positions under another viceroy, unless they have talent and influence to make themselves feared. They therefore make the most of their opportunities, and feather their various nests while they can.

Now, as on an average an entire change of this sort takes place once in every seven years, it is not difficult to imagine how much the revenues of the country must suffer.

Rich as Egypt is in her power of production and yearly incomings, she can never improve under such a *régime*. Every palm-tree in the land is taxed, and the unfortunate fellah pays a heavy impost duty on every ear of grain that he raises; but were the wealth of the country that of Croesus, it could never withstand such sapping attacks as those above described.

Such is briefly the aspect of the internal policy of Egypt. And while the succession remains in the present order, it seems little likely that the condition of the country itself, or of the fellah (who, after all, is the greatest sufferer) should be ameliorated. There are, nevertheless, matters connected with Egypt which may eventuate for her an importance little anticipated. These are, *first*, the *American war*, which in Egypt, as in India, is giving an impetus to the cotton trade entirely unlooked for: *secondly*, the position of the country with regard to our Indian possessions.

Added to this, the scheme of M. Lesseps, if ever brought to completion, and made to work and pay, will cause Egypt to become a more jealously regarded power than ever.

Whether it is fated that the Suez canal shall ever arrive at perfection, and the waters of the Mediterranean be wedded to those of the Red Sea, or no, is a matter to be decided by time alone. But one thing is certain, that the work is bringing large numbers of Europeans into the country; perhaps not for

its immediate benefit, though may be for its future advantage. It is much to be lamented that the present example set by Europeans is little calculated to increase the respect of Moslims for them or their religion. But as all that is European takes a better stand in the estimation of the native, it is to be hoped that a higher tone of feeling will be spread abroad amongst those who come to Egypt as strangers there to dwell.

It must be by example more than precept that the disciple of the Prophet must be brought to see the superiority of the Gospel over the Korân. *Then*, and not till *then*, can we hope for a turning from darkness to light, from error to truth, on the part of the inhabitants of the land: *then*, and not till *then*, dare we expect that "the seed cast upon the waters shall bring forth its fruit after many days."

WILBERFORCE AND HIS CONTEMPORARIES: THOMAS BABINGTON,
AND ZACHARY MACAULAY.

ONE of the friends with whom Wilberforce was from an early period of his public life connected, and with whom he continued in close communication to the last, was Thomas Babington. Babington's character was appreciated by him; his judgment was valued; there was hardly a step in his public life which Wilberforce took without first consulting this judicious friend.

Thomas Babington was of an ancient Anglo-Saxon family, long settled in Northumberland under their old name of Bavington, at their seat, Bavington Castle, which lies to the north of Hexham. In the Scottish wars of Edward the First they rose to eminence, and became during that reign governors of Nottingham Castle, and proprietors of large estates in the county of Nottingham. The head of the family added to his distinctions by his courage at the battle of Agincourt, and brought back wealth and fame from the wars of France. Successful in love as in war, he wedded the heiress of Dethwick in the county of Derby, and there he fixed henceforth the chief seat of the family. In the hall of Dethwick was hung the armour which he had worn on the field of Agincourt, and there for a long time the trophy remained. His son took an active part in the fierce wars of York and Lancaster; and espousing eagerly the side of the York faction, he fell in their ranks on the field of Bosworth, having received his death blow from the lance of Sir James Blount. In the reign of Elizabeth, the head of the family, Anthony Babington, acquired an unenviable notoriety,

as the leader of the Roman Catholic conspiracy against the life of Elizabeth; their further object being to release Queen Mary, and place her on the throne. This transaction, which occurred in 1586, and brought Babington's head to the block, was owing, not to the views of the family, but to the peculiar circumstances which had befallen the unfortunate proprietor. Left a child of seven at his father's death, he passed, through his mother's second marriage with a bigoted Papist, into the hands of the Jesuits. Perverted and warped by them, he became their pliant instrument, and fell, at the early age of twenty-four, the victim as well as the accomplice of their schemes. But prior to this catastrophe events had occurred (in 1544) which had an important influence on the other branch of the family with which our narrative connects us. In the palmy days of the Romish faith, the Knights Templars had settled themselves in the fertile lands of the county of Leicester. Here their chief seat was Rothley Temple, from which they extended their possessions over a considerable district, which now comprises several parishes, and which remains to our day a Peculiar under the name of the Soke of Rothley. Of the Knights Templars of St. John, the Master, at the moment when Henry VIII. swept away monastic foundations, was one of the Babington family. Humphrey, a younger brother, obtained, from the Grand Master and Chapter, Rothley Temple, in a lease of lives, which, expiring in 1567, was changed into a fee simple by Sir Ambrose Cave; and from that epoch one Thomas Babington after another succeeded to the estate, which had a moderate but respectable income. At Rothley Temple, on the 18th December, 1758, Thomas Babington, of whom we are to speak, was born; and there, in the same room, after a life of 79 years, he died. There he was brought up as a boy; and losing his father when he had reached the age of 17, he went to St. John's, Cambridge, in the autumn of 1775. In 1779 he graduated as twelfth Wrangler. His principles were early fixed, and he found in the College a congenial friend in Thomas Gisborne; and the friendship then formed lasted for the rest of their lives, and was cemented by the marriage of Mr. Gisborne with Babington's only sister. The heir of an independent fortune, Thomas Babington resolved to travel after leaving college. In those days, when travelling was not easy as now, and when to the north of the Tweed roads were bad and inns were few, Babington made his tour, in a curriole drawn by his own horses, through Scotland. In parts of the Highlands, then wild and unfrequented, before Walter Scott had drawn by his poems crowds of tourists to the north, the parish minister was often the only person who could offer hospitality to the passing stranger; and the manse

then presented to the tourist a welcome shelter. We can, in later days, remember how often the hospitable minister, with large heart but small means, was called on to entertain, and nearly was devoured and ruined by, hungry tourists. But in those early days this inconvenience was little felt: tourists were few, and for the shelter afforded them they gave what, in days of dear postage and rare newspapers, was welcome, the last news of the outer world. In one of these Scotch manse the Rev. John Macaulay was the minister, and in it the young and pleasant Englishman was hospitably entertained. Among the rosy daughters of the manse, one of these Highland lassies attracted the Englishman's notice; and after a few months' acquaintance and courtship, the English stranger won her hand. From that connexion arose the alliance between the families of Babington and Macaulay, of which, and the name which marked it (Thomas Babington), Lord Macaulay was specially proud.

Soon after his marriage, Thomas Babington settled on his hereditary estate, and occupied his time with agricultural improvements, in which he acquired great experience; he devoted himself to literature, and became a various reader; and he consulted the good of his poorer neighbours, for he was an earnest Christian philanthropist. No case of distress happened in his vicinage that did not find him prompt to help. He taught, and read, and prayed with the poor; in the Sunday School of his parish he continued through life to teach, and the old man, with the infirmities of age creeping on him, was diligent in the work which he had begun in his prime. In 1800, Babington was returned member for the borough of Leicester, a borough even in those days notorious for contests. Mr. Henry Thornton writes,—“Babington stands for Leicester, and they bid us hope that he will carry it against a treating, bribing, and extravagant sort of antagonist.” Babington conducted his election on principles which are not as popular as they are pure. To one class of electors they are odious, doubtful with others. Yet, notwithstanding this abstemious virtue, though almost always opposed, and through fierce contests, Babington represented Leicester for twenty years, and at length retired only because his success would have been bought by the sacrifice of his faithful colleague.

With Mr. Wilberforce he had had at college a slight acquaintance. But Mr. Wilberforce's set and his habits were distasteful to the purer disposition of Babington, and during his college life he avoided Wilberforce's society. But when the statesman's views had changed, and he had renewed his intimacy with Mr. Gisborne, it was natural that he should speedily include Mr. Babington; and in 1790, we find the two united in

a tour, and Wilberforce struck, thus early, with the simplicity and purity of Babington's character. From this time their friendship began. It was strengthened during the same autumn at Yoxall Lodge, where they visited, and commenced their intimate alliance, engaging in the work of condensing the Parliamentary evidence which was so helpful to the Abolition cause.

When Wilberforce had thus tested the value of Mr. Babington's help, and had found out his judgment, his energy, and the steadiness of his unostentatious application, he became henceforth one of the most valued of the Philanthropic Cabinet. He was always ready to take up any work, however hard, which could serve the public cause. In the spring of 1791 Wilberforce again applied to him for help. "Without shame or remorse, I call on you to assist us in epitomizing the Evidence, of which a number or two will be dispatched to you to-night. You may be allowed a little more discretion than Dickson, but you must be very reserved in the exercise of it: the sooner you can return your book the better: in about a month, I conceive, I shall make my motion. Let me know how your engagements stand, that I may contrive to avail myself of your help, whether in town or country." The same year, at the conclusion of the session, when Wilberforce was starting for Bath, where he leased a country-house along with Henry Thornton, he writes to Babington with the pleasant ease of an established friendship:—"I am afraid that even the mildness of your nature has been sharpened to exacerbation (as Dr. Johnson would term it) by my obstinate silence; but if so, it is rather a proof of your unreasonableness than of my criminality. This is the true mode of defence, to shift the war, like Tippoo, into the quarters of the enemy. However, behold me now upon my road to Bath, with Henry Thornton for my agreeable companion. We are snug and comfortable; but we would willingly increase our duet to a trio to admit your Honour." This letter, written in June, was followed by others from London in July; and in August he settled himself at Rothley Temple, that and Yoxall Lodge being henceforth, till his marriage, the constant resorts of his leisure. Here the two friends studied together; one of their subjects being English history, which they read diligently, even in their walks, Babington reading aloud whilst his mercurial guest was supposed to guide his steps. In one respect Babington supplied guidance to his friend, for the sight of his balanced mind, his calm judgment, and his heavenly temper, in the midst of earthly comforts, and with their natural temptations, had a great effect in guiding Wilberforce. He recurs to this frequently in his diary, and shows how much he was impressed.

In the following years, when the Abolition cause had passed

from parliamentary discussion to the popular arena, and when public opinion was to be roused, and petitions stirred up, Babington in Leicestershire, and Gisborne in Staffordshire, received their chief instructions, as to their course, from Wilberforce. "Your meeting in Leicester," he writes to Babington, "should be called immediately, that other towns might be more easily induced to walk in the desired road, when it shall be plainly chalked out and well trodden before them." When the news of the disorders of St. Domingo frightened the ministerialists, and threatened to arrest the progress of abolition, Babington wrote to cheer his friend. "Do not be afraid," Wilberforce answers, "lest I should give ground; I hope, through God's blessing, to be enabled to press forward and never to abandon my pursuit or relax in it, till (a supposition hardly conceivable) it shall become right so to do. This is a matter wherein all personal, much more all ministerial, attachments must be as dust in the balance. Meanwhile exert yourself in the country with renewed vigour. I should be glad to have some petitions, if possible, even before my notice."

Again, in 1799, we find Wilberforce corresponding with Babington on other public questions, as on the union with Ireland; and after 1800, they are placed in personal communication on public affairs, as both were now in parliament. True, they were not precisely of the same shade in politics—Babington somewhat more disposed to Liberal views, Wilberforce a follower of Pitt; but in dislike of anti-Jacobin doctrines both were agreed, and on the great questions of public philanthropy they worked together, refusing to bend to the convenience or interests of party. Hence, in 1803, when Babington was passing the winter in Madeira, Wilberforce writes to him in confidence, to complain of the delay, the weakness, and the culpable irresolution of Addington. In 1808, he pours into his ear his complaints of the unjust proceedings of Lord Castlereagh in destroying the schools of Ceylon; and still, with undiminished cordiality, in 1814 he lays before him the considerations which induce him to postpone the Register Bill, in order that a general and combined effort might be made to unite the Allied Powers in a convention for the abolition of the slave trade. But while Wilberforce thus sought and took his friend's advice upon public questions, he sought his judgment no less on questions which concerned his own position. As early as 1803, Babington, with the anxious eye of friendship, had become alarmed at the effect which the pressure of so much work was producing on Wilberforce's feeble constitution. He then urged him to consider the duty of retiring from parliament; and Wilberforce's answer shows the confidence with which he turned to his friend's opinion.

When the question of his retirement from the representation of Yorkshire was to be discussed, Babington's was the judgment to which Wilberforce anxiously submitted it. And his final decision, in 1811, when he determined to give up the great county, was fully discussed with his friend. To him also he opens, along with the various reasons, the more secret feelings which swayed him. "I need not, I trust, assure you that I endeavour to bear in mind the conclusion of Milton's beautiful sonnet,

‘ They also serve who only stand and wait :’

but I am well aware it is not to stand still, or even wait, to be employed in writing a religious work, or to be educating six children. They are both employments which may well claim the utmost powers of a man of far greater abilities than myself. Still, tell me fairly what you judge best for me." And then he puts before him various considerations,—on the one side, his remaining in the House, and so being prevented from writing or attending to his family; the possibility that, if out of parliament, he might advise or write on public questions with greater freedom. On the other side, his long life in parliament of thirty-one years, his habits formed to it, his influence, and its use in advocating the causes which both had at heart. But he must decide at once, "therefore write to me immediately."

During the long public life of both the friends, their cordiality was undisturbed even by a passing cloud. During their vacations, they could not, indeed, meet and live together as they had done formerly in their bachelor days: each was a patriarch with a family; when Wilberforce moved, it was to plant his domestic tail in some spacious house on the coast, or in the retirement of the country; but from time to time, during the recess, they greeted each other with friendly letters, and these contained always the same kindly thoughts, of which, on Wilberforce's side, we give one specimen:—"We spent two months in quiet at Hurstmonceaux, and I assure you, my dear Tom, I can truly say that you were remembered, not merely from the thoughts and feelings which are always expended on those we love, and for whose well-doing we are interested, but from my bearing in mind your good advice concerning the management of my children." He then details his daily habits; his reading with his children, developing their minds and encouraging their remarks; and he concludes,—“I enter into all your domestic cares and joys. May God continue you His best blessings."

It furnished, indeed, another proof of Wilberforce's sound judgment, that he sought Babington's advice on the subject of his children's education. For this was a matter which Mr. Babington had studied carefully; on which he had written a work of real value; and he had tested the soundness of his theories

in the management of his own family. His family was large, but it was singularly united and happy. No doubt, the habits of his children were carefully watched, and they were debarred from some of those amusements which we reckon pleasures of youth. But these restraints found their compensation in the cheerfulness which, flowing from the heads of the family, infected, by a wholesome contagion, the whole circle—not, indeed, that Mr. Babington was, by nature, of a playful temperament; a gentle gravity was rather his characteristic; but though his spirits were not buoyant like those of Wilberforce, nor was there that exuberant gaiety which is well suited to children, he was careful for their amusement, ingenious in devices to promote it; many sports, adventurous feats, and active exercises were much encouraged, and within the limits of morality and prudence they were taught to indulge in them. The hunting field he did not allow them to enter, as in those days the society of the hunting field was coarse, and the tone of morals low: but all nervous timidity was checked; and as one of his children had in childhood received a fright from a gun, he took pains to conquer the feeling, for he would have them grow up energetic and bold, fearing nothing but sin. So, bathing in the river and the sea; swimming fearlessly, accompanying their father to the woods, there to wield the pruning knife or the axe; long walks and excursions in the neighbourhood, to the ruins of Bradgate Park, or distant landscapes; with these pursuits he delighted their early years. No doubt, in regard to society, he took a strict, and, as it would be called, a peculiar line. He himself, from his public position, mixed up with politics and parliamentary affairs, met with men of all sorts, of all characters and all opinions. But for his hours of social freedom he chose his associates; and for himself, as for his children, he chose them among persons of piety. His views on that point are stated in a letter written to one of his sons, about the year 1810, published in the *Christian Observer* of May, 1817. His work on *Christian Education* (Hatchard 1841, 9th edition) is not, indeed, one of systematic theory, nor did it exhaust a subject which is large. But it is interesting, inasmuch as it gives us the maxims he had followed in the up-bringing of his own children, and which had stood the test of his own experience. It may be read by parents with advantage at the present day. His determination to treat religion as you treat other branches of study, and to endeavour to implant it in the child as you implant other habits and teach other pursuits, only more earnestly from its superior importance, and more watchfully, is valuable; and it presents a wholesome barrier both against formalism and fanaticism. The remarks are full of a plain and masculine common-sense, admitting, with Christian reverence, how absolutely all religious teaching depends for its efficacy on the

Divine aid, yet pointing out how much room there is for human care and vigilance, and how little there is in Scripture to justify that austere and chilling formalism which presents to the young mind a weary and forbidding uniformity; how little there is of stern and arbitrary dogma rising up, like a wall, to heaven, to shut out the gentle presence of a loving Friend. So are we taught, in this practical guide, to avoid, on one side, those perfunctory precepts which soon become harsh and repulsive; and on the other side, never to twist awry the doctrine of Divine assistance, so as to supersede the duty of parental training. But not less are we warned, in our discharge of parental duty, and our heedful attention to religious teaching, to beware, above all things, of the forcing of artificial heat; by which parents draw up the tender plant into an exotic life, forcing on sickly leaves and blossoms, while the life has little root in the soil; and thus, by stimulants easily applied, leading the child to affect what he does not feel, and to go beyond his real feelings by modes of speech or outward observances which run beyond his convictions. These cautions are marked by the gravest wisdom, and should be studied with earnest care. The system also of accustoming children to think and reason for themselves; employing the lessons of the schoolroom to prepare the habits for life; teaching prompt obedience, regularity, and patience; these rules, as also the risks run by children from the words and ways of servants, are clearly laid down in this useful treatise. The result of these rules, practically applied, was a family well brought up, who illustrated in their lives the precepts and example of their father. Disasters descended on some of them, which tried the parents' heart, and indeed darkened the family fortunes; yet have the children of the house been prompt to acknowledge that what was true, good, and effective in their after life was due to their early training in this happy home.

In the House of Commons Mr. Babington was not distinguished, as men reckon distinction. He was no speaker, and that instrument of power in a popular assembly was wanting to him. When he was added to the House of Commons, Henry Thornton wrote that it was the addition of a unit to a party already insignificant; but this disparagement of the independent party, to which he himself belonged, was a mistake well exposed by Dr. Chalmers. A party may be small, but the influence of a few independent minds, acting together on defined principles, is not to be measured by Cocker. Open the dispatches of Sir Arthur Wellesley, as Irish Secretary, and see how the line of ministerial action in his day was influenced by dread of that small party; bear in mind its effect on Pitt during the French war, its decisive efficacy in the case of Lord Melville; observe its power in the case of the Duke of York; remember the appeals made to that party by Pitt, and the Whigs, and

Percival, and Canning; and let us learn, that influence, like atmosphere, has a positive, though impalpable, power. You cannot weigh it, or measure it; but it is felt—it is vital; it destroys or it revives.

One of Babington's special services was to attack the Lottery, and he never ceased the attack till the measure was abandoned. As he did not secure influence by his words, he wrought by service. He was assiduous on Committees, a great branch of Parliamentary labour, and he never left the House till it rose. If, on any difficult question of politics, you wanted either a clear statement of the case, or a sound judgment on it, no man was more reliable than Babington. Thus, when Henry Thornton (one of the clearest minds of his day) was laid aside by illness, and desired to gather up a knowledge of what had passed in the House in his absence (and the discussions turned at the moment on the complicated questions of the Orders in Council and the American War), he resorted to Babington. A two hours' conference with him placed him in possession of the case. So he writes, January, 1812:—"Babington came to me for two hours, and filled me with more important and accurate and true knowledge on some of the greatest subjects which can occupy the mind than I could have gained in twice the time from the oratory of Stephen, or the fluency and digressions of Wilberforce. . . . He is more and more respected in Parliament." He occupied, during his public life, the house in Downing Street which afterwards held the Foreign Office, and in that, with a liberal hospitality, he received his friends, and a daily dinner was prepared before the House met, that his friends might drop in and dine. From this practice one incident arose which deserves a record. On the day on which Mr. Percival was shot, Mr. Wilberforce, along with other Parliamentary friends, had met in Babington's house, and, from the windows in Downing Street Mr. Wilberforce was looking when the Premier passed down the street on his way to the House of Commons. The genial philanthropist broke out, as he observed him, into an affectionate eulogy on his worth and principles. Mr. Babington was absent; he had been that day in close attendance on a Parliamentary committee till the House met, and on leaving his committee, as he passed through the lobby, he became acquainted with the crime which had been committed, and he was the first to carry the tidings to his assembled friends. On hearing the appalling news, Mr. Wilberforce was silent for a few moments, then lifting up his eyes and hands with a solemnity befitting his feelings, and with a tender recollection of the life and temper of the statesman, he said—"Then he is in heaven!"

The estimate which Mr. Wilberforce had formed of Babington was given, later in life, to a mutual friend. He said that, in all his large experience, he had never met with one who exhi-

bited the Christian character so fully and so uniformly. Two rules were on his lips, written also in his practice, which he pressed on the notice of his children,—one, that the character of a true gentleman is formed by attention to the precept (Phil. ii. 4), “Look not every man on his own things, but every man also on the things of others;” the other, never to avoid present trouble at the risk of incurring more hereafter. His own life was controlled by the first four verses of the Epistle to the Colossians which begin the third chapter; a passage which, as he told one of his sons, he was used to repeat to himself, a tonic at once and a cordial, as he walked home, late at night or in the early morning, after the eager debates and angry conflicts of the House of Commons.

Mr. Babington was withdrawn from Parliament many years before Mr. Wilberforce, but he continued to keep up with him an affectionate intercourse; and he was consulted by him in 1824, when he was deliberating on the propriety of leaving Parliament, which he did early in the following year. Wilberforce had written just before to Babington, in answer to a letter in which his friend had expressed his delight at witnessing the comfort he enjoyed in the love and attention of his children; these things, he said, were to a sick man a cordial, and softened as well as improved the heart. In return, Wilberforce had inquired of Babington’s family history, and had received a favourable picture of it from one of his sons, though, as he truly remarks,—“The young hands do not look very deep in their view of people at our time of life; and while all is outwardly cheerful, and therefore to their eyes unclouded sunshine, we parents may have our secret anxieties and griefs.” His own compunction on leaving the House, and his regrets, he speaks of freely to this chosen friend—“regrets from the consciousness of my having made so poor a use of the talents committed to my stewardship. The heart knows its own bitterness; we alone know ourselves, the opportunities we have enjoyed, and the comparative use we have made of them; but it is only to your friendly ear that I breathe out my secret sorrows. Well, it is an unspeakable consolation that we serve a gracious Master, who giveth liberally and upbraideth not.”

After retiring from Parliament, Mr. Babington lived at Rothley Temple. As a landlord and a magistrate he was much esteemed. As an agriculturist he was in advance of his neighbours; he had diligently studied Arthur Young’s and other agricultural works, and had borrowed from these the improvements which are now general; the allotment system for peasants, the scheme of thorough drainage for lands, were by him adopted, and during his lifetime he trebled the value of his estate. Troubles darkened some of his later years; infirmities broke the vigorous frame; but the peace which had shed its sunshine,

in the earlier stages of life, over his heart and home, remained unclouded to the end. The old man, verging on 80, could point, like the Patriarch, to the fulness of His blessings, and the constancy of the Divine care. When his death took place, a clergyman (afterwards a dignitary in the Church) who held a living near, and had known the old man for nearly twenty years, asked leave to preach a funeral sermon in his parish church the Sunday after his death. There was a crowded audience, of tenants who held his lands, of labourers who had worked on his estate. To these, who had known him so well, the sermon was addressed. It soared rather above them; for though in beautiful language, it took an elevated theme, and described the nature and the employments of glorified spirits, and referred to him who had lately left them, and had joined, as they were well assured, that celestial throng. But when the preacher sought to take up the evidences of this assurance which his life and character supplied, emotion stopped him, and he was forced abruptly to close. But the close was more impressive than a more elaborate argument:—"Why do I venture," he said, "to call him blessed? Because his own Master has already impressed that title upon him." And then he repeated slowly, leaving to his hearers to make, as each who know him did, the application:—

"Blessed are the poor in spirit."

"Blessed are the meek."

"Blessed are they which do hunger and thirst after righteousness."

"Blessed are the merciful."

"Blessed are the pure in heart."

"Blessed are the peacemakers."

These were the well-known qualities of him who had lived among them, and it was amongst the tears of his friends and neighbours that these characteristics were pointed out. Such was Thomas Babington, one of Wilberforce's dearest friends.

In October, 1800, there was born, under the hospitable roof of Rothley Temple, the infant son of Zachary Macaulay, to whom was given the name of Thomas Babington. The birth of this their first child was gratefully recorded by the father and mother; but about two years after, in the autumn of 1802, a severe illness threatened the hopes of the parents and the life of the child. With this brief exception everything seemed to prosper with the infant boy. It was like the story of the Eastern genius, who stood by the child's cradle, and showered upon it all sorts of munificent gifts: quickness of perception, a marvellous memory, a bright imagination, genius both for poetry and prose, were all heaped, in bountiful largess, on this favoured child. For the ordinary sports or the idle stories of childhood he had no appetite, but a devouring thirst for knowledge possessed him early. While other children

amused themselves with play, or reading a fairy tale, he ransacked books of history, and pored, when he could hardly hold them, over the ponderous folios of Froissart, Holinshed, and Rapin. Favoured circumstances, varied resources, parental care, and friendly interest, attended his early days. He was sheltered under the roof of Rothley Temple, where he enjoyed the society and example of a well-conducted and happy household. He could expatiate in the glades of Needwood Forest, and be warmed by the sunshine of Gisborne's favoured home. He was a welcome guest at Cowslip Green and Barley Wood, where Hannah More, who had conversed with the wit and learning of Johnson's age, took delight in recounting tales of the past, and incidents of her literary life, to rouse the boy's ardour and stimulate his intellect. His father's house in London, though modest and simple, placed before him a model of self-denial and untiring industry; and the company of some of the best men of London refreshed the student's leisure, and fired his emulation. His hours of recreation were spent where he could hear the best conversation of his day, and mix with the most earnest and intelligent men. For to his early years were thrown freely open—better than the gardens of the Hesperides—the lawns and shrubberies of Broomfield and Battersea Rise, the verandahs and the shades of Kensington Gore. It was impossible for any fortune to present to an aspiring mind more favouring circumstances, and never were signal advantages offered to a mind more able to use them. From the advantages of this domestic interior he passed to a first-rate school, under a private tutor chosen from among the English clergy for his judgment, learning, and piety, which he employed in one of the halls of Hertfordshire with rare tact, and furnished to the ardour of his new pupil the activity and rivalry of others equally eager and studious. There his talents burst forth with a rapid growth, like a Russian spring. Every subject put before him he mastered. The facts of history, the incidents of literature, the tales of voyages, the adventures of remarkable men, all that concerned man either in the past or the present, engaged his curiosity and fixed his interest. The traditions of Dr. Johnson's devouring appetite for books, his acumen in conversation, and his thirst for knowledge, were in him revived. He remembered all he heard; his curiosity was great; his love of discussion unwearied. He seemed to know everything, and to be able to talk on everything. His perception was so quick, and his memory so strong, that a single perusal of a long article in the *Times* enabled him to give from memory its substance, and great part of its words. And as he forgot nothing, the heaps of facts, which he gathered, were piled up and laid aside for use, ready at call. So that, from the headdresses in the days of Queen Bess, to the wigs,

caps, and patches in the days of Queen Anne, he was prepared with fact and proof, and could have given directions for a Royal masque after the fashions of any reign in English history, or instructions to a Royal perruquier.

Poetry flowed from him in a copious stream ; and the groves of Aspeden Hall heard him, as he walked with rapid steps, pouring forth one or two hundred lines of verse, English or Latin, struck off at once, and laid up in his capacious memory to be written down at will.

If such was the facility of his poetry, not less ready was his prose. As soon as the call came, the demand was met ; and pages covered, fast as he could write them, with thoughts expressed in glowing words and lit up by happy illustrations, were poured forth, and soon were reduced to print, to startle and dazzle mankind. No wonder that when, disciplined by severe studies and by the training of Cambridge, he rose there to conspicuous eminence, he at once delighted his tutors and astonished his cotemporaries. No wonder that when he entered life he entered it with bright expectations, and all who knew him prophesied his distinction. Little wonder that his friends and parents looked with intense interest to his future course, as he stood, thus equipped, on the threshold of life, and that they cherished many a fond hope afterwards realized in his rapid and brilliant career.

Yet it is not of this eminent person, Lord Macaulay, with his world-wide reputation, that we are about to speak. He needs no notice from us. We are to trace the fortunes of his father, and speak of services little known, yet of sterling value. His qualities were little observed, and carefully concealed. His truly was worth, quiet in its peculiar walk, unostentatious in work, rigorous in self-forgetfulness ; but his services to humanity were of priceless value. Zachary Macaulay, though now best known as the father of his distinguished son, was, when judged by himself, no common man. We can hardly, indeed, imagine a person more different in his gifts from his son. Even his outward appearance was dissimilar. The staid manners, stern look, and grave deportment, conveyed indeed a correct impression of the mind ; for he had not the characteristics of a Highlander, the Celtic fervour and vein of fancy ; but resembled the Scotchman of the Lowlands in caution, secretiveness, slow but sure judgment, and inflexible decision. He was the son of the minister of Cardross, in the county of Dumbarton, and he had that patent of nobility of which Lord Campbell and Wilkie used to boast, that he was born in a Presbyterian manse. From his father's door he could see the estuary of the Clyde crowded with ships and whitened with their sails ; he could look across to the busy port of Greenock, picturesque at a distance, and the gleaming

shores of Roseneath. To the north he could catch the gables and turrets of the quaint castle of Ardincaple, rising out of its woods of Scotch pine. Within half an hour's walk he might look on the blue waters of Loch Lomond, shining like a silver mirror among rocks and coppice woods ; and he could follow with his eye the shadows of the clouds as they passed over and darkened the lake, or cast their outline on the flanks and shoulders of Ben Lomond. But born amongst this exquisite scenery, with a childhood nursed in the poetry of glen and hill, he was without any touch of fancy in his own composition ; nor did a ray of imagination ever cross and light up the calm and grave intellect. For all that appeared in his temperament, he might have drawn breath in one of the wynds of Glasgow, have spent his childhood in the smoky Gallowgate, or played as a boy beside the Luckenbooth of Auld Reekie. The serious face, with its grey eyes and hanging eyebrows, the fixed look and resolute manner, marked the disposition of a sinewy mind, of unbending uprightness, neither to be turned aside by impulse nor led astray by passion. From other sources than his paternal origin did his eloquent son derive his genius. While his son was a boy, still more when he had grown up to manhood, the father listened to his copious and brilliant conversation with a sort of fond surprise ; and, when he read the pages which flowed from his hand, which soon became the delight of thousands, he wondered how a child of his should have poured forth such marvellous conceptions. For he himself was slow of speech, and of constrained utterance ; and though he thought clearly, and could write forcibly, ready words to speak his thoughts were wanting. But if in words sparing, in deeds he was eloquent ; rich in self-devotion, and labour, and stern self denial. So his life was like a stirring drama, where the story leads us through rare incidents among the deeds of noble men, and while the scene changes the acts and actors remain always the same, and you feel yourself moving among heroes, and breathing the air of greatness.

It was through a strange discipline that Zachary Macaulay was prepared for his work. Before he had thought of his mission, far less seriously accepted it, he was fashioned for it by circumstances plainly remarkable. In these days, Glasgow, like Bristol, had a close connection with the West India colonies ; and the magnates of Glasgow, who occupied what were then reckoned the sumptuous dwellings of Glassford Street and Virginia Street, used to ship off Scotch wares to the plantations of the West Indies, in exchange for the coffee and sugar produce of the tropics. The charge of the counting-houses which they established in the West Indies, the oversight of their plantations, and the management of their slaves, were committed by them to Scotch youths, who thus found in the

colonies a career of enterprise and openings to fortune. The son of the minister of Cardross, favoured by one of these great mercantile houses, was sent, at the early age of eighteen, to be the overseer of an estate in Jamaica. There he remained for ten years, and so approved himself to his employers, that he was promoted to be the sole manager of the estate. These duties placed him in the full front of the system of slavery, and gave him a perfect insight into all its details. On the estate which he managed he set himself to improve the lot of the negro; but he saw round him abundant signs of the evils of a degraded race subjected to irresponsible control. His own position enabled him, indeed, as he wrote to a friend, "to alleviate the hardships of a considerable number of my fellow-creatures, and to render the bitter cup of servitude as palatable as possible." But, though he could thus abate evils over a narrow area, the scenes of cruelty and licentiousness which he witnessed on a large scale painfully moved him; and, as he could do nothing to counteract them, he took the first opportunity of escaping from a position which involved him in duties irksome and intolerable. He was released from this position by the unlooked-for interposition of Henry Thornton.

A society had been formed, soon after the introduction of the Abolition question into Parliament, which had two objects—the civilization of Africa; and to find a refuge for those negroes who, availing themselves of English law, as declared by the famous Judgment of our Courts in 1783, had fled from the hands of their masters. This society, which took shape as the Sierra Leone Company, and of which Mr. Henry Thornton was chairman, obtained, in 1791, a charter from the Crown, and started with a capital of £150,000. To this colony were sent a large body of liberated negroes, gathered in England, and a body of blacks from Nova Scotia, who had served in the British navy. The Board of Directors of the new company in England was composed of eminent men, among whom were Granville Sharpe and Pitt's brother-in-law Mr. Eliot, Lord Teignmouth and Charles Grant, Wilberforce and Henry Thornton. Mr. H. Thornton heard from Mr. Babington of young Macaulay's conduct in Jamaica—his blameless purity and sturdy integrity. He sent for him to fill a place in the government of the infant colony. By a resolution of the Board in the autumn of 1792, he was appointed second in Council at Sierra Leone; and setting sail for Africa early in the following year, he, soon after his landing, became first in Council and Governor.

It was hoped that the colony might, under a vigorous government, both discipline the negro colonists and train them to order and industry. It might also be expected to act on the surrounding tribes, inspiring them, through the sight of

wealth and its comforts, with new tastes, and opening to them markets for domestic produce. Thus it might serve to withdraw them from the detestable profits of the slave trade. At the outset, the enterprise, as has happened to many schemes of colonization, nearly suffered shipwreck. The colonists depended for a time on imported provisions, and the supply of these provisions was insufficient. Famine fell on them; with famine came disturbances. The colonists, lazy and licentious, kicked at discipline. Work was essential to their existence, but steady work was of all things that which they could least endure. While there was disorder within, dangers from without beset them; all round them were hostile observers and implacable enemies. The neighbouring tribes were jealous of the intruders; the merchants feared interference with their traffic; the slave-traders saw that, if the colony prospered, their odious trade would suffer. They stirred up the native tribes against them; and, while war stared them in the face, and riot rose against law, war hung as a black cloud on the horizon. But the new governor was equal to the emergency. His calm temper and indomitable courage stood firm as a rock, and shattered, by unbending purpose, the fluctuating elements. The rude colonists owned the sway of moral power, the Company's servants were shamed out of their squabbles, the authority of law was asserted, order took the place of confusion, the stormy waters began to subside. Unfortunately the system pursued by the Directors was one of a too close economy, the hands employed as agents were too few, and their salaries were miserably small; hence the governor, deprived of proper agents, had to do many things by his own hands, and was chained like a clerk to the desk. He was charged with the meanest drudgery, and with most incompatible duties; he was commercial agent, he was paymaster, he posted ledgers, he entered accounts in journals, he decided causes. "Besides," he writes, "I am obliged to perform the duties of chaplain, to marry people, and to deliver sermons." Still he never lost sight of his great object, the civilization of the native Africans. He employed every negro who could read or write; and so rapidly, under this stimulus, did they learn, that he was able to employ many of them as schoolmasters. Schools were built, and occupied by three hundred children; at the end of the first year he could say that "he hoped in a few years there would be few in the colony unable to read the Bible." But difficulties did not cease; they multiplied and spread. In June, 1794, a large body of the colonists from Nova Scotia broke into open rebellion. Scarce was this put down, than the French pounced on the young colony, and swept it by invasion. In the same year they attacked the town, seized it, set it on fire, destroyed the papers of the authorities,

and even their clothes. For a time they remained absolutely without provisions. The governor at this time was laid low by fever, but his spirit was unbroken :—"I should be ashamed of distrusting God, after what I have already experienced of His goodness. I thank God for all things ; but above all for the peace of mind He has granted me in all our troubles." After this time of trial his health gave way.

After a short absence in Europe to recruit it, he returned to Africa, and received an affectionate welcome from his wayward negroes ; but it needed all his patience to bear with their humours. The talisman, which carried him through all this, was his affection for them. They were lazy, they were fickle, they were thoughtless as spoilt children ; he loved them in spite of all. "I pray God to give them better minds, and to give us a temper of meekness and forbearance under injuries however great, and provocations however galling."

His affection for the negroes had lightened his sacrifices and upheld his hopes. On first going out, he had expressed sanguine expectations of their improvement ; though these were damped by experience, his affection remained. In one of his last letters he writes :—"Poor people ! one cannot help loving them ; with all their trying humours, they have a warmth of affection which is quite irresistible." So he went on loving and hoping, and he would not see either evil or inconvenience. "The soil is poor, but does well for provisions, coffee, cotton, &c. It is a pleasant country, with few of the insects which infect us in the West Indies." He would not even admit fully the evils of the climate. He had, indeed, constant threatenings of dysentery, and was often laid low by fever. What then ? all climates have their casualties. He braved the risk, till at last he disbelieved it. It was amusing, in later years, to hear him, with the composure of a settled conviction, discuss the grounds why, in his judgment, the West Coast of Africa was not, after all, so unhealthy, not subject to malaria nor scourged by yellow fever, not in fact so dangerous to health as Italy, far less injurious to the constitution than Hindostan. It moved a smile to hear this grave man of fact descant to wondering groups on the chances of life in Sierra Leone ; that, if Europeans would only be sober and careful, and not live hard, nor walk out too late, nor be underfed, there was little risk. Yet he spoke of a coast where hardly a European ship touches without bringing back its full freight of fever ; where soldiers sicken and sailors die by hundreds ; and governors, attracted by the salary, fall speedy victims ; and missionaries* die off as by a plague ; and bishops, in apostolic succession, earn quickly the martyr's crown. Yet he fully believed all that he said, and his own arguments convinced

* In twenty years, twenty-five out of thirty-eight died.

himself, for he pointed to his own example, how he had worked and escaped : for his iron frame had stood the shock, and he brought back to Europe a constitution capable of more labour than most of those who had nursed their bodies in England in inglorious ease. All these risks he bore unflinchingly, so long as duty called him to meet them. He had formed a strong attachment, his domestic prospects were bright, but he would not marry nor forsake the colony till its fortunes were assured. In 1799 he finally left Africa, and his marriage took place the same year. But his return to England was only a change of labour, for hard work was still his lot. With thanks for past services, he was appointed Secretary to the board of directors of Sierra Leone, and he continued in that employment till the colony, in 1808, was transferred to the Crown. To the government, indeed, he was recommended for service ; but it is not to such men that ministers give their favours. Along with this sphere of labour he was chosen a member of the Abolition Committee, and, till the abolition was carried in 1807, he worked harder than them all. In the African Institution he performed, for five years, the duty of secretary gratuitously ; and when he retired, a vote of thanks from the directors, and a testimonial, marked their sense of his services ; but in the long struggle which followed abolition, and which only ended, in 1833, in the extinction of slavery, he took the most strenuous part. A cloud of pamphlets, containing facts and digests of evidence, followed from his pen ; and the Anti-Slavery Reporters, as they came out, were full of statistics drawn up by him, condensed out of Blue Books through which he had painfully waded, sitting up half the night to collate and sift the evidence, and to condense into thirty pages the contents of ponderous folios. So, when any fact was wanted, he was there, a walking encyclopædia ; as Wilberforce wittily said, " Let us look it out in Macaulay."

The tricks and wiles of slave-traders were all tracked out and exposed by him, as Wilberforce says (Corr. ii. 169), " from the first faint and distant view you had of the thief, with scarcely light sufficient to ascertain his substance and features, till the moment when he is dragged into open day in all his deformity." When, in this long struggle, which lasted the lifetime of a generation, Wilberforce wanted help, a head, a pen, or a hand, Macaulay was the person to whom he turned. Thus he writes to him from Lyme for books and help in 1806 ; again in 1811 for advice, from Yoxall Lodge ; from Brighton, in 1816, begging him to see the Roman Catholic Mr. Butler, and engage his interest, in favour of Abolition, with the Pope (Corr. ii. 352) ; in 1822 he must write the conclusion of the Report of the African Institution. (Life, vi. 126.) He writes to him from Eastbourne in 1808, to engage him to set British consuls on the look out to detect British ships importing slaves

into Brazil. In 1812 he writes,—“I seem to be leaving it to others, and especially to yourself, to labour through the heat and toil of the day. You really are, however, rather to be envied than pitied, considering the happy issue of your late exertions. You and Stephen I can never envy, be your successes what they may in the African field, considering how well earned your laurels will be, let them be ever so umbrageous.” Where the work was hard, and the commission was delicate, Macaulay was sure to be sent. When the allies met in Paris in 1814, he was dispatched to influence Lord Castlereagh, the Duke of Wellington, and the ministers of the Allies. So complete was the evidence he had collected, the fruit of his untiring assiduity, that the Duke of Wellington bluntly said he did not see how the French could face the facts. In 1816 Wilberforce again thanks him for his pamphlets, clear in principle and full of evidence. In 1817 he is pressing upon him the condition of Hayti. In 1821—3 he is busy with him in the preparation of materials for Parliament to carry further measures for the manumission of our own slaves. In Wilberforce’s personal interviews with Mr. Canning, Macaulay is the first depository of the results. In the attacks made upon the Abolitionists by West Indian agents, Macaulay must write the answer. (Life, p. 205.) In all sorts of newspapers, through all sorts of channels, concealed but effective, his pen appears (Life, p. 224); and busy as his pen, his presence was ubiquitous. Pamphlets to be written—he must write or revise; deputations to the minister—he was there; anti-slavery committees—he must serve; at all hours, early and late, he is ready for work. “He seems to be able,” says Wilberforce, “to comprehend and analyse these Parliamentary volumes at a glance.” When one part of the question was over, he takes up another; and, whether the leadership is with Wilberforce or Buxton, he is the resort of all. In 1832 he takes charge, with Buxton, of the terms agreed upon by Lord Grey’s government, and gives to Wilberforce the earliest tidings. (Corr. pp. 524—5.) To him Wilberforce wrote, near the close of his life, in 1833:—“I congratulate you, my dear old friend, on having entered on the year which I trust will be distinguished by your seeing, at last, the mortal stroke given to the accursed slave trade.”

After the great debate in 1833, when Mr. Stanley expounded the views of government, Macaulay, a witness of the scene (his son then a subordinate member of Lord Grey’s government), writes to Wilberforce of the glorious close. He tells him of the eloquent praise which had marked out to the House and country Wilberforce’s long conduct of that famous cause:—“My dear friend, let me unite with you in thanks to God for this mercy.” But even when this event took place, his labours

were not at an end ; he transferred them to France, to stimulate the Society established in Paris for the abolition of slavery. Publications were written by him in French on the state of Hayti, on the state of the English colonies, of the West Indies, on the shocking condition of the French colonies ; these works were composed during the weakness of his later years, and were acknowledged with the deepest gratitude by the anti-slavery societies both of England and of France.

Nor were his labours confined to this department ; he was no less busily employed on the other great questions which arose during the agitated period of Wilberforce's public life. When the great question of the admission of missionaries to India, at the renewal of the Charter, was discussed, he was the man on whom all relied to prepare evidence and stir up petitions. The ostensible actors were members of Parliament and East India directors. Grant took an effective part at the India House ; various members, with Wilberforce as their leader, took part within the House, where evidence was heard at the bar ; deputations waited on Government, and the question was keenly debated on the floor of the House. But the real workshop was behind ; there lay the manufactory which wrought and moulded the opinions of the country. Henry Thornton, writing in the spring of 1812 to Bowdler, and bringing up, as he tells him, the latest news on the question in which both were interested, writes thus :—" We are occupied chiefly about the religious part of the East Indian subject. Petitions pour in in immense numbers, and if the Secretary of State was to break into the house of the chief conspirator against the peace of India, which is no other than that of Babington, he would find there some hundred petitions ready for presentation, and doubtless a variety of other seditious papers, and our whole plan for organizing the country. Macaulay is in truth the real agent who has written his circulars, and received those petitions in answer."

Such services, laborious and unostentatious as they were, were not merely unrewarded ; they exposed him to bitter attacks. It was well known by those interested in the Slavery question, that his unwearied brain and his inflexible purpose gave to the Abolition cause its backbone and sinews. The planters hated and feared him ; they maligned his character and his motives : they whispered stories against him in secret, and at length slander, emboldened by impunity, took shape, substance, and size. They had ransacked his life and history in the West Indies in order to find charges against him, but there they failed. At last they turned to Africa, and they found a governor, who had succeeded him in Sierra Leone, who was induced to trump up a miserable accusation against him in 1814. He was not, indeed, moved by this, or disturbed. His friends were more vexed than he. " Poor Macaulay," writes Wilberforce, " after

all his sufferings, labours, and disinterestedness for Africa, is in reality put on his defence, showing the mortification of many even well disposed people, jealous, and taken up with idle and malignant tales against him. . . . Yet he will come pure out of the fire." He met the attack with a prompt refutation; and the report of the Sierra Leone committee, which sat on the case, dispelled the cloud, and cleared his character. He might have demanded more than an acquittal; he might have insisted on the censure of his adversary, and "pressed," says Wilberforce, "for a more triumphant, and really therefore more just, vindication." But this would have caused a division among the supporters of Abolition, and therefore he forbore. (Wilb. Life, vol. iv. pp. 152-3.) With perfect calmness he took the penalties of his post, as well as its labours. Why he so bore himself, why he so meekly suffered, appears in the letters which passed between him and Wilberforce during his residence in Africa, on which our limits, already exceeded, forbid us to enter.

But one thing stands out clear—that self-renunciation was his characteristic. He had many tastes; but when duty called him, he gave them up. He had a taste for science, and he was glad, when he could, to attend the meetings of the Royal Society; but he allowed himself little leisure for science. He had a taste for literature. In that branch in which his son became distinguished, he might have gained money and fame. His grasp of facts was great; his style was vigorous. His monthly review of politics in this periodical was singularly terse and clear; but in literature he took (as was his wont) the post which has the hardest work and least fame. He became Editor of this periodical, holding unfashionable opinions, proclaiming obnoxious doctrines. He managed it with singular tact; he prevailed on persons to write in it whom none but he could persuade. He induced Henry Thornton to write, and Robert Grant, and Wilberforce, and Bowdler. Their writings were known and noticed; his part was in the shade. He had talents for business. These he might have turned to full account, and thus made himself rich; but he turned from business to work the work of the philanthropist, and so remained poor. He was social; he loved days of leisure, and the ease, which all men love; but he rarely took rest. Hannah More was his valued friend: she was always entreating him to come to Barley Wood, and to enjoy the repose of the country. He esteemed her, and he would fain have enjoyed rest and her society; but his visits were few, and they were brief. He was wanted for the drudgery of London, and from that drudgery he would not depart. In the autumn holidays of 1823 his old friend Wilberforce writes to him from North Wales:—"I wish that you could view the prospect from my window—Cader Idris in all

his grandeur. But you, my dear friend, are better employed ; brightening a crown, I trust, for future honour, and benefitting your fellow-creatures." Hours of ease, literary fame, the poet's laurels, the writer's gains, had no charms for him. One object filled his eye and engrossed his soul :—

"He had heard the bay of the bloodhound
On the track of the hunted slave,
The lash and the curse of the master,
And the groan that the captive gave."

He had seen in the cane fields of Jamaica the negro's weary step and sunken lot ; he had watched him toiling under tropical suns, and engaged through the long nights in the intolerable pressure of sugar straining. In these works he had seen him faint and fail. He had tracked him to his African home by the steaming rivers of reeds and mangoes, and he felt that he loved that home as fondly as the Highlander loves his hut in the glens of Sutherland and Argyle. From the reedy banks of Africa he had seen him torn, bound, manacled, and driven like a beast on shipboard, to be squeezed into a stifling hold, to die worse than the death of a dog, and to be flung like carrion into the waves. The memory of these horrors haunted him, and he never rested till they were put down. He lived to see the British Parliament fling slavery from it as an accursed thing, with great risk, at heavy cost. When he saw this, he was content. Yet not so ; for he then took across to France his unconquerable ardour, and he wrought, by repeated publications, to instruct and to enlighten the French mind. With him the desire of African freedom was the master desire to which all other feelings and labours were subordinated. He was active in other departments of philanthropy, but always with a reserve in his own mind for this. He was one of the original founders of the Bible Society ; but it was with the hope that Africa would enjoy the Bible. He was one of the earliest supporters of the Church Missionary Society, but it was that its first efforts should be turned to Africa ; and before ten years had passed he had the satisfaction of seeing four missions planted on African soil.

These were his labours. It was these which left on his wrinkled countenance that look of weariness, and lines of care. He continued his work when nature and its growing infirmities bade him cease. They counselled rest, but rest he would not take while these evils endured. Illness at length, sure and disabling, baffled the indomitable mind. Two years of suffering, and then, in his seventy-first year, in May, 1838, came the welcome rest. By that time, in spite of his self-renunciation, he was known. The French Society for the Abolition of Slavery had already enrolled his name in golden

letters by the side of Wilberforce. A large subscription, headed by the highest names in both Houses of Parliament, supported by all the best friends of the Abolition cause, was gathered. They raised a monument to his memory in the Abbey of Westminster, where, in later years, his distinguished son was to be laid. These were records which he no ways sought, and of which he was not ambitious. One thing he had sought: he had lived in his Master's eye, in the light of high endeavour, pursuing beneficent duties, in humble reverence for the Divine commands. Nor can we doubt that, when the story of earth is closed, and labours of good men are reckoned up and recorded, his will be found a high place on the roll of those who have served humanity in the faith and fear of God; and though content to live unknown on earth, he will then have a bright and a durable crown.

THE SIXTEENTH DECISIVE BATTLE OF THE WORLD:
THE SIEGE OF JERUSALEM.

WE have often wondered that Mr. Creasy did not add the siege of Jerusalem to the fifteen decisive battles of the world. The siege is one of the greatest of historic events, and has peculiar points of the greatest interest. It stands alone among those decisive battles as the subject of prophecy; it surpasses all those other battles in the extent and duration of its results. The destruction of the capital of the Jews has been followed by a dispersion which has lasted for 1800 years; and still the race continues, telling, through all those centuries, upon the character, and influencing the religion, of all the nations upon the earth. And this city stands alone in the power which it once exercised over the whole of Christendom, when all Europe rushed

“To chase these pagans, in those holy fields,
Over whose acres walked those blessed feet,
Which, *eighteen* hundred years ago, were nailed,
For our advantage, on the bitter cross;”

as it still commands all hearts who remember that it is the place where God Himself died for the sin of man. It stands alone in the weeping and wailing with which its people every day mourn its desolation. But it stands alone also in the promise of its restoration—a restoration to a dominion over the whole world, and to a glory such as earth “saw never.” In ancient times it was beautiful for situation; in the days to come, living waters will issue from it for the healing of the nations. It is one of the most ancient of the habitations of

men; it is to be hereafter, in a peculiar sense, the scene of the manifestation of the power and glory of God.

Not long before the times of which we are going to treat, it had been the scene of the most wonderful occurrences which have yet happened on the face of the earth—the presence, though in shrouded majesty, the death according to the remotest prophecy, the resurrection, and the ascension of the Son of God. It had witnessed His mercy in weeping over the city, and uttering the lamentations, “O that thou hadst known, even thou, at least in this thy day, the things which belong unto thy peace!” And it had witnessed also the infatuated cry (sad introduction to such a history, and sadder even than the history itself), “His blood be on us and on our children!”

As Titus marched from Cæsarea upon the devoted city, he reached it by the northern road, which leads to the Damascus Gate. When he drew near, he advanced with six hundred men to view the walls, and presently turned off to lead them towards the tower of Psephinus on the west. As soon, however, as a part of his force showed a flank to the gate, a multitude of the Jews rushed out upon him; some attacking his guard, who were still on the road, and others interposing in great numbers between them and Titus and the few who had quitted it with him. Titus was at once in great danger; for the route he had taken was among hedges and trenches to divide and protect the gardens which lay beneath the walls, so that it was difficult to advance or retreat, and he was without his headpiece and breastplate. Happily for him, he was not personally known to the Jews, and escaped owing to the vigour with which he at once attacked those who had surrounded him, and the personal valour which he displayed.

In the night he was joined by the fifth legion, which came up from Emmaus (near Tiberias), and the next day took up a position upon Scopus, about seven furlongs from the city, but commanding a full view of it. Here he encamped with two legions, assigning a more sheltered place for the fifth legion, which had just finished its march; and the tenth legion arriving at this time from Jericho, began to establish themselves on the mount of Olives. The several factions and parties of the Jews, perceiving the Romans forming three different camps, united in attacking them, and fell upon the tenth legion whilst working at their entrenchments. As they were dispersed, unarmed, occupied with the works, not expecting a sally, and overpowered by numbers, they were thrown into great disorder and sustained much loss, so that the whole legion was in jeopardy; but Titus coming up with a strong force on the Jewish left, rallied his soldiers, and, having driven back the assailants, they were sent up the mount to resume their works. Their march appeared a flight to the Jews; and the watchman on

the walls giving a signal by shaking his garments, they made a fresh attack in great numbers, with such fury that nothing could withstand their onset. They fell upon Titus, who was upon the acclivity covering the march of the tenth legion to their position, and he was again in much peril, as many of his party fled, and the legion was ignorant of his danger; but as soon as they perceived it, they fought as the soldiers of the tenth legion were accustomed to do, and drove down the Jews with heaps of slain; Titus remained, lest there should be any further sally, till the camp on the Mount of Olives was fortified.

The next event in the history shows the time of the year at which Titus appeared before Jerusalem. It relates to the celebration of the Passover. Considering the wasted state of the country for some years, the destruction of the towns, the slaughter of the inhabitants, the insecure and unhappy condition of Jerusalem itself, and the occupation and obstruction of the great roads and approaches by the Romans, when their chief army was advancing from Cæsarea, and the fifth legion was coming up from near Tiberias, and the tenth from Jericho, and the danger and uncertainty of a return home, it is impossible that the numbers present at this feast should at all equal the multitudes accustomed to resort to it in happier days. But still, no doubt, there were many who came to appear before God, according to the words of the law, and perhaps, as they might well fear, for the last time, who were involved in the lamentable fate of the city; some of them must have perished immediately in the massacre which, during the feast itself, was perpetrated in the Temple.

Eleazar, who held possession of the Holy Place, allowed all who desired it to enter on the feast-day (13th April),* and offer their sacrifices. But John, taking advantage of this regard for the rights of the worshippers, sent a party of his followers, with arms concealed under their garments, and these men, after they had entered as if to join in the solemn rites, drove out the partisans of Eleazar, and then turned upon the unarmed multitude, who were engaged in the most sacred services of the Law, and slew them at their pleasure; especially selecting those against whom any of them had any private motives or feelings of enmity. John, having obtained possession of the Temple, spared the followers of Eleazar, who had fled to the caverns beneath. And thus the factions in the city were reduced to two, with an oppressed and suffering people.

Titus having established the tenth legion in its detached and almost isolated position, made preparation for bringing his

* We are under an obligation to Mr. Lewin for the English dates which we have substituted from his book, instead of the Jewish dates, as given by Josephus. We noticed Mr. Lewin's book in our last number, but our further use of it makes us feel we did not say enough in commendation of it.

forces up to the walls. His own personal danger, and his experience of the fierceness of the Jews, induced him to proceed with caution, and to level the difficult ground in which he had been entangled. Setting a strong guard to prevent sallies, his soldiers destroyed the hedges, cut down the trees, filled up the trenches and hollows, and smoothed or even removed with iron the abrupt descents and falls, and any rocky or inconvenient unevenness of surface. Four days were spent by the Romans in this important work; and then Titus, massing his forces in great strength next the city, so as to prevent any attack, advanced his whole army (except the tenth legion) with the camp followers, the beasts of burden, the baggage, and engines, to a distance of two furlongs off. The camp was formed near the tower of Psephinus, at the western extremity of the city, where Titus established his own quarters; the fifth legion being stationed more to the south, opposite to Hippius and the Jaffa gate.

The Jews soon inflicted some loss upon the Romans by a stratagem. A number of them appeared at the foot of the towers known as the Women's Towers, in disorder, as if they had been driven out, and moved about as not knowing which way to go for fear of being attacked; while others stood on the walls crying for peace, and entreating that their lives might be spared, and offering to open the gates, and throwing stones at their own people beneath, who on their part petitioned to be let in again. The Romans would have fallen into the snare, had it not been that Titus, the day before, had sent Josephus to offer terms of peace, but could not even get an answer. So he restrained his soldiers; but some of them, in the front of the works, were too hasty for him, and catching up their armour, ran towards the gate. The Jews, who were without retired at first; but, as soon as the soldiers had got between the towers, fell upon them from behind, whilst those on the walls assailed them with darts and stones. So that the Romans lost many men; but at last effected a retreat, though they were pursued as far as the monument of Queen Helena, whilst the Jews indulged in extravagant and insulting demonstrations of delight.

Titus, after reconnoitering the city, determined to make his attack between the towers of Psephinus and Hippius, where the wall leaves a triangular space between it and the valley of Hinnom; for there the outer wall was lower than in other places, and also less protected by the fosse. This may be regarded as the beginning of the siege (22nd April). Whilst preparing his works, Titus harassed the Jews with his engines. Those of the tenth legion were of extraordinary power, throwing a stone of one hundred pounds for the distance of two furlongs and more. The Jews at first were able to

watch the flight of the stone, as it was white, and their watchmen giving a signal when the engine was discharged, those in its way threw themselves on the ground; but the Romans soon made the stones black, and then they destroyed many of the Jews, striking down several at once, and driving them from the walls. Simon replied to the nearer attack with engines which had been taken from Cestius, and in the tower of Antonia, though without much effect, as his people were so unskilful.

When Titus had got his works ready, he advanced them close to the walls, and began to batter the city in three places at once. The Jews received the assault at first with great noise and terror, but soon even the two factions united in resisting it. They not only tried to reach the Romans by throwing torches and darts, but many of the bravest rushed out by troops, tore down the hurdles which were in front of the works, and pulled them to pieces. And though the Romans beat them off, yet for a time they made no progress, as the battering-rams produced very little effect; and the Jews, finding an opportunity when the soldiers were dispersed, issued from an unobserved gate near Hippicus, and went straight up to the works in order to set them on fire. It was only by very hard fighting that the Romans saved their towers and engines. After this fight Titus perpetrated his first act of cruelty, by crucifying one of his prisoners in the sight of the city, for the purpose of intimidation.

The next night a panic occurred among the Romans, from the fall of one of their three towers. Mr. Lewin has given a description of the works, which shows how much a knowledge of them adds to our interest in such operations. The object was to make a breach; and it was done by a battering ram, a huge mast with a ram's head of iron, of great weight, at the end, which was swung against the wall. But the lower part of the wall being thicker than the upper, the force was used to more advantage by raising the ram on a bank, which was a protection also to the men whilst working it; besides, if the stroke of the ram were delivered too low, much force would have been thrown away, as the entrance of the breach would have been encumbered with the ruins. When the bank approached the wall, the workmen threw out a plumb line, and ascertained that the swing of the ram would bring it home; the men employed were protected by hurdles, covered with wet skins, as a defence against fire. But more was needed, and therefore with each bank was used a tower, higher than the walls (one of those made by Titus was 75 feet), which, being built at some distance, and being covered with iron plates, and well furnished with engines for throwing stones and darts, was moved upon its wheels close to the

walls. When the Romans had accomplished works of this description, they obtained a decided superiority. So the Jews retired out of reach of the missiles, and left off their efforts to destroy the battering rams, or prevent their effect. And soon the most powerful of the rams, which the Jews called Nico, or the Conqueror, made a breach. It seems incredible, but Josephus states it as a fact, that the Jews, growing weary of fighting and of watching, and thinking it superfluous to keep the outer wall, as they had two others, retired to a distance for rest in the night; and the Romans, on the fifteenth day of the siege (7th May), entered the breach without opposition, opened the gates, and at once destroyed a great part of the wall, as well as of that portion of the city which they had captured.

Titus then established his army within Bethesa, or the New City, at the place which was called the camp of the Assyrians, having possession of the whole of it as far as Cedron. And he soon renewed his attacks, which led to a repetition of the same courageous and various efforts on the part of the Jews, and indeed they surpassed their former selves, striving only to injure the enemy, without regard to their own loss; whilst the Romans, being less desperate and more under the controul of their commanders, did not emulate such useless self-sacrifice.

It was at the end of five days more that Titus became master of the second wall. And had he acted according to military usage, in destroying the wall and houses also, so far as necessary to secure his position, he would have kept his new conquest. But Josephus represents him as sincerely desirous of sparing the city, so that he did not adopt these precautions, but entered with a thousand men only. It was, however, a mistake; for the Jews attacked him with great fury, and being able, from their local knowledge, to avail themselves of the narrowness, steepness, and turnings of the streets, drove the Romans out with loss. When, at the end of four days more, they had recovered the second wall, they demolished almost all of it, and effectually secured what they had won.

Such had been the progress of the attack for the first twenty-four days, up to the 16th of May. There remained only the Temple, and the upper city, and it was against the Temple that almost all the efforts of the Romans were directed for nearly three months.

For a short time Titus did not press the siege, apparently from some vague expectation that the Jews would surrender, especially as famine was inevitable. So he spent four days in paying his army, and making a great military display. But as it did not influence the Jews, upon the fifth day he began to raise banks against the upper city, and against Antonia. This

was now difficult, as the Jews had the advantage of the ground, and had learned to use their engines, and fought well. Josephus also endeavoured, by the direction of Titus, to persuade them to surrender, but in vain; though he tells us that he induced a multitude to leave the city, and that Titus let them go; but adds, with something like inconsistency, that the factions put any one to death if they suspected him of intending to get away. As to the rich, he tells us that it was all the same whether they staid in the city or attempted to leave it; they were equally destroyed in both cases, under the pretence that they were going to desert, but in reality that the robbers might take what they had.

The famine soon began to make itself felt indeed, and the robbers made it much more intolerable. No food was to be seen anywhere; but these ruffians forced themselves into and searched private houses, and if they found none, they tormented the family, because they denied that they had any; and if they found some, they tormented them worse, because they suspected there was more carefully concealed. They judged from the bodies of the miserable inmates whether they had provisions or not: if they appeared in good condition, it was a proof they had. If the robbers saw a house shut up, they looked upon it as certain that there was bread within, and broke open the doors, and took it by force almost out of the throat of the eaters; whilst they beat the old men who held their food fast, and tore the hair of the women who hid the food in their hands, and dashed the children to the ground to make them give up their morsels. Not that they were hungry at the time, but they did it to provide for following days. The poor, too, who ventured out of the city by night to pick up herbs and roots, were waylaid and robbed on their return; and they suffered from the Romans also, who captured a great many, and, as they resisted, whipped and tormented and at last crucified them. Titus is said to have pitied them, but found them too numerous for prisoners, and hoped by their sufferings to intimidate the Jews. Josephus' summary, which it is to be hoped is exaggerated, being that room was wanted for the crosses, and crosses were wanting for the bodies.

The defenders of the city, however, were not influenced as Titus had hoped, but brought the relations of the sufferers to the walls, and told them this was the fate of deserters and suppliants for mercy. Still, some went over, preferring any death to famine, and Titus sent them back, having cut off their hands to show that they had not been received as deserters, with messages to John and Simon, urging them not to drive him to destroy the city; but without success.

After seventeen days' severe labour, the Romans (7th of June) raised four great banks. But John had undermined the

ground on which the two against Antonia (on the west of it) were erected, supporting the surface with beams; and when the engines were brought up, he filled the space under the supports with combustibles and set them on fire, and, as the foundations gave way, the banks fell with a prodigious noise. Two days after, Simon succeeded in destroying the other banks (against the upper city) by a sally, though the Romans fought most fiercely to defend them.

It was impossible to raise new banks at once, for want of materials, especially wood; for though the environs of the city had been well wooded, all the trees had been cut down. And it would have been in the highest degree subversive of discipline, and an acknowledgment of defeat, to have left the army unemployed, without pressing the siege; whilst the hazard of an assault, or of investing the place more closely by spreading the troops in order to encompass it, was too great for the numbers of the Romans. Titus therefore determined to build a wall all round the city, and accomplished it in three days. It appears to have been done effectually, though it is wonderful how it could have been done in so short a time, and when materials for similar purposes were so much needed. The immediate effect was the aggravation of the famine, which, in the words of Josephus, widened its progress and devoured whole houses and families. And Titus, having brought up materials for more than ninety furlongs, began to raise his banks again, making them greater than at first, and directing all four of them against Antonia.

Meanwhile violence, cruelty, and disorder of every kind, went on increasing in the city; and John, who was in possession of the Temple, melted down many of the sacred vessels, and distributed among his followers the wine and oil which had been kept to be poured on the burnt offerings. And as some of the Jews who attempted to escape had swallowed their gold, the besiegers, and chiefly the Arabians and Syrians, cut open the fugitives alive, to find what they might have thus concealed, till Titus checked it by severe punishment.

At this time Manneus, who had to pay the public stipend for the dead carried out at one of the gates for burial, escaped, and, according to Josephus, told Titus that, since the Roman camp was pitched, 115,880 dead bodies had gone out through that gate alone. Fifty an hour, night and day! a stream of dead! It is impossible. In fact, the numbers in Josephus, like those in many ancient histories, are so exaggerated as to be of little value; but reduce the number as we may, the statement may well be taken as indicating the dreadful waste of life going on within the walls.

When Titus had carried his new banks up to the wall of Antonia, the resistance of the Jews was wanting in its accus-

tomed vigour, and during the night the wall where John had before undermined the besiegers' banks was so shaken by the battering rams that it fell. The Jews, most likely perceiving that its foundation had been weakened, had built a wall behind it, to the great astonishment of the Romans, who rushed upon it in a most spirited way, but were not able to carry it at once. This new-built wall would not have resisted the battering rams long, but it was not tried.

Two days afterwards, however, (2nd July,) twelve of the men at the front called to them the standard-bearer of the fifth legion, and two privates of a troop of horse, and a trumpeter, and at the ninth hour of the night (three o'clock) went silently through the ruins to the tower of Antonia, killed the sentinels as they were asleep, got possession of the wall, and then ordered the trumpeter to sound. The rest of the guard fled, supposing the numbers who had entered must be great; and the Romans running up, not only secured Antonia, but made strenuous efforts to get into the Temple along with the retiring Jews, and in fact did enter the outer Temple, after the centurion Julian had with prodigious valour led them on, and driven the Jews to the wall of the Temple itself. Here, however, his shoes being full of nails, he slipped and fell on the polished pavement, and then he was despatched by the Jews, and the Romans were driven back to Antonia.

Titus then ordered the ground to be cleared, that his forces might act more freely. Even Antonia was to be destroyed, except a tower from which he might watch the siege. It was apparently on the day this order was given (17th *Thamuz*, 14th July) that the daily sacrifice ceased, for want of men to offer it. Titus having heard of the fact, and of the dismay which it occasioned, sent Josephus to endeavour to persuade the people to resume the sacrifice and spare their city. And although some of the priests and leading men who were left took the opportunity of going out to the Romans, and being kindly received, joined in his entreaties, all their efforts produced no further effect.

The ground was still so narrow, that when Titus directed an attack upon the Temple, he was obliged to select for it a number of the most valiant of his soldiers. It was made about three o'clock in the morning. He had his armour on, and intended to join in the assault; but was persuaded to go into the tower of Antonia and direct it. The Jews were not now caught asleep, and resisted so strenuously to the middle of the day that the Romans obtained no advantage.

In the course of seven days, the Romans had made a broad way to the Temple, and then the legions came into the first court (of the Gentiles), and, though the space over which they had to bring their materials was increased to 100 furlongs,

began to erect their banks, which were to reach even to the walls of the Temple.

The Jews themselves first began (19th July) to destroy the Temple, in order to sever it from Antonia, setting fire to the west cloister in the outer Temple, and then breaking it down to the extent of twenty cubits. And when the Romans, two days after, set fire to the other cloister connecting Antonia with the Temple, the Jews did not stop the fire, but cut off the roof to prevent it spreading too far. A day or two afterwards, the Romans completed the destruction of this cloister, most likely to clear the ground, for it is mentioned rather incidentally by Josephus.

In the interval, however, after this cloister had been partially and before it was completely destroyed, the Jews inflicted great loss upon the Romans by a stratagem, but with the destruction of a further portion of the Temple. They filled the roof of the western cloister of the Temple itself with bitumen and pitch and dry wood, and then retired as if they had abandoned it; but when the Romans had rushed to the top they set it on fire. This cloister was thus burnt down all along the western side of the Temple.*

The famine was even more terrible than the war; it was irresistible. Its intensity at this juncture may be estimated by the too well-known story of Mary of Bethesob, who was of a family eminent for their wealth, and had taken refuge in Jerusalem. She had suffered from spoliation more than most, because she had more to lose; and she had, by her reproaches,

* Josephus' description of the destruction of this cloister fixes the position of the Temple at the south-west corner of the Temple platform, beyond dispute, much as it is disputed. For he says, the cloister was burned down as far as the tower which John built when he made war with Simon, over the gates which led to the Xystus—i.e., close by the bridge over the Tyropæon valley which was the access from the upper city to the Temple. The spring of the arch of this bridge may still be seen *in situ* in the wall of the Temple platform, near the south-west corner. (Lewin, p. 135.) The western cloister was in the closest proximity possible with the Temple; that is plain from the history of its destruction. In fact, it covered the holy of holies on the west. But we have surer grounds for our conclusion, inasmuch as half the Temple being 300 feet and Antonia 600, it is an impossibility that these buildings, occupying 900 feet, could be placed on *half* of 1520 feet,

the extent of the Temple platform. And also, the 1200 feet occupied by Antonia and the Temple leaving only 320 feet, it is plain that, starting from the north-east corner with the Macedonian Acra, and then regarding the size of Antonia and the Temple itself and the spaces between the buildings, the Temple could not have stood anywhere but at the extreme south-west corner. The reviewer of Smith's Biblical Dictionary, in a late Quarterly, pronounces, *ex cathedra*, that a glance is enough to show the Temple was in the middle; but he forgets how different the ground was before the Acra was levelled, and the ruins of Antonia had raised the spot on which his glance sees the Temple. It is a late and interesting discovery that the aqueduct for bringing water to the Temple platform delivers its supply at the south-west corner, where Mr. Lewin thinks the Temple stood; it being there that the large quantity was wanted for sacrificial and ceremonial purposes.

excited some personal hostility against herself, which aggravated her sufferings and her despair. She slew her son, who was at the breast, roasted the body, ate a part; and when the robbers, at the smell of the food, threatened her if she did not produce it, she gave them the remainder of the child, at which even those men turned away with horror.

The end was approaching. The Romans had possession of all but the inner Temple, and the inner court around it. On the 2nd August, the legions had completed two banks against the western wall, which was now tried with the most powerful ram, having been battered previously for six days, but still without making the slightest impression. Another party of the besiegers endeavoured to force the north-eastern gate of the inner court with crowbars and engines, and loosened a few stones; but the gate stood uninjured, till the soldiers, despairing of success in these efforts, brought up their ladders to the cloisters of the inner Temple. The Romans were so resolute to win, that even their eagles were ordered up; and the greatness of the repulse may be estimated from the fact that they were lost. Then it was that Titus ordered the gates of the inner court to be fired. The silver with which they were covered conducted the fire to the wood and to the cloisters within, and the Jews stood in mute astonishment and despair as the flames took possession of these cloisters. On that day and the next all the cloisters were destroyed. But still the holy house stood, though all was burning around.

On the 4th August, Titus called a council of six of his chief officers, and it was resolved, in deference to his wishes, to spare the Temple, and orders were given to extinguish the fire. The Jews were so overcome that they lay still that day. But the 5th August was the day on which the former Temple had been destroyed by Nebuchadnezzar, and it was again made memorable by the ruin of the second Temple.

About the second hour (eight o'clock) of this memorable day the Jews made a desperate sally through the eastern gate upon the Romans in the outer court. The conflict was so stubborn that Titus only saved his men by ordering up a troop of horse; and thus, about the fifth hour (eleven), the Jews were driven into the inner Temple, and Titus retired to Antonia, resolved to storm the Temple on the next day. But its destruction was not delayed till the morrow. His soldiers went on extinguishing the fire in the cloisters of the inner Temple, which they had then gained. The Jews for a time were quiet, but at length attacked the soldiers so extinguishing the fire, and were driven back to the very Temple itself. It was in this repulse that one of the Romans snatched up some of the burning embers, and being lifted up by a comrade, set fire to a golden window lighting a passage to the rooms on the north side of the Temple. The flames soon broke out. Titus came in haste

from Antonia, and the officers and the legions followed in great astonishment; and although he made every effort to stop the burning, his soldiers were beyond controul, and completed the work of destruction, plunder, and slaughter. And thus was this holy and beautiful house, in which the Fathers had worshipped, and on which the Son of God had by His presence conferred a glory beyond that of the first house, made a desolation.

When it was beyond doubt that the Temple could not be preserved, Titus, with his chief officers, went into the holy house, and found that it equalled all he had ever heard; and afterwards, when the Jews who had defended it had got away into the upper city, the soldiers brought their eagles into the Temple, and set them against the eastern gate, offered sacrifice to them, and saluted Titus as Imperator with great joy.

Titus had still to take the upper city. He directed his operations against the walls joining the tower of Hippicus with the other two towers on the isthmus at the west; and they soon fell. Simon and his followers, instead of occupying the three strong towers, endeavoured to escape over the Roman wall of circumvallation, but unsuccessfully. If they had been able to hold the towers, the Romans would have had much to do; but it was the famine which rendered that impossible, and made escape the only hope of the besieged. Simon was not to be found. He took refuge in the caverns beneath the upper city, and worked his way to the site of the Temple, where he suddenly appeared to the Romans, a figure in white rising out of the ground. He was thus saved from immediate death, but was reserved for the triumph, in which he perished as the general of the conquered.

Then came the disposal of the prisoners. Multitudes were sold into slavery, made to fight as gladiators, thrown to wild beasts, put to death, and in every way treated with cruelty and contempt.

Imagination cannot add to the solemnity and terror of this act of Divine vengeance. It had been rendered more complete by a false prophet, who had induced numbers of those who perished to flock to the Temple, by a promise of miraculous signs of deliverance. Josephus tells us of prodigies foreshadowing it; of a star in the shape of a sword which stood over the city; and a comet for a whole year; of chariots and horsemen rushing to battle in the clouds, and of a light at night as bright as day around the altar and the holy house; and of wonders connected with the victims for sacrifice, which among the heathen were of the most disastrous import. A more terrible omen was it when the eastern gate of the inner court, which was of brass, and had been shut with difficulty by twenty men, opened of its own accord about the sixth hour of the night. Of these marvels men will judge for themselves;

excepting the last, they do not tell much at the present day. But there were two more portents, one of which we cannot think of without awe, and it seems too appropriate and too sublime for human invention; and the other does appear entitled to credit as a matter of history. At the feast of Pentecost, the priests performing the offices felt a quaking, and heard a great noise as of a mighty movement, and the solemn words "Let us go up." Josephus considers it yet more dreadful that there was one Jesus, the son of Ananus, a plebeian and a husbandman, who, four years before the war began, and when the city was in peace and prosperity, came up to the feast of Tabernacles, and began to cry, "Woe, woe, to Jerusalem!" This he uttered, day and night, up and down the city and streets, and stripes from the Jews and the Romans were alike unavailing to stop him: to every stroke he replied, "Woe, woe, to Jerusalem!" As long as he lived during the siege he continued his cry, till at length he was killed by a stone, having just changed his words to "Woe to myself also."

Milton's lines on the desolation of Paradise at the flood rush into our mind. And if we take as figurative what the great poet wrote as descriptive in his ideal, and consider the course of subsequent history, they will well pourtray the desolation of Jerusalem:—

"Then shall this mount
Of Paradise by might of waves be moved
Out of his place, pushed by the horned flood
With all his verdure spoiled and trees adrift,
Down the great river to the opening gulf,
And there take root an island salt and bare,
The haunt of seals and ores, and seamew's clang;
To teach thee that God attributes to place
No sanctity, if none be thither brought
By men who there frequent, or therein dwell."

HISTORICUS.

REV. D. MOORE'S HULSEAN LECTURE FOR 1864.

The Age and the Gospel. Four Sermons preached before the University of Cambridge, at the Hulsean Lecture, 1864; to which is added, a Discourse on Final Retribution. By Daniel Moore, M.A. Rivingtons.

WE are not among the number of those who consider controversy, and above all theological controversy, as an unmixed evil. It seems to be the unavoidable concomitant of the present condition of the race, while truth and error are in

constant antagonism, while mind differs from mind in so many respects, and while each earnest inquirer deems the views of religion he entertains to be of unspeakable importance. In spite of all that the most plausible advocate of peace principles allege for their inviting theory, sinful man is evidently a being of belligerent tendencies; and in a world like this, occasions are seldom wanting to call forth this perverse element of his degenerate nature. We agree with Mr. Moore, that "the Church of Christ is a militant Church to the end of time." Of necessity it is so, whether viewed in its individual aspect, or in its collective capacity; because it is impossible to advocate one set of truths without confronting those of an opposite character. The moment that the life of faith begins, the fight of faith begins; and every religious man, like Jeremiah, is "born a man of strife." We cannot put off our armour till we put on our shroud; nor can the seed of the woman relax in their efforts, till the seed of the serpent forego their assaults. By how much, in these days, infidel and irreligious men are contending against the truth, with a zeal and pertinacity worthy of a better cause, by so much it becomes the most docile follower of the Prince of Peace to contend, and "contend earnestly, for the faith once delivered to the saints." Christianity only demands that her interests should be supported in a spirit harmonious with her own. Her most strenuous advocate should seek to emulate the poet's fine conception of the fabled goddess of classical antiquity, who was said to have wielded her armour of celestial proof, without ever unclasping her garment of peace.

Many excellent men appear to dread any close examination into the grounds of their faith, lest the whole building should be shaken from the pinnacle to the base. They pray daily and nightly for perpetual calm. For them the sun must always stand still, and Jordan only flow backwards. They would ask for a total stagnation of the elements of thought; and the best millennium for them would be a resuscitation of the dark ages. These men forget that all great truths in science, in art, in political economy, and in the creeds they hold sacred, have had to stand the test of searching enquiry, and to make good their claims to human acceptance under the fire of sharp contention. The Protestant Reformation was a successful revolt against the usurped authority of the priesthood to place an arrest upon the progress of opinion; it was a successful plea for the unlimited freedom of the human mind in the faithful study of God's holy Word. The insulted majesty of truth slumbered, or appeared to slumber, like the Champion of Gaza, while "the green withs and cords" were binding on, only to rend them into shreds in her waking fury. We hold that the doctrines of the Reformation can only be maintained in the earnest

and intelligent spirit in which the first conquests were so nobly won. The truest friends of religion are not those who proscribe all investigation; but those who promote it in a true Christian temper, in faith, humility, and prayer. We should not be like the bat in the Jewish fable, who contended that all the light was hers, and was satisfied to remain in her pristine obscurity; but rather like the unchained eagle, rising above the early mists of morning into a purer atmosphere, and returning with the light of heaven upon her radiant wing before the sluggish world was well awake. We are bound, by the same laws which lead us to do homage to the truth ourselves, to resist to the utmost those pestilent and popular errors which, under the shallow pretext of a higher criticism, would tarnish her robe, break her sceptre, destroy her influence, and leave her, like the dove in the deluge, without a resting place in a world which she comes to enlighten and to save.

Such remarks as these naturally connect themselves with the volume before us, and with M. Rénan's strange French romance of the life of Christ, of which we propose to give some brief account. The Bampton Lecture at Oxford, and the Hulsean Lecture at Cambridge, have served successive generations well in years gone by. Formerly, the Hulsean Lectures were expected to be *eight* in number, and were always to be printed; but by a recent statute they have been reduced to *four*, the obligation to print not being paramount. Though still designed, according to the will of the founder, Mr. Hulse, "to show the evidence of revealed religion," they are not supposed to be so rigidly polemical as to repel youthful minds, which in former years they were in danger of becoming; but the preacher is wisely left at liberty to consult the religious interests of a mixed congregation of townsmen, no less than the argumentative predilections of the academic body. Few men could have been selected better able to combine both these objects than the present writer. And the discourses are presented to the public now, it is intimated, not only in acknowledgment of the interest they appeared to excite at the time, and in consequence of the understood wish of many, to whose judgment the author felt bound to defer, but especially with a view to more permanent usefulness among the younger class of undergraduates, some of whom it was feared might have been endangered by the insidiousness and sophistry of the new French school, headed by Rénan, and followed by Michelet.

The Lectures are four in number, under the general title, *The Age and the Gospel*; in the first of which the lecturer furnishes a very striking sketch of the leading characteristics of the day, literary, social, sceptical, and religious. In the second we are called to contemplate *the Age*, and the *written word*, which comprises the hostility of mankind to revealed

religion, and specifies some of the chief points of hostile attack ; concluding with a powerful exhibition of the claims of Scripture to our devout and reverential regard. In the third, the preacher sets before us the unsatisfactory views of the claims of Christ as perplexed and distorted by modern criticism, in which it is successfully argued that, apart from the supernatural, the uncreated, and the Divine, the whole history of Christ is an enigma, and a mystery which never has been, nor can be, accounted for upon any humanitarian theory whatever. The last lecture is entitled "The Christ of God"—in which, admitting the whole Scripture Testimony respecting the Divine Personality of Jesus, it is shown that we have an adequate solution of the entire problem of Christianity, and an harmonious view of the whole method of redemption, centering in Him, considered at once as a scheme of moral government, and as a medium of efficacious grace.

The volume contains a discourse on Final Retribution, of which a critic in one of the Cambridge papers observes that, for its clear and persistent logic, it would do no dishonour to the ratiocinative powers of Bishop Butler himself. We have compared it with Dr. Pusey's able and learned sermon on the same topic, and recommend that both the discourses should be read together.

In addition to the Lectures, and the Sermon on Retribution, Mr. Moore has furnished an appendix of selections from the best authorities upon the controverted points of which he treats. We confess to have demurred to this at first sight, as we have a strong dislike to a succession of notes, as in Bishop Magee, or Hare on "The Mission of the Comforter," in which the addenda far exceed the size of all the rest of the volume. We have known instances in which there is scarcely a good thought in the book but you find a bristling note, and perhaps an unfaithful one, designed to free the luckless writer from being pilloried on the charge of picking and stealing, or downright plagiarism. It is due to Mr. Moore to say, that these remarks in no sense apply to him. Upon close inspection, we find that every point seems fairly worked out in his own telling language, wholly irrespective of the after-piece ; but the notes are necessary in order that he may give the objections in the language of the objectors, and that he may furnish these corroborations of his own powerful arguments from acknowledged sources, which may make his work of lasting value to students and scholars who cannot have these productions at hand. This, therefore, which at first seemed a blemish to our fastidious apprehension, really adds to the usefulness of the volume in the case of all thoughtful readers.

The contents of the volume being so multifarious, it seems impossible to us to make selections which could give the reader

any fitting impression of the whole. But as we have verified his references for our own benefit, we are in a position to give, in our own vernacular, a general sketch of some of the points of the controversy, with here and there a fact or reference which may serve as a buttress and support to Mr. Moore's conclusions. And that our remarks may be as little technical as possible, we shall comprise them under such general observations as appear to rise out of our subject, which is, the antagonism of mankind to the faith of the Gospel.

That such hostility should exist, ought to surprise no thinking man, because *it is distinctly anticipated* as the prevailing sin of each succeeding age; for though the form varies, the principle is one and the same. To use a fine image of Mr. Burke, in another case, "the spirit transmigrates whilst we are gibbeting the carcase and demolishing the tomb." The foundation of this animosity is deeply laid in the nature and condition of man, who is much more disposed to recoil from the severity of God's law against sin than he is to acknowledge the aggravation of his sin against God's law. Here is a religion that comes to proclaim a warfare against all in man that wars against the government and grace of God—a religion, indeed, which reveals a system of pardon and amnesty through a Redeemer, but demands at the same time the renewal of the heart, the allegiance of the life, and the consecration of all our powers to Him whom we have offended. Is it so wonderful that many object to the book on this very account—namely, that it gives a view of the state and condition of the race which is anything but flattering to the inherent and hereditary pride of human nature; and, if the truth were spoken, that it proposes, in the last resort, to have men *be* and *do* anything but what men desire to do and be? Their first impression is, "Certainly this is not the religion I should have invented for myself. I see not the necessity of such a scheme of redemption, and renovation, and inward change as Christianity demands." They dislike the sanctions and penalties of the Gospel even more than its peculiar doctrines; and with the hope of escaping from both, are prepared to reject the system altogether. They are just as ready to crucify the truth of Christ, as the Jews were to crucify the person of Christ; and instead of welcoming that tree of life whose leaves are for the healing of diseased nations, their language in effect is like one in the book of Daniel, who cried aloud and said thus:—"Hew the tree down and cut off his branches, shake off his leaves, and scatter his fruit; let the beasts get away from under it, and the fowls from his branches; nevertheless leave the stump of his roots in the earth." (Dan. iv. 23.) Here, therefore, is a deep-laid basis for the infidelity of the heart in the outset, and for that form of "contempt" which, as Paley says, "comes before examination." Take a religion

so purely spiritual as this, so gratuitous in its principle, so heavenward in its tendency, and which aims to set up an interior dominion in the soul, and can we wonder that it should awaken the fierce scorn of Voltaire, the bitter dislike of the American Parker, or the polished sophistry of Rénan? or that the younger branches of aristocratic families who grace the Court at Windsor, or in London, should be the first to welcome the *Essays and Reviews*, and the profound arithmetical calculations of Bishop Colenso, whilst their worthy compeers in taverns and pothouses equally rejoice in Holyoke and Barker? Would not all our calculations be reversed, and all our philosophy be at fault, if this were not the case?

Neither should the Christian Church be at all *alarmed* at the newer forms of opposition raised against the Christian Scriptures, nor at the incongruous manner in which the controversy is carried on as society advances in other respects. The malignity of some men against religion, far from diminishing, may increase as time rolls on, as the venom of the serpent is said to become more virulent with age.

But look at the peculiar construction of the Christian records, and mark what a wide range they present to the artifice and skilled opposition of the godless faction. Ours is a documental religion. It has pleased the Divine Benefactor to give us His revealed will, not in a logical and dialectic form, after the approved methods of European science, but as more appropriate to the habits of the Asiatic races among whom it sprang, through the accredited medium of the histories, the biographies, and the minute domestic annals of a pastoral and a patriarchal people. This method of communication, carried on from the earliest times, and handed down from family to family, was peculiarly appropriate to the condition of mankind ages before printing was invented, or even before the art of writing was widely known or practised. No formal code was given, till the time of Moses, and the era of the Sinaitic covenant. Then there came the history of the tribes in the desert, and of the two kingdoms of Judah and Israel; then devotional compositions, proverbial maxims, prophetic announcements by the four greater and the twelve lesser prophets; afterwards the Evangelists, the Acts, and the Epistles. These have been gathered up in the volume called the Bible, consisting of about sixty-six different books or tractates, by above forty different and disconnected authors, stretching out through a period of more than 1500 years, from the grey dawn of the world's civilization down to the period so emphatically denominated the fulness of time, intermingled with the manifold movements of ancient empires long since swept from the face of the earth. These wonderful records contain the outline of the Divine dispensations towards mankind, embody the principles of moral

and religious truth, and culminate in the great work of man's salvation through the agency and sacrificial death of the Redeemer of the world.

Here, therefore, is a wide scope for hostile criticism, of which the enemies of the faith have not been slow to take advantage—from Porphyry and Julian to Bolingbroke and Gibbon, Colenso and Strauss and Ernest Rénan.

Consider also the *variety of motives*, sometimes expressed, but not less influential when unavowed, which prompt the most venomous attacks upon revealed religion. There is sometimes the appetite for distinction, the delight of opposing the rooted opinions of mankind, and, above all, a species of pragmatism never more powerful than in relation to things sacred, and often discoverable in infidel writings. Voltaire not obscurely avowed this motive. "It required twelve men," he says, "to establish Christianity; I am determined to show that one man is sufficient to overthrow it." Gibbon was not insensible to the distinction he gained by his intensely hostile sneers against the faith, as appears from Lord Sheffield's edition of his Letters. David Hume, among his friends, made no secret of his own governing motive. Dr. Carlyle, whose autobiography has been lately published, never believed that Hume's sceptical principles had laid fast hold upon his mind, but thought that his books proceeded rather from affectation of superiority, and pride of understanding, and love of vain glory. Carlyle was further confirmed in this opinion, after Hume's death, by the following incident, related to him by the Hon. Patrick Boyle. When Hume and he were both in London, at the period when the historian's mother died, Mr. Boyle, hearing of it, went into his apartment—for they both lodged in the same house—when he found him in the deepest affliction, and in a flood of tears. After the usual topics of condolence, Mr. Boyle said to him, "My friend, you owe this uncommon grief to your having thrown off the principles of religion; for if you had not, you would have been consoled by the firm belief that the good lady, who was not only the best of mothers but the most pious of Christians, was now completely happy in the realms of the just." To which David Hume replied, "Though I throw out my speculations to entertain and employ the learned and metaphysical world, yet in other things I do not think so differently from the rest of the world as you may imagine. To this Mr. Carlyle was witness." A full proof, this, that neither sound conviction nor love of truth dictated his sceptical attacks upon the outworks of Christianity.

Nor is the feeling of vanity the only impelling force which prompts to the infliction of infidel sentiments upon the world, for cupidity may have a share in the vileness. It is stated by Mr. Moore, in a note, that the gross profits of "*La Vie de*

Jésus," in two years, amounted to the incredible and almost fabulous sum of £17,637. 16s. 3d., and the demand for it still continues. The Bishop of Natal, we are persuaded, never gained so much by his arithmetic as he has realized by his impiety; and one, if not more, of the writers of the "Essays and Reviews," if report may be credited, like the craftsmen of Diana, may say—"By this craft we have our wealth." The *Athenæum* tells us that, inspired by M. Rénan's success, M. Michelet, another French writer, has taken the Bible in hand, read some part of it carefully, and come to the conclusion that there is not much in it—nothing, indeed, to be compared with the beauty, goodness, and originality in the divine poems and legends of Persia and India. Such is the scope and style of his work entitled "*Bible de l'Humanité*," which we suppose is the latest, though not likely to be the last, importation from the infidel press of France; for the cry will still be, "They come, they come."

It is plain, therefore, that we must be prepared for onslaughts on the Christian faith, of added pungency and bitterness, as the years accumulate, and human degeneracy abounds. We may be assured that infidelity in France, in England, and in Germany, has not done its work yet, especially if notoriety conjoined with cupidity is to have a voice in the matter. Yet it may not be difficult to suggest some causes for the success of Rénan, without ascribing it to an unmixed appetite for flagrant irreligiosity in our French neighbours; though it is probable that such a book would not have attained so speedy a popularity elsewhere. Let it be recollected, that among the masses of the French nation the Bible is little known; and it is less read by the proud votaries of literature and science, in the gay metropolis of Paris. M. Rénan, too, had good antecedents, being known as a clever literary man, and a considerable scholar; one who, like the children of Zebulon and Issachar, could handle "the pen of the writer" upon all sorts of subjects. He is understood to be a Positivist, and a disciple of M. Comte in philosophy, if philosophy he has. He seems to have risen from the perusal of the German Neologists, Strauss, Weiss, and others of the tribe; and knowing that large gleanings might be gathered in this field of speculation, he seems to have thought it was high time that France should bear away some ripe sheaves, and that, as "the time and the man were come," he himself, in default of a better, would be the man for the time. Having at the same juncture an appointment to Phœnicia for scientific purposes, he, with his sister, spent some months in the province of Galilee, in his description of which he was preceded by the writings of Chateaubriand and Lamartine, whose vivid colourings often rival his own. Hence arose his *Vie de Jésus*.

We might be excused any further reference to his publication, as a notice of it appeared in this periodical, by a valued contributor, some time ago, (see *Christian Observer*, February, 1864); but a few statements may be allowed, in order to prepare our readers for Mr. Moore's elaborate refutation.

The world may well be surprised that a man of M. Rénan's critical sagacity should have allowed his opposition to Christ and Christianity to be based on such shadowy reasonings and insufficient grounds. His real oppugnancy seems to arise from the miraculous character of the Gospel record; for he starts with the assumption, for which he does not pretend to offer the semblance of proof, that no credible evidence can sustain a miracle, and that the Gospels must be legendary (or, in other words, fictitious) because they contain a record of miraculous facts. And yet, with strange inconsistency, he admits the authenticity of the Gospels of Matthew, John, and Mark, and argues from them against the doctrines and the facts they reveal, *when he has no counter-evidence to place in the opposite scale!* He forgets that if the evidence be good on one side of the question, it is good also on the other; because, as Bolingbroke has long since admitted (quoted by Mr. Moore), the history cannot be separated from the miracles, nor the miracles eliminated from the history, without the evident destruction of both. Besides, if the orthodox may not assume the supernatural in the Gospels without adequate proof, the unbeliever cannot be permitted to start from the assumption of its denial or impossibility, in the face of all the evidence that goes to sustain the credibility of the Christian Scriptures.

M. Rénan has endeavoured to make out the historical problem of the human origin of Christianity, on purely natural principles, wholly apart from the Divinity of its founder, and the concurrence of Omnipotence in the design; but the farther he proceeds, the greater is his failure; as his scheme, like a child's house of cards, breaks down at the slightest touch. He would have us receive, upon his own unsupported authority, (his *ὁς ἐφα* being more potent than that of Aristotle,) that nature was our Lord's chief teacher, and that the lovely scenery of Galilee and Gennesaret furnished Him with His chief, if not His only inspiration, and gave an exquisite tenderness to His voice, and a winning attraction to His person. But did it never occur to M. Rénan, that others besides our Lord had been brought up in Galilee: Judas Iscariot, for instance, and Simon Magus, and Ahab, and Jezebel, and Ananias and Sapphira, neither of whom had received any inspiration from the place? Great travellers had been there; for the first Napoleon visited Galilee, and was once at Nazareth. Dean Stanley also, and M. Rénan himself, neither of whom is understood to have borne away, like the chameleon, the

colour of the spot on which he lodged? He would have us believe that our Lord was a kind of disciple of Hillel, a Jewish teacher, and received much wisdom from the Talmuds, which yet he owns were not written till about 200 years after the Saviour's time. Who does not perceive the absurdity of these assumptions? Who is the writer of *myths* now? But the subject is too serious for ridicule.

But here we burn daylight, as the saying is; for our readers will be glad to have the Hulsean lecturer's own graphic exhibition of M. Rénan's controversial delinquencies as a critic and a reasoner. After showing up the theories of Priestley, and Parker, and Strauss, with their inevitable failures, Mr. Moore goes on to say:—

“Of recent attempts, however, to make out a consistent human Christ, the most remarkable, and on the score of literary attractiveness the most dangerous, is that contained in *The Life of Jesus*, by Ernest Rénan. Hardly, I think, could the difficulties of the problem involved in the life and character of Christ be made more forcibly apparent, than in the reckless and extravagant shifts to get rid of them resorted to by this accomplished writer. The merest tyro in the history of the sacred canon stands amazed on finding the authority of a great European scholar pledged to such a statement as that ‘the three Synoptic Gospels were the issue of an obscure and entirely popular elaboration;’ the early Christians ‘having each his copy of the fragmentary biography of Papias,’ which, swelled by accretions of the sayings and doings of the Master inserted in the margin, became the foundation of our present Evangelical narrative!

“More desperate, if possible, because more directly against all evidence, is this writer's attempt to account by human means for the excellency of the doctrine of Christ, and for the world-wide acceptance it has received. For, against all the information that has come down to us of the intellectually sunken condition of the Galilean population, we are gravely assured that Jesus was brought up in a part of Palestine where the national faith was more pure and robust and healthy than in any other—the moral teaching of the Galilean synagogues being altogether of a higher caste than that which was commonly inculcated at Jerusalem. And these outward advantages, combined with a genius of transcendent order, and a character of unrivalled dignity and strength and sweetness, enabled Him, it is alleged, to give forth those lofty precepts which have since been accepted as the guide and moral text-book of mankind. But this was not all. The temper of the times, as well as the whole tone of Messianic thought, clamoured loudly for the miraculous, in any one who should aspire to be a leader. Jesus must be a wonder-worker, or he could never succeed. And sorely against his will he at length yielded to the demand. He persuaded others, and probably persuaded himself, that certain apparent cures, wrought on the sick, and the possessed, and the epileptic, were the real effects, as possibly they were, of personal contact or converse with himself. The concession to this popular avidity for miracle, however, it is declared, became too strong for Christ. ‘He was no longer his

own master.' His conscience gave way, until at length (profound and sincere is the apology offered to a Christian audience for repeating such blasphemy), in the pretended miracle of the raising of Lazarus, he became the unwilling conniver at a fraud, got up for interested purposes by his friends! Such is the last humanitarian theory with which a man reputed to be a scholar, and still professing to be a Christian, has shocked the religious feelings of France and Europe and the world." (Lect. iii. pp. 61, 62.)

The inconsistency, however, of Rénan's premises with his conclusions must strike every one who is unacquainted with the singular idiosyncrasies of the Gallic mind. How imposture should do the work of truth, and ignorance reveal the secrets of ineffable wisdom, and sinful connivance with fraud and error should have won the Saviour the admiration of His own age, and the adoring love of every succeeding one, and how a religion built upon such failing props and buttresses should conquer the conquerors of the world—all this is a problem which the French admirers of this writer may attempt to harmonize and solve, but which, most certainly, no one else can. Yet the overruling providence of God has so ordered it, that this "Life of Jesus" has awakened such interest in France, from its descriptive beauty and various literary attractions, that multitudes are inquiring for the divine original of such a singular travestie, and the colporteurs sell more New Testaments than usual in consequence of its popularity. So true it is, that men, however badly disposed, "can do nothing against the truth, but for the truth." Christianity has thus shone from age to age, like the sun, upon the cradles and graves alike of its foes and its friends. From the history of the past, we have a right to augur the triumphs of its future, assured that, like its Divine author, it shall go on in a career of victorious progression, though the pillars of heaven should be shaken, and the light of the world be extinguished. M. Rénan is the real loser; for had he employed his fine talents in the right direction instead of the wrong one,—for Christ wholly, instead of so much *against* Him; dealing honestly by the evidence, instead of falsifying it in so many particulars,—he would have gained to his memory a lasting name, instead of inflicting upon his own conscience a fearful wound. But the pride of a fancied superiority, and the desire to eclipse his fellows by striking out an erratic course, has fatally misled his better judgment. His false theory, like the apple with an insect at the core, inviting to the eye but treacherous to the hope, seems to have been the tempting bait for which he has lost the world, and been content to lose it.

We regret that our remaining space will not permit our furnishing an outline of the author's convincing statements upon the genial character of God's retributive dispensations,

in which, by a singular process of deductive argument, the impenitent man is made witness and judge of his own case—more terrific, by far, than any declamation could possibly be. But our readers will be thankful to read the lecturer's closing appeal, wherein tenderness and terror are eloquently combined in an unusual degree.

"Nor should it fail to give to our convictions upon this subject a yet deeper reality and intenseness, to remember that, if there be any Scriptural presentments of the doctrine more awfully graphic and appalling than the rest, they are those which proceeded from the lips of Christ Himself; from Him whose sensitiveness and compassion were more than human; from Him who came not to destroy men's lives, nor yet to make them sad, but to redeem us from the power of the destroyer, and to save us with an everlasting love.

"And if in order to this he dwells sometimes on the portion of the ungodly—the worm and the fire, and the darkness and the gnashing of teeth—yet is this only to prevail with us to look at the future world on its other side, and see the spiritual glory of the righteous—fellowship with angels, a seat on the throne, a sight of God. Jesus knows what is in man, and whatever will be in him; that the bitterest ingredient in the cup of undying anguish will be the remembrance, by the impenitent sinner, of the salvation he has refused, and the grace he has resisted, and the calls he has disregarded—the thought of the Saviour who besought him earnestly to accept forgiveness, and of the Spirit who strove with him mightily that he might repent and live. Hence the urgency with which, both in the Old Testament and in the New, we are exhorted to flee from the wrath to come. . . .

"Very soon the powers of immortality will be upon us, and we shall stand in our lot in the realms of a changeless world—changeless to the lost, for where in the midst of that demon-throng should they find one mighty to save?—changeless to the saved, for not all the powers of eternity could make a redeemed saint to fall.

"One thought more. We began by saying that the words of our text were among the last of those which John heard in heaven. They were not quite the last. The older Revelation may conclude with the sentence, 'Lest I come and smite the earth with a curse;' but the dispensation of grace must close with the offers of grace. Love lingers on the angel's tongue, as the last strains of the inspired music are dying away. And while it is needful to make the proclamation before all worlds, that the resurrection character changeth not, that he that is holy shall be holy still; and he that is filthy shall be filthy still, yet shall not the vision be sealed up without another, and another, and another earnest entreaty of the sinner to accept a present salvation, and to lay hold on eternal life.—AND THE SPIRIT AND THE BRIDE SAY, COME. AND LET HIM THAT HEARETH SAY, COME. AND LET HIM THAT IS ATHIRST COME. AND WHOSOEVER WILL LET HIM TAKE THE WATER OF LIFE FREELY." (pp. 148—150.)

We commend this volume to the attention of our readers, as an antidote to the scepticism of the time, and a great service

to the cause of true religion in the present day. This is a book which "the scholar may read for its learning, the sceptic for its argument, the Christian for its piety;" and those who are perplexed by the cavils of infidelity or the intricacies of controversial criticism, for its clear and convincing advocacy of the truth as it is in Jesus.

NOVELS.

1. *Sword and Gown.* By the Author of *Guy Livingstone*. 2nd edition. Parker and Son.
2. *Recommended to Mercy.* In 3 vols. Saunders, Otley, & Co.

NOVELS, like newspapers and magazines, unquestionably form one of the most striking characteristics of the present age. Never were so many works of fiction written, never perhaps were they so universally read. The advertisements that swarm in every book and every paper, and the lists of our great circulating libraries, sufficiently attest this assertion. There are some tendencies which, be they good or be they evil, it is impossible to check. Whether this passion for novel-reading be necessarily one of these, we will not pretend to determine. But granted that it is so, it behoves us seriously to remember that tendencies, though they cannot be checked, may yet be directed, and that the bend which we give the sappling will often, very often, determine its future growth.

We would premise, to start with that we decidedly approve of the reading of good works of fiction. According to the dictum of a great German writer, a man should, if possible, every day of his life hear a charming bit of music, or see a beautiful picture, or read a page of first-rate poetry; or, we would add, a chapter of a fine work of fiction. God has bestowed none of His gifts in vain on the sons of men, and not the least precious of those gifts have fallen to the lot of the poet and the novelist. Certain tastes have been implanted within us, which it is our duty, if possible, to cultivate; and not the least noble or the least pure of those tastes is the love of the good and the beautiful.

Indeed, the universal verdict of all ages has ratified this opinion. We speak with just admiration and gratitude of those who have portrayed to us the heart of man, who have given us the tale of Troy divine, the woes of *Œdipus*, the sorrows of *Marguerite*, *Viola*, and *Desdemona*, with their stainless, unfaltering love; *Di Vernon* and *Rebecca*, with their true unselfishness, their noble devotion. Nay, even the *Book of Books* (with all reverence be it said) appeals most strongly to our merely human feelings, inasmuch as it shows us what is in man,

and constantly holds up before our eyes the highest standards of human excellence. To deny ourselves the pleasure of studying and loving such characters as these, would be to crush our affections with more than an anchorite's ruthlessness.

But the very feeling which would lead us to praise really good novels, would lead us to visit with the most unsparing censure really bad novels. Horace, with all the bitterness of a poet who is conscious of his own merits, inveighs against those wretched versifiers who believed themselves to be Virgils and Homers. But, fortunately, bad poetry is generally suicidal. Those who venture unworthily to enter the temple of the Muses are punished invariably with everlasting contempt and oblivion. In the case of a bad novel, on the other hand, the avidity with which it is read too often bears an exact proportion to the amount of evil which it contains; and authors who know the weakness of their powers, resort to the vilest stimulants to make their work palatable.

There is another consideration, too, which cannot fail to have its due weight with us, when we regard it aright—the difference, namely, between the effect of the works of the novelist and the works of the poet. Most poetry, from its very nature, considered simply as poetry, may be extremely good, though its tendencies be extremely bad. Most novels, from their very nature, considered simply as novels, cannot ever be extremely good, if their tendency be extremely bad. That we may not be misunderstood, we will endeavour to make our meaning clearer. What we mean to say is this—that the merits for instance of Lucretius' *De Rerum Naturâ*, from a poetical point of view, are not lessened by the fact, that his poem was written in defence of a most absurd system of philosophy. We admire his verses, though we laugh at the theory of the atomists. So, again, few persons would be disposed to deny any praise to Pope's *Eloisa* and *Abelard*, though they might censure its morality in the strongest terms. Such poems as Byron's *Don Juan* fall under another class. They are simply licentious novels translated into verse. But works of fiction are subject to a totally different law. Society has rightly considered that the morality of a work of fiction cannot be separated, as in the case of poetry, from the artistic ability with which it is written. For those books represent to us the life in which we all move; they set before us scenes through which we all may pass; they paint characters after which we may each of us fashion our own individual character. In the *Frogs* of Aristophanes, *Æschylus* heaps the bitterest reproaches on Euripides for the immorality of his plays, and we all acknowledge the justice of his reproaches. Novels are to us what their tragedies were to the Athenians; and the immorality which vitiated the writings of the Athenian tragedian will as assuredly vitiate the writings of our modern novelists.

And yet in many respects a bad novel is more fatal than a bad play. Public decency would effectually check any excessive grossness on the stage; but over literature, except incidentally, public opinion has no control. A play, save in particular cases, cannot be enjoyed by solitary individuals, but a novel can; and the mind may brood over impure chapters again and again, till the poison has entered the whole soul. Even this does not sum up the full extent of the evil. A novel represents scenes with a vividness and reality which even the best plays, unless acted on the stage, cannot attain. Moreover, the love of novel reading grows upon us with incredible rapidity. As soon as one is finished, another is taken up; and the unnatural craving for intellectual excitement grows in proportion as it is satisfied.

We are convinced that the picture we have drawn is not exaggerated. And it is meant, of course, to apply only to the readers of bad novels. The perusal of good ones is a healthy pleasure, and it is seldom that the love of pure and healthy pleasure is carried to excess. But, unhappily, a class of novels has lately sprung up, which has no object except to pander to the most depraved tastes, and resorts to the most unworthy means to attain that object. Nothing is more unwholesome for the mind than continued excitement, and this excitement it is the aim of these novels to produce. Almost always destitute of high artistic skill, they do not scruple to supply this deficiency by filling the scene with creatures from whom we shrink as we should from Yahoos, and with crimes and vices which we might parallel in vain from the *Newgate Calendar*. If the writer be a man of talent, the poison may be more subtle, but it is assuredly more dangerous. Far rather would we see the true colours of vice undisguisedly hoisted, as they were by the novelists of eighty years ago, than immoral sentiments affecting the character of virtue, and striving to win their way to the reader's heart by a false appeal to his sympathy. Vice in any shape is hateful, but none so hateful as the hard, barren, attractive vice of a polished state of society.

The first novel whose title we have transcribed above, will justify our last words. Indeed, so strong were our feelings as we read it, that we can even now scarcely trust ourselves to speak of it with calmness. The story is slight enough. An officer in the army, who (as we learn afterwards) has separated from his wife and children, comes to a small watering-place, where he falls in with a beautiful girl. For this girl he conceives a violent passion, which is opposed by the clergyman of the place, who is aware of his former history. He tries to persuade his lady-love to elope with him, and assures her that they

will be for ever happy in their mutual love, without the absurd and useless formality of the marriage ceremony. Happily for her, he fails in his schemes; she flies to Scutari, where she enters one of the hospitals as nurse, and he joins the army in the Crimea. Eventually he is mortally wounded, and is conveyed to the hospital where she is performing the work of Christian charity. Here the two lovers meet again; she tends him during his illness, supports him in the hour of death, and he breathes out on her bosom his last words of burning passion. The whole winds up with a quotation to the effect that we hope heaven may have mercy on a bold rider's soul, or else it will fare but ill with many of us. This is but a rough sketch, and yet we think it speaks for itself. We feel confident that there are few young people of either sex who could venture to read this book with perfect impunity. For it is impossible to deny that it is written with great talent. The author is unmistakeably a scholar and a man of taste, and some passages it would be difficult to parallel for beauty of style from Adam Bede or Esmond. But in utter want of morality it may fairly compete with the worst novels of the French school. It would be difficult to conceive a more perfect balance of the beauties and advantages of vice against the homeliness and inconvenience of virtue. The captain has his faults, to be sure; but then, how much there is to set off against them! His physical strength is enormous; he knows not what fear is; even his most violent bursts of passion are ennobling, like the eruptions of the volcano, terrible but grand withal; and then his love, how chivalrous, how absorbing! How willing he is to resign, in its behalf, fame and friends and the world, that he may carry off the lady of his affections to some lone spot where they may be to each other all in all! How mean, on the other hand, the good clergyman looks by his side: how poor his talents, how stale and insipid his moral precepts, how rapidly his virtuous expostulations crumble to pieces before the keen sarcasms and withering sneers of his noble foe! Something like this would seem to be the silent recommendation of the author, and he will doubtless win many converts among those who prefer passion to principle, and mere sentiment to firm religious conviction. No novel ever set forth a more eloquent exposition of the dictum of the Greek philosopher, that man is the measure of all things, in the most earthly and sensual interpretation of the words.

But there is an objection which is frequently adduced in defence of novels of this class. Can we deny, it is said, that there is very much evil in the world? and is it not the duty of the writer of fiction to set before us man as he is, and not man as he should be? Granted; but is it the duty of the writer of

fiction to varnish over the loathsomeness of evil, to set forth vice as noble and laudable, to deride virtue as puritanic and ridiculous? Is it the duty of the writer of fiction to teach that what the world calls vice is really virtue, and what the world calls virtue is really a mean and despicable form of vice? Is it his duty to preach that transitory flashes of goodness may atone for the most constant and hardened profligacy; and that weakness of judgment, or want of moral courage, can outweigh the real and hearty endeavour to do God's service? If this be not the expressed purpose of the author of "*Sword and Gown*," it is most assuredly the tendency of his work.

"*Recommended to Mercy*," is a novel of a different class. The plot of the story is this. A young girl, the daughter of a country doctor, who has been altogether neglected by her parents, forms an acquaintance with an officer whose regiment is in the town. He persuades her to run off with him, and carries her to India, whither his regiment is bound. In India she lives some time with him as his mistress, and at length returns to England in his company. His uncle, an old man without children, sends for him to reside with him at the property which is eventually to come to his nephew. Helen Langton is settled in a small cottage on the outskirts of the estate, where she is visited by her lover, who by this time is beginning to weary of her. Pressed hard by his uncle, the young soldier finally consents to take a wife; but, after they have lived some years together, he sees reason to suspect her fidelity, turns her out of his house, and in a passion of rage repairs to London, where he falls in with his former mistress. Their intimacy is renewed, and lasts till his death, when he makes a will leaving all he has to Helen, unless she can prove his wife's innocence. She leaves no stone unturned to effect this; devoting her energies, meantime, to various other objects, especially the rescue of fallen women like herself. With great labour she at length succeeds in obtaining the requisite proofs, and restores the whole estate to the injured wife.

In some respects this novel is inferior to the other. It has no artistic ability whatever, and bears marks of having been written carelessly, and in haste; but in tone it is undoubtedly superior. Yet, even on this point we must find fault with it; and, in the first place, we would deprecate the choice of the subject. It is a subject which needs to be treated with the greatest delicacy, or otherwise it is only too liable to do great mischief. Here, we confess, we think that the author has failed. He has written more in the style of a moral essay than of a work of fiction. In the main, we would unhesitatingly condemn the pre-Raphaelite style of novel-writing, and in the present case more than in any other. Topics which we should instinctively shun are dwelt on at unnecessary length; and

there is often a special circumstantiality in the when, and the where, and the how, which is most objectionable. But we have another charge to bring against the author: the repentance of Helen Langton does not impress us in the least as he has described it; and we fear that many readers would be far more impressed with the narrative of her fall. Now this is a fatal mistake in a novel which is written with a purpose, and we presume that the novel of which we are speaking is intended to fall under this class. It is rather worse than if it had not been written with a purpose at all, for it only creates contempt for the seemingly insipid cant of the heroine. We would remark, for the benefit of those who have read "Recommended to Mercy," that all it contains worth reading has been already written far better, artistically and morally, in that admirable story of the repentant Magdalene, in the "Diary of a late Physician."

We have yet another criticism which applies with equal force to both these novels. We do not so much complain of the presence of what is bad, as of the absence of what is good. A novelist proves false to his duty if he neglects to hold up, for the admiration and guidance of his readers, noble and pure and true characters. We turn from the toils and anxieties of this hard, cold world, to the ideal scenes of the dramatist and novelist; and what shall the perusal avail us if we do not find there something better, and higher, and more admirable than the worldliness and vice from which we have fled? Or if we have the good fortune to live apart from untoward influences, how can our uprightness and purity of heart be effectually fostered by the poet and novelist, if they can give us no better example for our instruction than the cold, mean, earthly beings who are so rife in the world around us? We lay the greater stress on this point, because there is no principle which is more uniformly disregarded by the novelists of the present day, and none in which a brighter example has been set them by those two lords of the imagination and the fancy, William Shakespeare and Walter Scott.

We hope that we may have called the attention of some of our readers, who are not themselves in the habit of examining novels, to the deadly nature of the books which may fall into the hands of their daughters or their sisters; and we also hope that we may have induced them to set their face, even more vigorously than before, against indiscriminate novel-reading. One more remark before we conclude. Modern novels demand our most serious attention, for another reason—their influence is not only positive, but negative; they not only inculcate much that is bad, but exclude much that is good. It is not our desire to play the part of a *laudator temporis acti*: but from an absolute, not a relative, point of view, we think

that there is much to be desired in the mental training of the ladies of this generation. We do not speak of our own sex, because most men have their professions in life, which often leave them little time for anything else. But we do think that ladies are too apt to content themselves with a superficial education, and aim at showy rather than solid attainments. Now, a great deal of this mischievous waste of good opportunities must be attributed to excessive novel-reading of a bad kind. It is much to be lamented that young ladies cannot persuade themselves to study the works of our great English classics, instead of stunting their powers of mind with the vile trash that loads the shelves of our circulating libraries. Beneath the influence of *wholesome studies* such as these, strengthened, we need not add, by true religious principles, they would assuredly feel less *ennui*, crave less for the excitement of fashionable dissipation, acquire a more noble and steadfast character, and fit themselves better to do their duty in that station of life to which it has pleased God to call them. It is sad to think how many choose, in preference, to devour such books as "Sword and Gown," and "Recommended to Mercy."

THE FIVE HERODS: A FEW BRIEF NOTES ON THEIR HISTORY
IN CONNECTION WITH SCRIPTURE.

BY THE REV. FRANCIS TRENCH.

It is not easy to retain in memory the history of the Herods, as bearing on the records of God's Word. No less than five of the name and family appear in its pages, including Philip and the two Agrippas. All were named Herod, and closely related. I have endeavoured to trace out, in the following sketch, a few points in the history of each, conducive to a clear view of their position and deeds in connection with our Lord and His Church.

Previous to the time of the Herodian dynasty in Judæa, the country was under the rule of the Asmonæan family. Aristobulus was the first of the race who assumed the name of king. It was soon supplanted by the Herods, an Idumæan family.

Alexander Jannæus succeeded his brother Aristobulus on the throne of Judæa in the year 104 B. C. The government of Idumæa was placed by him in the hands of Antipater, a nobleman of that country. His son, bearing the same name, was educated at the Court of Jannæus; but, on the taking of Jerusalem by Pompey, so ingratiated himself with the Romans, that, on Cæsar's coming into Syria (B. C. 48) he was appointed

Procurator of Judæa. He left four sons and a daughter : 1. Phasael; 2. Herod the Great; 3. Joseph; 4. Pheroras; 5. Salome.

Antipater appointed his son Phasael governor of Jerusalem, and Herod governor of Galilee.

I. Herod showed much ability in his jurisdiction; but on being charged before the Sanhedrim* at Jerusalem with cruelty to some Jewish citizens, he took refuge with the Roman governor of Syria, and finally met such favour from Antony and Octavius that he was made king of Judæa.

Passing over all, in the history of Herod, not immediately connected with Scripture, I would only observe, that he was married ten times; that he slew three of his own sons—Antipater,† son of his first wife Doris, and Alexander and Aristobulus, sons of Mariamne; and having done many other acts of dark and unbridled cruelty, on his very death-bed he ordered the massacre of the children at Bethlehem.

Josephus, the chief authority for his life, so represents his character, and the proceedings ever going on in his intriguing and blood-stained family, as to remove all surprise that he should have committed either this or any other act of similar wickedness.

The sons of Herod the Great, to whose history, for the sake of Scripture, we must attend, were: 1. Herod Philip, son of Mariamne, his second wife of that name; 2. Archelaus, and 3. Herod Antipas, sons of Malthace a Samaritan, his sixth wife; of these, Herod Philip and Herod Antipas are the two mentioned in Luke iii. 1.

* The recognition of this authority, even over the son of the ruling monarch, is a very interesting fact in connection with the prophecy, of somewhat difficult interpretation, in Gen. xlix. 10. I quote from the Commentary of the learned Dr. Gill, in which the subject is referred to:—"The sense is, that till the Messiah came, there should be in the tribe of Judah, either a king, a sceptre-bearer, as there was unto the captivity, or a governor; though under others, as there was unto the times of Christ, under the Babylonians, Persians, Grecians, and Romans; such as Gedaliah, Zerobabel, &c.; and particularly the Sanhedrim, a court of judicature, the members of which chiefly consisted of the tribe of Judah, and the נשיא or prince of it, was always of that tribe, and which retained its power to the latter end of Herod's reign; and though it was greatly diminished, it had some power remaining even at the death of Christ,

but quickly after that none at all." (Gill on Gen. xlix. 10.)

† In Smith's Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography it is said, that "the death of Antipater probably called forth the well-known sarcasm of Augustus, 'Melius est Herodis porcum esse quam filium,'" and Macrobius is quoted, Saturn. xi. 4. However, on turning to that passage, I find that it does not agree with this statement, and that the massacre of the children of Bethlehem is there distinctly noticed: "Cum audisset (i. e. Augustus) inter pueros, quos in Syria, Herodes, rex Judæorum intra bimatum jussit interfici, filium quoque ejus occisum, ait: Melius est," &c., as before quoted.

It is singular that this classical testimony—if one could so style it, being of the 5th century—should appear merely in a narrative of certain jokes and pleasantries of Cicero and Augustus.



Two more of the name now appear.

II. On the death of Herod the Great, Archelaus and Herod Antipas both went to Rome—Archelaus to defend his own claim, by the will of his father, to be king of Judæa; and Herod Antipas, not satisfied with the Tetrarchy of Galilee, if possible to displace him. Augustus, however, confirmed the appointment as made by their father.

It is not needful to dwell on the history of Archelaus.

Herod Philip became Tetrarch of Ituræa. He was half-brother to Archelaus and Herod Antipas. Herodias, his wife, in spite of the Jewish law, and in violation of all ordinary rules of morality, separated herself from him, and married his half-brother, Herod Antipas, who had been married before to the daughter of the Arabian prince, Aretas. She retired to her father's court, and war hence arose between him and Herod.

III. Herod Antipas was the murderer of John the Baptist,* though he often had "heard him gladly," and "did many things" on his exhortation. It was before him, also, during his stay at Jerusalem, that Pilate sent Jesus, in consequence of Galilee being under the jurisdiction of Herod. This so pleased Herod, that we hear—"The same day Pilate and Herod were made friends together; for before they were at enmity between themselves."†

IV. The next Herod of whom we hear in the Scripture, was the son of that Aristobulus, who was killed by his father, Herod the Great. He was surnamed Agrippa, and was educated at Rome, with Claudius and Drusus, at the court of Tiberius. After several vicissitudes, he became king of Judæa. On the banishment of his uncle (by the father's side), Herod Antipas, he had the Tetrarchy of Galilee added to his rule.

It was this Herod who slew James, imprisoned Peter, and died the fearful death‡ at Cæsarea, as recorded in the Acts.

V. He was succeeded (at least in a part of his dominions) by his son Herod Agrippa the Second. Under him the Jews

* The soldiers who came to John the Baptist when preaching in the "wilderness," and in the "country about Jordan" (Luke iii. 2, 3), were in all probability, at that time, on march (they are called, not *στρατιῶται*, but *στρατεύόμενοι*, translated by Bengel, "militantes"), under Herod, from Galilee into Arabia Petræa, against Aretas, king of that land. We learn from Josephus that this war was then going on. And as another observable fact in connection with Herod and John the Baptist, it was in the fortress of Machærus, not far from the scene of John's preaching, that the entertainment, spoken of in Scripture, was

given by Herod, and that John the Baptist was killed by an officer called *σπεκουλάτωρ*, viz., one engaged in actual military service. (See Horne, vol. 1, p. 98, ed. 1856.)

† Lib. xxiii. 12, "Judaismus et Ethnicismus cœpere coalescere, Christianismo nascente." (Bengel ad loc.)

‡ See the graphic and detailed account of this event in Josephus, quoted by Bengel in his note on this passage. He describes him as "amictus veste tota ex argento mirabili opere contexta, quæ radiis exorientis solis perculsa et divinum quandam fulgorem emittens, venerationem cum horrore incutiebat spectantibus."

rebelled against the Romans, and being unable to restrain them from so doing, he joined the Romans. Jerusalem was now taken and destroyed, and thus ended the entire rule of the dynasty.

It was before this last-mentioned Herod that St. Paul made his defence, as told in the Acts xxv. and xxvi. He is there called "King Agrippa," both by the historian, St. Luke xxv. 13; by Festus, the Roman governor, v. 24; and by St. Paul, xxvi. 2, 13, 27. To him, as believing in the Scriptures of the Old Testament, St. Paul appealed, and drew from him the testimony, "This man might have been set at liberty if he had not appealed unto Cæsar," v. 32.

It is curious to observe, (in connection with the statement that this Agrippa and Bernice came with "great pomp, *μετὰ πολλῆς φαντασίας*,* into the place of hearing"), that the love of show and display seemed hereditary in the Herodian family. The first of the name was notorious for it during his whole life.

Islip Rectory.

POETRY.

EXODUS XIII. 20—22.

Step by step, across a desert waste,
 The pillar of the cloud is moving on;
 I follow silently a path untraced,
 Searching the future only when 'tis gone.
 Almighty Leader, be it even so!
 Behind me lies a bleak and dreary past;
 Before me—what Thou wilt of weal or woe,
 Only Thy presence and Thine house at last.
 Had I foreknown the hours of weary pain,
 The strife of foes, the darkness and dismay,
 All that o'ertook me on the distant plain,—
 How had I started from thy chosen way!
 But with the trial came the daily strength,
 And through the darkest night "a light of fire;"
 Till I have learnt to wait for Thee at length
 In all the quietude of hushed desire.
 I know not on the morrow what may be:
 Thy cloud is on its way for good or ill;†
 Still through the cloud Thy guiding hand I see;
 Be it to me according to Thy will.

SIGMA.

* See the note last quoted, illustrative of Herodian pomp and display.

† Job ii. 10.—"Shall we receive good at the hand of the Lord, and shall we not receive evil?"

ROMANS V. 8.—A FRAGMENT.

OH! can it be, my God, that Thou didst come
From the bright courts of Thy celestial home
For us poor exiles? Can it really be
That Thou didst die, and all to set us free?
Come, touch these thankless hearts, that they may prove
Not wholly heedless of Thy wondrous love;
Come, take the poor return for which alone
Thy love doth ask;—make them, dear Lord, Thine own.
A. D. G.

OBITUARY OF THE REV. HENRY VENN ELLIOTT.

On the 24th January last died at Brighton, aged 73, the Rev. Henry Venn Elliott, M.A., Incumbent of St. Mary's Chapel.

Mr. Elliott was the eldest son, by a second marriage, of Charles Elliott, Esq., of Clapham, Surrey, and of Westfield Lodge, Brighton. His mother was Eling, eldest daughter of the Rev. Henry Venn, Vicar of Huddersfield, and afterwards of Yelling, Huntingdonshire.

Mr. Elliott's early education was received at the school of Mr. Elwell of Hammersmith, and latterly at the Rev. Henry Jowett's, Rector of Little Dunham, Norfolk. Both of these tutors numbered among their pupils several distinguished scholars. Mr. Elliott entered Trinity College, Cambridge. His academical course was very successful. In the year 1814 he graduated as 14th Wrangler, and obtained the second Chancellor's medal in the Classical examination of that year. In the year 1816 he was elected Fellow of his College.

The son of religious parents, and of a mother of very superior abilities as well as of matured piety, and enjoying the advantage of constant and affectionate intercourse with his uncle, the Rev. John Venn, Rector of Clapham, he entered upon his religious course while yet a schoolboy at Hammersmith. In Cambridge he bore the reproach of Christ in the modified form in which, at that time, it rested upon the friends and followers of Charles Simeon. In 1811 he took a prominent part, as an undergraduate, with his contemporary the Rev. John Babington, in urging upon their seniors the establishment of an auxiliary Bible Society for the University and county of Cambridge. (See Simeon's Life, ch. xii.) Though in the strictest sense a hard student, he was most conscientious in freeing himself, on each returning Sabbath, from all secular pursuits and thoughts. For a considerable part of his undergraduateship he was accustomed to spend that day with a friend, the Rev. Richard Marks, author of the "Retrospect," &c., then curate of Waterbeach, five miles from Cambridge, in teaching in his Sunday school.

His religion in these early days bore the same characteristics as in later years—a remarkable honesty and simplicity of aim to serve God, and fidelity in seeking the spiritual good of others. His relative, the Rev. Henry Venn, in preaching his funeral sermon, stated:—"It is a great thing to be able to say, after nearly sixty years of intimate intercourse with a friend through all the stages of life, including boy-

hood and college life, that memory cannot recal one conversation or one act which tended to blunt the moral sense or to lower the standard of Christian duty; while numberless recollections occur of stern resistance of evil, of faithful rebukes even at the risk of offending a friend, and of earnest encouragement to exertion for Christ and His cause."

After Mr. Elliott was elected to a fellowship, he travelled abroad for three years and a half in Italy, Greece, Turkey, and Palestine. Such a length of time may well appear too large a portion of life to be interposed between the close of an academical course and the actual business of a learned profession, and especially it might be thought likely to check the ardour of the future minister of Christ. So he himself felt it to have been, and lamented it in after life. But it is the prerogative of God to turn the misjudgments of his faithful servants to the furtherance of their future usefulness. So it was in this case. Mr. Elliott's enlarged knowledge of society, acquired in some of the first circles abroad, and the rich stores of information which he accumulated, fitted him for the peculiar position which he afterwards held in the Church of Christ.

Upon his return from his travels, Mr. Elliott resided for some time in Trinity College Cambridge, in the enjoyment of the charms of literary society. His early choice had been the ministry, but now the world was before him, and the opportunity of choosing another profession; or if he adhered to his first choice, the road was open which, in those days, led a distinguished scholar to the higher preferment of the Church. Though his youth had been spent under the warm influence of the "Clapham Sect," he had now a wide knowledge of life and of all which it could offer. Where and with whom would he take his stand?

A visit to a college friend, a curate of a country parish, whose whole soul was engaged in bringing sinners to Christ, seems to have been a turning-point in his life. He determined to enter at once into holy orders; and the leading idea of his ministry became, as he emphatically expressed it in a dying hour, "Christ's first revelation to his disciples as the Lamb of God which taketh away the sin of the world." He was ordained upon his fellowship, and the pulpit he selected for his first sermon was that of Yelling, which had once been occupied by his grandfather, the Rev. Henry Venn. After a year or two in a curacy, he accepted for his permanent ministry the church built by his father at Brighton. The church was still unfinished, and some risk was incurred of collecting a congregation in a new neighbourhood. Other spheres of labour were open to him. His college offered him ample preferment. He was pressed to accept a country incumbency, which presented the advantages of leisure and of society in its most attractive form. But he chose the sphere which opened the prospect of most extensive though laborious usefulness as a minister of Christ, and where he might discharge also filial duties to his aged parents. For thirty-eight years he there fulfilled his ministry. He has had his recompense in the large and attached congregations which have profited by his preaching, and which, often composed of visitors from all parts of the United Kingdom, have served to spread the seed sown from that pulpit throughout a very wide circle.

His preaching was eminently interesting and instructive. His sermons presented the thoughts of a vigorous and well-cultivated intellect, a classical style, and sterling good sense. As theological compositions, their highest praise was their well-balanced expositions of divine truth, and the practical application of those truths to real life. In the earlier days of his ministry he attracted large congregations in the University Church at Cambridge; and even in his later days he was appointed by the University, for several successive years, one of their monthly select preachers. His sermons were composed with care, from his own deep and continued study of the word of God, from his extensive knowledge of men, and in much prayer. Hence his ministry, without aiming at popularity, was remarkably blessed to the conversion of souls, it might be added, of whole families.

The power which he put forth in the pulpit was well sustained by his pastoral ministrations. His special instructions to the young, especially before the boarding schools broke up for the holidays, and at confirmations, were very useful. His special eminence as a minister of Christ consisted, however, in his frank and faithful spiritual intercourse, in private, with men of cultivated intellect and of high position, and in his skill and tenderness in the sick room and at the dying bed.

Within the last few years, in addition to his other abundant labours, and notwithstanding advancing years, he commenced a third service in his church, for the benefit of the poorer classes of the neighbourhood; this service he took himself, and he proved to those classes an attractive and successful preacher.

One important institution will long remain a monument of Mr. Elliott's large-hearted generosity, and of his administrative powers—St. Mary's Hall, for the education of 100 clergymen's daughters. Between five and six hundred of the poorer clergy of our Church have, in the course of the last twenty-eight years, received the benefit of a first-rate education for their daughters, at a charge scarcely beyond the cost of their maintenance, under truly Christian influence, and with the advantage of a sea-side residence. This great undertaking involved at first heavy pecuniary responsibilities, and an immense amount of personal labour and of correspondence. All this was undertaken by Mr. Elliott, not hastily and unawares, but after a careful investigation of a similar institution established by his old college friend, the Rev. W. Carus Wilson, at Casterton, in the north of England.

It is impossible not to admire the conduct of these two clergymen, in providing such help for their brethren whose pecuniary resources were less ample than their own. In Mr. Elliott's case it was the more remarkable, that while yet unmarried and a fellow of a college, and with a newly-opened church and its rising congregation, he should take such an enterprise in hand.

But, though he designed and commenced the institution while unmarried, he was united, before its erection was completed, to Julia A., daughter of John Marshall, Esq., of Leeds, and of Hallsteads, Cumberland, a lady of deep piety and high intellectual attainments, some of whose hymns enrich the collection which Mr. Elliott published for the use of his congregation. Their union lasted but eight years, and she left five children. In the sixth Annual Report

of St. Mary's Hall (August, 1842), Mr. Elliott thus touchingly alludes to the early death of his wife, and to her character. "Our sixth year, as it began, was a kind of epoch in the history of St. Mary's Hall, full of joy and hope. Three months of it passed on in this manner without any threatening cloud in our horizon. Then it was, even in the midst of this serenity, that, in His inscrutable wisdom, our Heavenly Father saw fit suddenly to darken the fair scene by taking to himself one who was associated with St. Mary's Hall in its earliest conception; who had enlightened all the perplexities of our early plans and arrangements by her wise counsel, and cheered them by her sweet cheerfulness and sympathy, who had watched over its growth with almost a mother's care, and by a rare union of great meekness and great discernment had exhorted, without seeming to exhort, suggested rather than dictated, and in the whole of her intercourse with the Hall made all the great power of sympathy to be felt. God, whose paths are in the sea, and whose footsteps are not known, has taken her to Himself, depriving some of a help-meet in the work, and all of a bright example of the beauty of holiness. Henceforth the work must be carried on by ruder hands. There will be more of the sound of the axe and hammer in raising the intellectual and spiritual superstructure, and yet a deep sense of loneliness in the employment—although it be more noisy. But still God needs not any human instrumentality. He who so readily found a substitute for Elijah, can do without the wisest and the best of us. To Him, therefore, the work for the future is committed, in sorrow, and yet in faith that He will in mercy retrieve for us a loss, but for Him, irreparable; and with inferior agency still carry it on, that it "may be found unto praise, and honour, and glory, at the appearing of Jesus Christ."

The successful establishment of St. Mary's Hall brought upon Mr. Elliott a large addition of secular as well as ministerial labour; for the secretaryship and the whole superintendence of the establishment, as well as the pastoral instruction of the pupils, devolved upon him. And yet he was able to take an active part in all local charities, and in general societies for pious or benevolent objects. Among these latter, his zeal as secretary of the Church Missionary Association for Brighton must be particularized. With such success did he urge the cause upon his congregation, at the time of the Indian Mutiny in 1857, that he raised the amount of his congregational collections to nearly £700. Nor did his zeal, like that of many others, flag after the Indian Mutiny was over, but he sustained these collections in the subsequent years, and thereby placed his congregation at the head of the Society's list. His last secular arrangements, as death approached, comprised two legacies of £1000 each to his two dearest institutions, St. Mary's Hall and the Church Missionary Society. "I must give utterance," said Mr. Venn, in his sermon, after reciting these facts, "to my feelings, as the official representative of that society. His pecuniary remittances were munificent. But it was his deep sympathy, his warm encouragement, his sound advice, his earnest prayers on our behalf, in season and out of season, in times of difficulty which have assailed the society, as well as on the gala days of successful anniversaries, which constituted his most precious contributions to our cause."

The sketch here given comprises but meagre hints and bare points in a long life of untiring activity, of extensive connexions, and of great usefulness. Our space will not allow of further amplification. But the sketch will be incomplete without some reference to those graces of his religious life which were the character and the support of that external life of piety and usefulness which few can contemplate without admiration of the man and an ascription of praise to the Giver of all good.

The foundation of his Christian character was laid in a firm grasp of the truth of the Gospel. That which was, by his own confession, the leading idea of his ministry—the Lamb of God, that taketh away the sin of the world—was the source of his own spiritual life. This led him to take his stand with the Evangelical clergy. We mean by that expression, not a mere shade of doctrine, or the shibboleth of a party, but the acceptance of the distinctive principles of the Gospel of Christ in their all-pervading influence over the heart and life. It is sometimes alleged that the adoption of these principles is the result of narrow views, and begets uncharitableness. The case before us refutes the allegation; largeness of views and candour of mind were striking characteristics of Mr. Elliott's religion. These led him to appreciate at its highest value whatever appeared to him commendable in those who differed from him. The Pauline maxim was ever upon his lips—"Judge nothing before the time." Yet, on full investigation and solid conviction, he embraced Evangelical views; and for their sake, like Paul, risked temporal loss, resisted the opponents of sound doctrine, and withstood its friends when they walked not according to the truth.

Another characteristic of Mr. Elliott's religion was a spirit of prayer. He was not ashamed to be known as a man of prayer among his friends and in society. Prayer was with him never out of season. When he conversed with a friend on the things of God, with an inquiring or doubting mind, with the unhappy, with the young—in the social circle, in the private interview—the proposal by him of a concluding prayer seemed only the natural termination and relief of mind to which the conversation had led both parties.

One other special feature of his religious character must be mentioned; namely, his unfeigned and deep humility before God—his self-condemnation as an unprofitable servant, saved by grace. Throughout his life this was his settled frame of mind. Humility has often been termed the foundation-virtue of the Christian character; but in our friend it was rather the presiding genius of his Christian life. It cast its blessed influence over the whole man. It checked every rising of self-importance, which his natural superiority might otherwise have engendered; it gave the depth and enlargement of his charity in judging others; it imparted that exquisite tenderness in dealing with a wounded spirit, and in solacing a departing soul, to which many can bear a most emphatic witness.

On the last scene of Mr. Elliott's life we must touch lightly. On the first Sunday of the year he preached a very impressive sermon on the text, "Occupy till I come." On the 6th of January, being the Epiphany, he had a full service in his church, and preached. That day he was attacked with severe illness, which continued nineteen days, occasioning intense suffering. Though he felt, as he expressed

it, that a thunderbolt had fallen upon him; though no time was allowed to set his house in order, or to arrange a vast extent of correspondence and business; yet there was perfect resignation to the Divine will. Not a murmur escaped him, not one wish to have it otherwise. The deep humility before God which had presided over his spiritual life was more resplendent than ever upon his deathbed. During life he had bowed his head under many deep sorrows, under sharp bereavements. One trial remained, the trial of bodily pain; and, when in that particular patience had had its perfect work, his course was finished, and he entered into the joy of his Lord.

Thus a conspicuous leader of the Evangelical clergy has finished his course at a ripe age. He lived during a period of marked change in religious sentiments. The position of the Evangelical clergy became greatly altered. For half a century preceding him, that body had encountered the opposition of the cold, defective, worldly tone of religion which prevailed in high quarters. This state of things still continued when Mr. Elliott entered upon his ministry. But Evangelical principles had gradually gained the confidence of the mass of the people, and their power could no longer be overlooked. This was remarkably manifest when a violent attack upon the Established Church from without brought many of the leading opponents round to seek the alliance of the Evangelical clergy in resisting the common enemy. Then, for a short time, Evangelical principles seemed in the ascendancy. Soon however a new phase of opposition occurred in the outburst of Sacramentarian and High Church principles, which so far prevailed as to make the leaders of the new movement boast that they had put down Evangelical principles. Vain boast! Those principles have but gained increased power and influence during the conflict with Tractarianism. In later years they have had to encounter a new and in some respects more formidable danger from Latitudinarian and infidel tendencies. Amidst these various changes of religious opinion Mr. Elliott maintained a steady and consistent course. "The leading idea" of his ministry neither needed nor suffered any change. He held to the principles of his early adoption with an increasing sense of their value and importance. The arguments by which he enforced those principles, the dangers against which he warned his flock—these were suited to the varying circumstances of the times. But the simple object, to exalt the Lamb of God that taketh away the sin of the world, lifted his soul, and the souls of those who valued his ministrations, into a higher and holier region of thought than that which is disturbed by the controversies of the day.

Herein his example is especially commended to the consideration of the younger clergy who desire to maintain the Truth of the Gospel in these difficult times. Let them but grasp the leading idea of the Christian ministry; it will guide them as it did the friend whose loss we mourn, in a path which the Divine word compares to the shining light which shineth more and more unto the perfect day.

H. V.

CORRESPONDENCE.

To the Editor of the Christian Observer.

DEAR SIR,—I have just seen the article of "Clericus," on the present position of Evangelical members of the Church of England. Without entering on the general question, I beg permission to say a few words by way of personal explanation.

In the first place, then, I wish to observe, that, while I cannot altogether acquiesce in his implied assertion that there is an "abyss" between truth and error, and am inclined on the contrary to consider that they are often in most perplexing and perilous proximity—rendering it only too easy to step unconsciously from the one to the other—I am all the more anxious, on that very account, to do nothing towards obliterating the distinctions between them. There are few things I dislike more than "compromise" and confusion, especially in matters of religion. And this I thought I had shown.

Again, I do not wish it to be supposed that I am in any kind of doubt or uncertainty as to the soundness or importance of Evangelical opinions. On the contrary, I not only hold them, but I prize them; and I regard any departure from them (speaking of them, *i.e.*, as a whole), as being at once a very injurious, and a decidedly dangerous, step.

At the same time, I feel just as assured, that there are many men in our church who would not be usually described as Evangelicals, and who would not describe themselves by that name, who are nevertheless, in the words of your correspondent, "humble and sincere Christians,"—believing, indeed, what he and I conscientiously consider to be error, and deleterious error too, yet thoroughly loyal to the Bible and the Saviour, and holding Christ as the Head. And it is with such men only—as I certainly endeavoured to explain, though, it appears, not altogether successfully—that I consider a closer degree of union on our part to be both legitimate and probably beneficial.

Moreover, even in speaking of union in this one particular direction, I did not intend to take up the position, that such closer union should be evidenced or promoted by measures of a "public" character, as "Clericus" seems to infer. Rather the contrary, I believe he will find, by reverting again to my pamphlet. Indeed, it is somewhat singular, as showing my original feeling on this point, that, in my address as it stood at first, I gave utterance to some degree of doubt as to the desirableness of Evangelical men attending those very "Congresses" which Clericus especially refers to; but the feeling of the meeting was, on this one point, so manifestly against me, that I thought it only right, when preparing the MS. for the press, to omit the portion in question, together with some others of a practical turn. But I still have a little doubt as to the expediency of attending such meetings, though not altogether on the grounds adverted to by your correspondent.

With regard, again, to our duty towards so-called High-Churchmen as a body, I am unwilling to be misunderstood. I certainly only intended to say this, that, constituted as the Church of England now is,

such churchmen clearly possess, in my opinion, (and that, whether we think it abstractedly desirable or not,) a legitimate standing-place within her; that it seems to me, therefore, only fair and right to acknowledge this, when claiming recognition, as honest churchmen, for ourselves; and consequently, that so long as we and they continue to be thus associated in the same religious community, it cannot be otherwise than good, both for them and for us, and for that church to which both parties belong, that we should treat each other in the spirit of conciliation and respect. I do not see that this at all militates against what is apparently Clericus's opinion, viz., that there are some members of the High Church party who ought to be distrusted and opposed. I say nothing at all against that,—or indeed, for that matter, against a great deal he has said. I simply question its exact applicability to what I intended to set forth.

Very truly yours,

W. T. LEWIS.

Trinity Parsonage, Ripon; March 8th, 1865.

[We claim no immunity from error; but we do claim a full right to lay down the principles on which our work is conducted, without admitting them to be the subject of discussion. Still, we seldom refuse to publish a personal explanation where any of our readers feel themselves aggrieved. We therefore insert Mr. Lewis's explanation. We have omitted one paragraph, and might have omitted parts of several others, in which he goes rather beyond what is necessary to a personal explanation.—EDITOR.]

THE REVIEW OF THE "HORÆ APOCALYPTICÆ."

IN our last number we gave our readers a review of Mr. Elliott's fifth edition of his commentary on the book of the Revelation of St. John. Two or three little inaccuracies had crept into that article, which justice to the author and to our readers require us to correct.

1. Mr. Elliott does not say, as stated by us (p. 187), that the witnesses were slain at the Council of Lateran; but then they were formally recognised, and *looked upon* as slain.

2. On the same page, by a typographical error, the imperial and the Diocletian heads are printed the *fifth* and the *sixth* heads, when most clearly and evidently they are the *sixth* and the *seventh*.

3. At p. 188, we speak of "the rapidly approaching great crisis, when the Lord shall appear to destroy Antichrist," &c. And at p. 191, we speak of "the time of blessedness as beginning seventy-five years after that long-lasting adversary has been *finally* consumed." Upon a closer examination of Mr. Elliott's *last edition*, *in loco*, we find we have not here quite accurately stated his views. He thinks some striking blow against the Papacy will mark the expiration of the 1260 years, but does not speak positively whether this will be 1866 or 1867. But this *blow*, whatever it may be, he conceives may not be his *utter* destruction. He thinks, and we perfectly agree with him, that the 1260 years are the *reign* of Antichrist—the term of his dominant power. When these are expired, he thinks it probable he may linger on, perhaps away from Rome, and shorn of his power, even to

the end of the seventy-five years, when his *utter* destruction may be expected. It is remarkable that both Daniel the Prophet and St. Paul in the Thessalonians, as well as the Divine St. John, all seem to speak of the *initial* and *total* destruction of this adversary.

We find also Mr. Elliott speaks with far more modification, and much less confidence, of *Clinton's Mundane Chronology* in this edition than he formerly did.

4. (p. 193.) The name of the Futurist should have been *Ribera*.

5. (p. 196.) The third evil principle, which we have called *ritualism*, is more properly *sacerdotalism*.

Had not our space been limited, there were two or three other matters which we fully intended to have mentioned. We think this peculiar to the *Horæ Apocalypticæ*, and tends greatly to the right exposition of the prophecy:—*The Apocalyptic Temple*, with its three divisions, is recognised as the *ever-standing foreground of St. John in the scene of vision*. In like manner, what our author writes of *St. John as a symbolical man*, to us at least appears to make very plain what before was obscure.

THE REVIEWER.

CARDINAL WISEMAN'S FUNERAL.

To the Editor of the Christian Observer.

DEAR SIR,—I have just now on my table two very different productions,—the account of Cardinal Wiseman's funeral, in the *Standard* newspaper, and Octavius Winslow's "Jesus and John: the Loving and the Loved," a beautiful tribute to the memory of the late beloved and honoured Dr. Marsh. The *Standard* gives an outline, at some length, of Dr. Manning's eulogium of the deceased Cardinal. I will here transcribe, side by side, two extracts—one from the Protestant, the other from the Romish preacher. Let the reader carefully weigh them both. The italics are Dr. Winslow's; the capitals mine.

DR. WINSLOW.

"The cause of *Protestantism* has been deprived of a powerful friend and advocate in the death of Dr. Marsh. The low state of feeling in the nation on this subject can ill sustain at the present moment such a loss as his. His *Protestantism* was of no diluted, jejune cast. He was too really evangelical not to be decidedly Protestant, and too earnestly Protestant not to set his face as a flint AGAINST ALL DALLYING WITH POPERY, studiously avoiding even the appearance of compromise. Yet, as he invariably did, he "spoke the truth in love."* An ardent ad-

DR. MANNING.

"Five and thirty years ago came the reaction all over the civilized world once more to (Roman) Catholic faith and piety. The undulation of the movement even reached our island-shore; a new system of legislation set in, and the (Roman) Catholic Church was free. Her chains fell away, and the Holy Mass was once more offered upon English altars. The intellectual and spiritual traditions of centuries began to change; but there was wanted a leader to show the way, a shepherd to lead the sheep. At that time one was preparing himself. God had

* A touching illustration of this is afforded by well-nigh the last publication from the pen of Dr. Marsh, entitled, "An Earnest Exhortation to Christians to Pray for the Pope." I

have never met with a tract containing, in so small a compass, and presented with so much remarkable simplicity and force, the Bible argument against the Romish dogma of Mariolatry, as

mirer of the Reformation, he was never more eloquent than when defending its character and enforcing its principles. Let us in this particular learn the lesson of his life, so impressively enforced by the solemnity of his death. It behoves every true Christian patriot at the present crisis to be loyal to his Christ and his Queen. Popery has mapped this island with a view to its future subjection and supremacy. . . . But it is not so much the bold, aggressive spirit of Popery which alarms one, as THE LOW CRAVEN SPIRIT OF PROTESTANTISM which prevails in the nation. Here is our great danger! Insensibility is the enemy in our own house which we have to fear. I believe that the nation is Protestant to the core. But if we are to wait—alumbering in the consciousness of security—until another and a bolder 'Papal Aggression' makes its advent on these shores, ere we rouse to our true position and cast off all legislative, ecclesiastical, and social coquetting WITH THE DEADLIEST FOE OF THE RELIGION AND LIBERTIES OF THE REALM, we may discover too late that we have waited too long! What we need, is a more *christianised* Protestantism—more unity of action—sleepless vigilance, earnest and prayerful zeal in the one Church of God. (pp. 30, 31.) The state of things in the Church of God is most anomalous. There is at the present moment a marked attempt at an amalgamation of opposite and antagonistic elements,—there is so much pseudo-Christianity, Romanised Protestantism, baptised infidelity—there exists a policy so trimming and compromising, a spirit so pusillanimous and indifferent—I can see nothing for the Church of God but the seven-times heated furnace, that will destroy while it purifies, separate while it unites, the constituent parts of the professing Church of Christ. The two shoals through which the Church of God has need to steer are—RATIONALISM and Romanism. The slightest divergence to the one or the other imperils her safety, and is treason against her Lord." (pp. 33—35.)

fixed his Divine eye on a child born in Spain. The splendour of the (Romish) Church there fired his mind; and to his death the glory of that (Romish) Church was, after that of its Divine head, the object of his dearest wishes. From England he went to Rome, to receive the last touches for his great work under the shadow of the Vicar of Christ. It was in the chapel of the English College, before the Blessed Sacrament, that he conceived the idea—phantasy, madness, or hope, call it what you will—of the conversion of England. In the church of the Sapienza at Rome, where the altar of the Blessed Sacrament is also the altar of the Immaculate Blessed Virgin, the thought came on him that England rejected these two great mysteries. Then he went to that great Pontiff, Gregory XVI., and offered to resign the rectorship of the English College, that he might go to England to found a mission. In 1835 he preached from that pulpit, but the time was not come, and he returned to Rome to finish his preparation. Gregory XVI. soon nominated him as a Vicar Apostolic in England, and here he came to the work of his life. When expostulated with for his visionary projects, he said—'I may be sanguine, and in error, but I would rather err, and fall on the side of theological virtues, than fall on the side of human prudence. I am prepared, if I fail, to meet the smiles on earth and in heaven, for I know the smiles in heaven are not scornful.' Then the time came when Pius IX., in the exercise of his imperishable prerogative, marked out the ground and appointed the hierarchy of the (Roman) Catholic Church in England, when the Bishop of Melipotanum (Dr. Wiseman) became Archbishop of Westminster, and Cardinal Priest of the Holy Roman Church."

these few pages contain. Its Scriptural doctrines, its lucid reasoning, and its loving spirit, should secure for it a circulation broadcast over the land. Having never seen the tract in question, I cannot speak of it from my

own knowledge, but, having confidence in the sound scriptural Protestantism of Dr. Winslow, I would venture to recommend clergymen to put it into the hands of their senior candidates for confirmation.

Papists are assisted by Protestants; Dr. Manning and his fellow Romanists are desirous of accustoming the English ear to what Protestants must regard a Romish falsehood,—the assertion that the Romish heresy is the Catholic Church of Christ. The *Standard* has imprudently endorsed the falsehood, by printing Dr. Manning's address, without prefixing the qualifying epithet, Roman Catholic. Our Derbys and Disraelis do the same in the Houses of Parliament, not so our Shaftesburys and Newdegates. We would respectfully warn the prelates of Exeter, Oxford, and Salisbury against rashly patronising Romanised Protestantism, and coquetting with Popery. When a Romanist puts Torquemadas, Gardiners, Bonners, and Wisemans in heaven, we feel that he is acting consistently with his own peculiar views, and do not wish to interfere, unless matters are pushed too far. This we venture to think has been done by Dr. Manning, who says of the late Cardinal,—“He is before the throne of the great Pastor of the sheep, his hands lifted up in prayer for those whom he loved so well; for you, for England, and for the Romish Church,”—*i.e.*, we are to believe that the deceased Cardinal is now in heaven, in the presence of the Great Head of the Church, lifting up his hands in prayer for the spread and triumph, through the length and breadth of England, of Transubstantiation, Mariolatry, Image-worship, and the Confessional. We Protestants believe that Huss, Luther, and Melancthon, Ridley, Latimer, Cranmer, and Hooper, George Wishart, John Knox, and Archbishop Leighton, are in heaven; and we are naturally led to ask, will not their prayers seriously clash with those which Romanists suppose the Cardinal is now offering above? Dr. Manning has put the Cardinal in heaven, and we have no wish to take him out. Yet we must be permitted to say faithfully, though not uncharitably, that if he is in heaven, he has discovered already that, from 1835 to 1865, he was fearfully, awfully, in soul-damning error.

Speaking of the supposed divine purpose of raising up Nicholas Wiseman as the restorer of Popery in England, Dr. Manning says, “God had fixed his Divine eye on a child born in Spain.” We presume that if the eloquent speaker had been living and preaching A.D. 1587, he would have said at that time, “God has fixed his Divine eye on a king reigning in Spain for the recovery of England to the Papacy.” In 1588 the Armada left the shores of Spain, laden with more racks and thumb-screws than Bibles and Testaments, for the spiritual restoration of England. Dr. Manning is, doubtless, familiar with a certain Elizabethan inscription to the following effect,—“*AFFLAVIT DEUS ET DISSIPANTUR.*”

PRESBYTER ANGLICANUS.

March 3, 1865.

[The Cardinal's funeral gave occasion for the most disgraceful sight which London has witnessed within the memory of man. Hundreds of thousands crowded the streets, ladies gazed from their windows, and even the roofs both of houses and churches swarmed, we are told, with approving lookers-on while the Popish procession passed. And the next day the newspapers, with scarcely an exception, applauded the scene, and eulogised the character of Dr. Wiseman. It was quite in character with such a display of indifference to the Protestant religion, that within a week Mr. Newdegate should bring on a

motion in the House of Commons for the inspection of nunneries, and be left in a minority. For our own part, we have not a doubt that English nunneries are the scenes of fearful cruelty; more than this we will not say, because, Protestants being excluded, it is difficult to prove the existence of crimes which every one suspects. If Romanists have nothing to conceal, let them throw open the doors of their nunneries, as we do those of our hospitals and female orphan schools; and, in short, of every public institution we possess.—EDITOR.]

NOTICES OF NEW BOOKS.

IN our preface, published in December last, we say, in answer to Mr. Spurgeon, that while "the Church of England teaches only the doctrine common to all the churches of the Reformation, and that which is in perfect agreement, too, with the Westminster Confession, which has always been the recognized standard both of the Scotch Presbyterian Churches and of the orthodox Dissenters in England, the English Baptists do, in fact, assign to adult immersion regenerating grace in a more absolute sense than any Pædo-Baptist Church, except only the Church of Rome." *A Baptist, &c.*, who has also favoured us with his card, writes to us, in consequence, in a very indignant strain. He assures us that our charge is not only without foundation, but that it is in every way utterly untrue, nay, contrary to the truth, and that we must have been in profound ignorance of the subject on which we wrote; and, further, that we ought to make immediate and public confession. Now, we must inform our friend that Baptists, or rather *Ana-Baptists*, (because they baptize *again* those whom the whole Church of Christ, except themselves, consider to be baptized already,) have as much reason as other people to exclaim,

"Oh! that some powers, the gift would gi'e us,
To see ourselves as others see-us."

We neither said nor supposed that any Baptist maintained the doctrine of baptismal regeneration under that name; but we did, and do, maintain that their method of preaching enforces it more strongly than does that of our own high churchmen. And we affirm this of our own knowledge. We have been intimately acquainted with more than one large parish in which Baptists abounded, especially among the poor, and having little intercourse with their neighbours they spoke with no reserve, and we found the difference to be this: that whereas the fault of our own High Church party is that they make baptism the unfailing introduction into a state of grace, these poor Baptists made it at once the beginning and completion of that work. Some of them, who had been drawn away from an Evangelical ministry at the parish church, exclaimed, "They told us that when we were baptized we should be free from sin, but (with doleful looks) *we don't find it so!*" Others maintained they had found it so. Now, we affirm that this is, "in fact, assigning to adult immersion regenerating grace in a more absolute sense than any

Pædo-Baptist Church, except only the Church of Rome." And our judgment is formed not upon a few cases, but, we will venture to add, upon rather a wide experience.

We take this opportunity of recommending a tract which, if they will read it with candour, will be much more serviceable to our good friends the Baptists, than the most humble apology that we could offer them, and we are not disposed to offer the slightest. We recommend the same tract to all our readers who are not at present acquainted with it. If their feelings are "hurt," it must be because proofs and arguments have on some natures a strange irritating power; for there is not an ill-tempered expression throughout the pamphlet. But the mass of reading it brings together is, even to students, somewhat astonishing, and the arrangement of the whole is beautifully clear. *A Practical Defence of the Evangelical Clergy; or, the Prayer-Book's reputedly "Popish" Portions really Protestant, Dissenters themselves being Witnesses.* By the Rev. O. H. Davis, M.A. Seeley & Co. 1864.

For some time we have ceased to introduce the subject of the Inspiration of Scripture, fearing that, since the first appearance of "Essays and Reviews," our readers should have been surfeited with it; for this reason only we give a brief notice, instead of a full review, of a work which has just appeared:—*Some Thoughts on the Inspiration of the Holy Scriptures.* By Robert Eden, M.A., late Fellow of Corpus Christi College, Oxford; Honorary Canon of Norwich, and Vicar of Wymondham. Pickering, London.—For a well-arranged and comprehensive scheme, for close argument by which the writer arrives, in our judgment, at a conclusion which nothing can disturb, Mr. Eden's work is equal to anything which the three or four long years of conflict have produced. Since we cannot give that full review which the work deserves—we are not sure that it ought to be a matter of regret that we cannot give even the outline of the argument—it is far better the reader should study it for himself; and the volume is not a large one. One passage will be read, in the circles in which our own reviews are read, with unmixed satisfaction, and with that we are obliged to conclude:—

"Of the evidence that the Bible is the Word of God, which itself supplies, this is a part; but it is not the whole. If we receive the witness of 'even inspired men, the witness of God is greater,' a greater assurance to the soul. Let any call it enthusiasm, if they please; it must be firmly maintained that the true foundation on which our acceptance of Scripture as God's Word must rest, is the discovery of its inspiration, made to and by the soul of each individual believer, and that any other way than this is not God's way. He has spoken to the soul of man immediately by His Spirit in the Word, though He has employed a Prophet or an Apostle to be His amanuensis; and, by the soul to which He thus directly speaks, it is His purpose to be heard and recognised. And thus another important question will have been settled. The 'authority' of the Scripture, its binding claim upon our submission, depends upon its perceived inspiration. Marvellously exaggerated has been the weight attached to the Church's attestation. External testimony, the suffrages of early Councils of Synods, is not without its value; nay, rather, it is of great moment within just limits, but the proper 'authority' is that which arises out of the Scriptures themselves to each student of them. When an inspired writer (and we know that such 'witness is true') says, concerning a great proposition, that it is entitled to belief, and claims to be received by all, he lays the stress of his assertion upon the doctrine itself. But, to receive anything from a 'church' as a church,

and to repose on this as our ministry, is to build upon a totally different basis. 'Authority' over the human conscience, no proposition, or set of propositions, can possibly possess, except so far as they are true, come they from what quarter of the universe they may. The Scripture, 'God's Word written,' is true, because it has truth in itself. The measure of its truth is the measure of its authority. Now, it is absolutely true, because it 'proceeded and came forth from God.' It is therefore absolutely authoritative. Scripture 'sits a queen,' over all human minds and consciences supreme. It can make no less a claim, being essential Truth, emanating from God Himself. Nothing more is required to prove that it needs not to be backed by any testimony from without."

The Dove and other Stories of Old—Great Things done by Little People—Little Animals described by Little People—The Little Fox, or the Story of Captain M. Clintock's Expedition—True Stories for Little People—Little Facts for Little People. Seeley and Co. 1864 and 1865.—The *Guardian* remarked, some months since, that "we ought to be grateful to all successful writers of Sunday books for children." There are, we suppose, some hundreds of thousands of "little people" in these islands,—dwelling in the nurseries of middle-class and higher-class houses, for whom the number of good books provided is very small. The want seems to have been felt; and here is one publishing house which has, in the course of the last twelvemonths, produced six new volumes. They are all printed in a large bold type, and have each some eight or ten engravings. The sale of these books during the last few months has, we hear, exceeded 10,000 copies. Three or four writers seem to have been employed, and (from the character of the publishers) it is needless to say that the tendency of all these books is good. Three or four of them may be regarded as intended for "Sunday reading." Together, they make a very pretty and attractive Nursery Library.

Avesta: The Religious Books of the Parsees. From Professor Spiegel's German Translation of the Original Manuscripts. By A. H. Bleeck, Author of "A Persian Grammar," &c. London: Quaritch. —This is an English translation of the sacred books of the Parsees—the disciples and followers of Zoroaster. Of Zoroaster himself but little is known, and at this distance of time it is impossible to gather much authentic information. It appears, however, that he was the founder of a religion which for centuries was generally accepted throughout Persia, and which has since become the moral code, though not the religion, of numerous Persians, and other inhabitants of India. His writings were evidently a compilation gathered from many vague and apparently unconnected traditions then current, which it is evident originated in the patriarchs of old. In addition to this was a selection of wise sayings and proverbs. The precepts enjoined are remarkable for their purity; and to some it will appear surprising that writings containing so much moral beauty should emanate from a heathen source. His ideas about a future state are peculiar, but still very far from the voluptuous and sensual heaven of the followers of Mahomet. Soon after the rise of Mohammedanism, this philosophy spread throughout Persia. Then the Parsees found refuge in India, and at the present day they exist there in considerable numbers. The original of these writings was in the Zend language, which has been traced to be the root of the modern Persian, and a distinct language from the Sanskrit, although bearing some

affinity to it. For this important contribution to our general literature the public are indebted to the liberality of Mr. Cama, himself a Parsee merchant, and to the assiduity and research of Mr. Bleeck, whose knowledge of Oriental languages has often been appreciated. At extreme labour Professor Spiegel sought out the manuscripts of the sacred books of the Parsees, which, as before stated, were written in the Zend character. These Professor Spiegel copied and translated into German; and Mr. Cama having a manuscript of these writings in his own language, requested Mr. Bleeck, with the assistance of Professor Spiegel, to compare it with that in the Zend language, and make an English translation. The above volume is the result. We understand that Mr. Cama has had the greater part of this edition gratuitously distributed among the Parsees.

PUBLIC AFFAIRS.

THE time of the year is coming round when the affairs of our great religious societies receive, for a while, more than their usual share of attention. They make up their annual accounts, and there is a grand audit for each at Exeter or St. James's Hall. Some of the greater societies will reach their former amounts. Many of the smaller ones, and especially, we fear, our home missionary societies, will fall short. The public press lends, in general, no help to the former; and under the plea of church reform, and a better disposition of church property, the claims of the latter are disallowed. Besides, the novelty in each case has long since passed away, and in general those only who care for the souls of men concern themselves deeply in their welfare. We believe, however, that as the stream becomes more tranquil, it is at the same time more pure; and that a blessing attends these institutions greater than was ever known. All this is shown in a short tract by the Rev. H. Venn, which, while it guards us against extravagant projects, encourages the brightest hopes for the future. He clears the ground by a few cautions which we never had so clearly set before us. "I do not regard the Christian Church," he says, "as bound to send out missionaries enough to attempt at once to occupy all non-Christian lands. There is a danger of regarding all heathendom as a field to be evangelized by European and American missionaries. It is a common calculation—'One clergyman to two or three thousand at home; one to two or three millions abroad: Manchester has so many; Benares not a twentieth part.' Now, all such calculations—though to a certain extent they may be useful, as showing how very little we are doing—are apt to mislead the mind. One single fact will show the impossibility of evangelizing the heathen world by the agency of European and American missionaries. Transplant the whole clergy of England into China, place them as they are placed here, so many clergymen to so many people, and what would be the consequence? You would have supplied just one-twentieth part of the population of China." The duty of the mother church, under

the present dispensation, is not, then, to scatter itself over the whole heathen population; but to establish, if possible, in each district, and especially where there are separate languages or a native church, an European pastorate to prepare native pastors for native converts, and by Divine help to fix the standard in such churches by securing for them a supply of the Scriptures, and a sound theological literature from the rich treasures of our own church and from other sources. Another caution follows of still more importance. We give it in Mr. Venn's words:—

"My second caution is, that you must not regard the Christian Church as bound to send out missionaries beyond the supply she can afford of men of the right spirit, which is a very limited supply compared with the whole number of the clergy at home. It is a common saying, that in the mission field there is work for all. Some say, 'Send out your spiritual men, but send out also your earnest men, although they may not be so spiritual, or so well instructed in the truth as you could desire; establish schools, build churches, subdivide dioceses, and Christianity must prevail.' Must prevail! What security have we that when you send out unstable missionaries they will not themselves adopt the speculations of heathenism, and be carried away from the faith when they enter into controversy with the Brahmin or Kaffir? Send out these feeble Christians! What can they establish but a feeble, nominal, native Christianity? And if I have learnt any one lesson in my long experience of Christian missions, it is this, that a feeble Christianity is a hindrance, and not a support or encouragement, to a mission. A feeble, nominal Christianity is the great obstacle to the conversion of the world."

The subject is inviting, and we must add another extract. After deploring the want of zeal and love to the missionary cause at home, which leave the Church Missionary Society and its kindred institutions with but a slender increase from year to year, Mr. Venn proceeds:—

"Abroad all is bright and encouraging. The difficulties in the way of extension we once experienced from the unsuitable climate of Africa to the European constitution, have been alleviated by the extensive employment of native agency. In India, the positive obstacles to missionary success from governmental connexion with idolatry have been abolished. A cold neutrality, and often the official discountenance of missionary operations, which once proved a great hindrance, have been mercifully replaced by the general respect, and often the zealous co-operation and cordial sympathy, of the authorities. Grants-in-aid to mission schools were conceded by the government on the very ground of the utility of missions to the general interests of the country. In the Punjaub, a great missionary conference was held two years ago, in which the highest civil and military officers sat in council with the missionaries, and united with them in prayer; such a public and happy encouragement may well be set against years of past indifference and hostility. In China, the country has been opened to our missionaries just in proportion as they have been prepared to branch out. The consular restrictions of the five ports are at an end, and now missionaries may penetrate in every direction throughout the interior.

"The difficulties of languages have been overcome, in a great degree, in every mission-field. Bibles in the vernacular are provided in rich abundance, through the liberality of the British and Foreign Bible Society. Philological skill has been so brought to bear upon the reduction of unwritten languages, that portions of the Scripture are prepared as soon as missionaries have entered a new country.

"Even the lamentable wars in Africa and New Zealand may yet be overruled to the progress of Christianity, as the great Indian mutiny has been overruled."

We turn to darker scenes. The war in America continues. The North becomes more truculent, and the South more desperate. The

North have taken Charleston and Wilmington, and there is a rumour that another great battle has been fought by Sherman, but with what success is at present uncertain. President Lincoln has issued his inaugural address, breathing threatenings and slaughter—a sort of gloomy ferocity. He will continue the war against the South until every drop of blood drawn by the lash shall be atoned for by another drawn by the sword. And who is this avenger of the negro's blood, if the sentiment itself were not abhorrent to every Christian feeling? Is this he who began the war with the solemn assurance to the world that it was not undertaken with any intention on his part of interfering with this same domestic institution—who even at the end of a second year's war, after the loss of half a million of human lives in the contest, would have re-admitted the South with all their privileges—who, after the third year, had a heart only large enough to liberate the slaves of rebels, nor of these if they would return to their allegiance—and who, to the close of his fourth year of office, had never once declared himself the enemy of all slavery and the friend of the negro? What he had done, he had done, he said, only as a political necessity. Of course the South will not be slow to resent the insult. They seem to be unawed by any sense of danger, and to have the same gloomy resolve to prosecute the war. In the meantime, He who caused light to shine out of darkness, is causing light to shine out of this dismal scene. The whole body of American slaves will probably soon be free. The North have already enrolled two hundred thousand negroes; and the South, unable longer to recruit their armies, have resolved to follow their example with an equal force. Liberation is promised; nor indeed can it be withheld from men trained to arms, and proudly conscious of having deserved the distinctions which a country not unmindful of their valour will bestow. That this happy result may follow with little further effusion of blood, who would not earnestly pray? It would contribute more to the happiness both of the Federal and Confederate States, than any restoration of the Union, now for ever broken up, can be to the North, or the proudest triumph over their old ally to the Southern States.

We turn to our own affairs.

We notice with pleasure the increase of Lent lectures, and we believe we may add, in general, their much higher quality. Hitherto we have too much neglected expository teaching; yet a course of six lectures affords an admirable opportunity of giving the outlines, at least, of a course of instruction on the most important doctrines of the Gospel. Take, for instance, the Epistle to the Hebrews. What an opportunity has a thoughtful preacher of laying before his hearers the doctrine of the priesthood of Christ, with all that it implies, so as to rivet that glorious truth upon the mind of his hearers for life. Or let the preacher take up the subject of prophecy, a much more difficult one, we grant, and one that requires many mental qualities in the preacher. He must not only bring to the work much previous thought and reading, but candour, moderation, and a judicial mind, rather than that of an advocate. A great improvement has taken place during the last ten years in the tone of mind upon this subject. It used to be spoken of with almost undisguised contempt: the Scriptures might have said, "Ye have the sure light of prophecy, to which ye do well *not* to take heed." We have heard upon the platform a graduate of Cambridge, of

reputed, and, we have no reason to doubt, of real piety, thank God that he was no prophecy-monger; a sentence that was answered by the plaudits of his audience. Now, our congregations are anxious for instruction. The roll of prophecy has been unrolled year by year, and we see with certainty much that ten years ago was obscure. Nor is it true that the differences amongst expositors, those of learning and piety, are such as to discourage the humble inquirer. After a while, he will perceive that, however they may differ as to the road along which they shall travel, there is a wonderful agreement at last. They all assemble at one point, and about the same time. We have Popery chiefly in view, and its approaching downfall, with the blessed consequences that are to follow both to Jew and Gentile. A course of Lent lectures upon such a subject, if treated in a devout spirit, could not fail to be a blessing to the hearers.

The dissolution of Parliament seems to be at hand, and the House of Commons has made up its mind not to enter again into the deeper seas of politics. But a timid course is often the most dangerous, and many a gallant ship, which might have had a prosperous voyage had she launched into the deep, hugging the shore, has been left a worthless wreck upon the sands. Two bills have been brought in, which the ministry seem to have had no courage to resist. By the former, the violent Dissenters wish to rid themselves of the Declaration, which at present forbids them to use their power to the injury of the National Church. Their motive is apparent; they would get hold of those royal and ancient free grammar schools which, far beyond their wealth or commerce, ennoble their towns or cities, but all of which are connected with the Church of England, though free to the sons of Dissenters. By the second, the Roman Catholics in the House wish to rid themselves of the Oath, which was instituted when the Emancipation Bill was passed, for the protection of our Protestant constitution, and which we have been assured, ever since, has been a sufficient safeguard. Sir George Grey, on behalf of the Ministry, said he had no objection to the introduction of the bill, and the usual amount of easy declamation followed upon the changed nature of Popery, and the harmlessness of English Roman Catholics. The *Times* followed the next day in the same strain; but, being somewhat open to shame, it could not avoid remarking—"If the Catholics have any difficulty in overcoming the opposition which the bill may evoke, they will owe it in a great measure to the want of good feeling and right judgment which they have themselves displayed, both in home and foreign politics, since Emancipation. They have certainly not acted so as to remove the prejudices of a Protestant majority. In foreign affairs, their sympathies have been so continually on the side which Englishmen deem the wrong one, their political utterances have been so ostentatiously illiberal, that their opponents in the House and on the platform may obtain, to a certain degree, the public acquiescence when they resist a change in the oath." It is impossible to believe that the House of Lords will pass either of these measures; but here is the introduction of the wedge. It will be seen, ere long, what resolution the people of England will take when the appeal is transferred to them. The danger is great; but we say with them of old—"OUR HOPE IS IN THE LORD OUR GOD."

We are obliged to exclude our Answers to Correspondents.

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ON PEWS.

A DEAD set is made against pews, not by a very influential party perhaps, but by one which is very active. The question is one of serious importance, as it bears upon the best means of securing the attendance of the *people* on divine worship.

We cannot adopt the views of the agitators. We think they forget that it is the *people* whose attendance at church is to be sought for, and not the poor or the indifferent only. Is the remedy for the non-attendance of the poor, or the indifferent, the destruction of pews? We think not. On the contrary, we think the present system, rightly understood and applied, is the best for all classes; which is what we think is, or ought to be, meant by "the people."

In order to investigate whether a change be wanting, the present system ought to be rightly understood. The law is very clear. Disregarding, then, all family pews resting upon faculties and special rights, on which we shall offer an observation by and by, and taking them for the present as so few as not to affect the general question, it is the duty of the churchwardens to seat every parishioner according to the best of their judgment, so that all may be accommodated as far as the space will permit. Has this principle ever been fairly appreciated by those who are denouncing pews? Has it ever been fairly acted upon in those circumstances which alone afford a test for it, namely, where there was a regular attendance at the church and scarcely room for the worshippers?

It is the duty, then, of the churchwardens to seat every parishioner according to the best of their ability. Let us trace its working.

There is in every parish a number of regular quiet church-going people who are to be found in their places every Sunday, and the desire of all parties is to increase their number greatly.

They are at present numerous, and the support of the church; and if they were increased ever so much, our argument in respect of their claims would be equally increased in power. We ask nothing for them in their present or multiplied state, but what is within the rule, that they should partake, as well as all others, in the orderly arrangements for the accommodation and common benefit of all. But would it be at all an orderly arrangement, for it to be necessary that any one wishing to secure a seat should be obliged to be at the church doors an hour, or even a quarter of an hour, before they open, or before the service begins? Surely not; such waiting is not likely to prepare the mind for the solemnities of public worship, or to promote that reverence for the place which must be of vital importance in the estimation of those who think they shall improve the attendance at the service by the abolition of pews. Then consider the rush, undesirable even into a theatre, and most unseemly into a church, when the doors are open. Surely that is an evil to be avoided. And how would the aged, the feeble, the lame, and the sick, many of whom are regular church-goers, fare in the scramble? Then further, remember that any lengthened waiting inside, before the commencement of the service, is again unfavourable to real devotion. Surely this also is an evil to be avoided. And yet the necessity of a prematurely early attendance to secure a seat, makes both these evils inevitable. We once went to the Surrey Music Hall to hear Spurgeon, and we never went again; not because we complained of the sermon, for that was a good one, with scarcely an objectionable word, and, in some parts, of great power; but entirely on account of the unavoidable preliminaries to the service, the effect of which was such a desecration of the Sabbath, that we felt it a very clear duty not to mis-spend any part of the sacred day by a repetition of the effort. But is this to be the state to which every congregation is to be reduced where the pew system is abolished? We do not say it is aimed at or desired: we think it would necessarily follow if there were a large congregation requiring all the accommodation of the church, and far more if the numbers were in excess; and therefore that the large attendance to be secured by the abolition of pews, would inevitably bring these evils along with it. The doors are open to all who will come, nothing but being first to enter is to be allowed to give a right to any seat; and if these effects do not follow, it is not to be attributed to any regulating power in the pew-abolishing system, but to the partial failure of the scheme, the small number of the parishioners, and the absence of a crowd of strangers.

We think, then, that whenever the congregation is very large, *some* regulation for seating them is necessary, beyond

the rule of first come first served. Without it, the continuance of the regular attendants would be impossible. We have been once at Camden Chapel, when Mr. Melville attracted great crowds: we went with an old member of the congregation, and were accommodated in his pew. But the difficulty was to get up the aisle, which was crammed with strangers. Mr. Melville could never have continued to preach unless his regular supporters had been secure of their sittings, and able, though with some effort, to occupy the seats reserved for those who paid for them; for the strangers who might have got into them would never have raised an income for the clergyman, and so Mr. Melville's powerful preaching would have soon been turned, by the want of pews or some other regulation, if there be any, not to the benefit of his proper and old accustomed congregation, but to its dispersion and the end of his own usefulness in the neighbourhood.

Suppose, however, that the congregation have got into the church with as little distress and want of composure as may be; but there are no reserved or fixed seats for any; and there are but few who find themselves where they sat last Sunday—families are dispersed, husbands and wives are separated, and even children are placed among strangers, and the strong and most healthy and religious feeling of families worshipping together, and children early taught in the house of God by the attention which parents only can bestow, all are destroyed. For what? Only that those who happen to arrive first, or endure a waiting at the closed doors, which children never could bear, may place themselves where they please, although they may not be regular attendants, nor perhaps even parishioners. Let us imagine the heartburnings which such a state of things would infallibly occasion. We believe it would soon break up any congregation. And we do most earnestly hope that the necessities and proper comfort of that most valuable class (for so it is, as a whole) who do frequent the house of God, will not be neglected, in the random effort to lead men to church by destroying, instead of properly using, the means provided by law for regulating the due and orderly accommodation of all. It is our desire that multitudes more should be induced to attend; we do not yield to our opponents in this respect, but we see a necessity for taking care of what we have already got; nay, also of securing the permanent attendance of those whom they may bring in, which we think they altogether disregard.

All we are anxious for is, that the class of regular attendants should have their *proper* share of the benefit of the existing principles and rules of law, or that some method, equally fair for *all*, should be adopted instead; and that the orderly and decent arrangements, which the churchwardens have the power of making for the benefit of *all*, should ensure to them an easy,

open, and peaceful entrance to the house of God, and access to seats where they can worship in comfort—which they are entitled to *as much* as any other class of worshippers. Others are not to be neglected or excluded—by no means: the rule of law excludes not and neglects not; but this class is not to be marked out (for so it is, practically) for neglect or exclusion. They are the attendants who need, and by their stated presence show that they need, a place in the house, and a suitable place. Let the law provide it, and still keep to providing it; and we say without hesitation that it is best done, nay, that it can only be done, by such people having regular and accustomed sittings.

It is to be remembered, that every person won to regular attendance becomes immediately one of the class whose proper places we have been maintaining; but the machinery which has been the means of adding him to that class finds him an incumbrance and a burden the moment it is accomplished. Yet it is surely a very inadequate and self-condemning effort which treats him thus in the new condition into which it has brought him.

Oh, but it may be said, it is not the intention of those who wish to abolish pews, to interfere with the class of regular church-goers. Let them sit where they have been accustomed; and let places be kept for them. In fact, this restriction of the pew-destroying system is often felt to be unavoidable; but it is giving up the principle of the attack altogether. We do not, however, accuse the society, which we shall presently mention, of intending to do the work by halves. But we cannot say so much for their argument as for their zeal.

Let it not be thought for one moment, that pews or appropriated seats, which are the same thing as to the attack we are meeting, is a question of poor against rich, or rich against poor. The poor like their accustomed seats, and feel injured by being deprived of them, and they are as tenacious and sensitive as the rich on this point. We include them quite as much as others in our desire to see the *people* sitting where their choice with due consideration secures them a right, and not where strangers from day to day elbow them to. We have heard of an old woman at the Sea Houses at Eastbourne, who went to the consecration of the church there some years ago, and was welcomed by the Earl of Burlington, who knew and respected her; and as he told her how glad he was to see her in one of the free seats, and that he hoped she would often be there, she attached herself to the seat, and looked upon it as her proper place. But strangers from London would occupy it in the season, to her intense discomfort. She used to ask them to make room for her, telling them what she considered her claim; and if they were so unkind as to refuse, she stood near without going anywhere else, and, having manifestly a

good deal of sympathy from those around her, generally succeeded in making the intruders so uncomfortable, that they relinquished their usurped possession. How much better to respect feelings like these, by securing to each parishioner who desires it a proper seat under due regulations. If feelings like these be once destroyed, the church will not easily get a body of devoted worshippers again.

But, whilst we press for due regard to the claims and comfort of these classes, because we think the warfare against pews is certain (though with an object in itself good) to unsettle and annoy them, we do not at all mean to neglect those for whose sake the pew-destroyers are at work. On the contrary, we think we are quite as much their friends and helpers as any, not only in inviting them to church, but in inducing them to remain when they have once entered. The principle and rule of law is to be worked for their benefit from first to last; and rightly understood and applied, it will do them equal justice with others. But it is time to go into the details.

It is surely for the sake of *all*, that an easy, early but not protracted, noiseless, and devout attendance should be secured *before the beginning* of divine service, and this we hold to be best promoted by appropriating seats for all who wish to have them. But it is only *up to* the beginning of service that any appropriation is desirable: then there is a change, and it is desirable, and in fact it is the principle, that there should then be *no* appropriation, but that all present (we speak in the estimation of the law of parishioners) should be as quickly as possible accommodated, and the worship of all should proceed with solemnity and without disturbance.

In deciding questions respecting seats in Londonderry Cathedral, the law is very clearly laid down by the judge. Speaking of pews not let, but allocated or appropriated to individuals, the judgment is, "That such allocation gives the parties no *property* in the pew. All that a parishioner acquires by an allocation of a pew is a right to sit in it, a mere easement (that is, a benefit out of the property of another); he has no right to exclude others, if he and his family do not occupy the whole of it. The churchwardens have a right to fill the pews thus allocated to individuals; a man has no right to keep a pew unoccupied."

Another authority says:—"The ordinary is to take care and order *all* things appertaining to divine service; so that the service of God may be best celebrated, that there be no contention in the church, and that *all* things be done decently and in order."

If *all* things are to be so ordered and so carried out, it is plain that *ALL* the congregation should be arranged and seated for *all* the service, that is, *BEFORE* the service begins. As soon as the clergyman enters the reading-desk, all parishioners who

require it should be accommodated with seats, and the rights of pew-holders cannot, without breaking in upon the principles of the law, require seats to be kept vacant any longer. It is most unseemly and improper, and contrary to law, to keep parishioners standing, and their minds in a distracted state, till the second lesson, or any other remote part of the service, has been reached. How can those who are standing in the aisle, and fidgetty about a seat, join in the confession? Nothing can be plainer than that, for *them* at least, *all* things have not been done for the proper solemnization of all the service.

Here, then, we find the practical mismanagement of the pew system. For the holders of pews have thought themselves entitled, and have been allowed by churchwardens to act as if they were entitled, to exclude those who wanted accommodation, even though seats, or the whole pew, were empty, and the service had begun. And we fear it has, in some places we could name, been carried to an extent, not only most unchristian, but perfectly disgraceful. But it is altogether a mistake.

The truth is, that the churchwardens, as public officers, have a duty to perform, which renders them incapable of divesting themselves of the control which the law gives them over all pews in the church, whether let or free. They cannot lawfully renounce or lay aside any of their duties; they cannot put it out of their power to discharge their office as to any part of it; they cannot derogate from their authority, or alienate their rights. This is, we think, plain. It results necessarily from their position, as in all cases it results from the tenure of office. A captain of a vessel of war cannot put any part of it out of his command. The sheriff of a county must be the sheriff of every part of it, in spite of any act of his own. The contrary is an absurdity and an inconsistency, and, in the estimation of the law, a repugnancy and an impossibility. The churchwardens, then, cannot derogate from their authority, or alienate the rights which enable them to exercise it. They have no power to let or part with a seat beyond what is useful and best for securing for all parishioners the comfort and advantage of being suitably placed for joining in the service, that is, during the *whole* service. If they attempt to do more than this, the hirer of a pew acquires no further right; the attempt to give or acquire more than this simply fails, and is void and of no effect. The hirer of a pew has no more right to expect it to be kept vacant during any part of the service, than a patient in an hospital has to require his bed to be kept empty when he is out of it and another wants it.

We are only desirous that the principles of law should be fairly carried out, and we have intended the observations which we have made to point out how this is to be done for the common good of all, especially of those who have been most neglected; we mean those who have not seats, and who have

been treated as if they had no claim at all to accommodation, and as if putting them into seats at last were a favour, and not a duty. This has been a great practical error in working out the legal rights of the people, and in every respect a great mistake, and it has alienated and driven away numbers from our church. But the fault is not in the system, only in the administration of it ; in fact, the system is, as decidedly as any thing can be, what Jeremy Bentham used, we believe, to call the greatest happiness principle, the amount of greatest good to be secured for all. And what is offered instead, but the want of all system, the destruction of the authority which the churchwardens do possess and ought to exert beneficially, without affording the slightest protection to the weak, the sick, the poor, or the great bulk of the congregation ; or a system, as we shall presently see, proposed by the society we have mentioned, which would lead to the same results, from the utter inability of the churchwardens to carry out what it would require of them, though in terms increasing their responsibilities ?

We had the claims of the poor most vividly before us. We think it impossible that the principle of the law can be said to be carried out, unless a fair proportion of very good seats indeed be appropriated for them near to the pulpit, and so that the infirm may have, as much as the rich in like condition, the real advantages and comforts of the house of God. But unless the churchwardens *appropriate* such seats for those who need them, we are afraid they will never get them. When we went to hear Spurgeon, and we could watch the people for nearly an hour before the service began come pouring in like the crowd over London Bridge, we now recollect that they were all the young, the healthy, and the strong, and we do not remember having seen one feeble person among them. But we turn with more pleasure to our recollections of Faversham church, with its broad expanse, in which close to the pulpit was always a regular body of those for whom pews or seats are not often provided ; but who were there a very marked, and, we regret to say, a very unusual gratification to those who regard the Church of England as the church of all classes.

There is one important part of the subject which must not be forgotten. We have endeavoured to prove that it is impossible, by hiring a seat, to acquire more than a modified interest in it, and that, in fact, letting a seat is only a method by which the churchwardens exercise their authority of putting a proper person into it, if he be at church in time ; but we contend that free seats are not withdrawn from the power of appropriation by the churchwardens, and that they ought to be appropriated, if necessary, for suitable hearers, notwithstanding they are called free. What is meant by their being free ? Surely not free to anarchy or violent seizure ; not free to those who are

not parishioners; not free from the rules which the law has laid down for the common benefit of all the congregation? They are simply free from being let for money, but they are not free in any other sense. And we think that churchwardens should do their duty, when circumstances require it, in preserving for those, who really desire and deserve their assistance, appropriated seats among them which are considered free. It is at once obvious how hard it is to do this effectually in a very crowded church, without the use of pews; but it is not for the sake of the rich alone that we make this observation.

We are, on the whole, inclined to doubt whether the free-seat system be not a great mistake; and we believe it was stated to be so, at the late Bristol Congress, by a clergyman whose experience lay in a large city, and whose name would carry weight if we mentioned it. The class for which free seats are intended like their own particular seats as much as any hearers, and in this respect we fear there is, in practice, a neglect of their wishes which the law does not require. And many of them prefer paying and acquiring such a right as the law allows, feeling it becomes more completely and satisfactorily their own. Of course there ought to be some seats left altogether open, wherever it is possible; though, strictly and in contemplation of law, only for parishioners.

Among the evils of free seats there is a great one at sea-side places; the parishioners and the poor are driven away by the visitors who intrude upon them. The proper appropriation by churchwardens would check this system. We once heard of a family, living near a crowded church at the sea-side, who used to send the servants to secure places in the free seats, and then the master and mistress coolly walked in and took the seats which had been so secured for them. All we say is, that system and proper regulation which the law requires is better than everyone doing that which is right in his own eyes.

We would not make a contention for pew doors instead of open benches where seats are appropriated. If the parochial system, under the superintendence of the churchwardens, be properly carried out, this is generally a matter of indifference. But in a case like that of Mr. Melville, pew doors would be a necessity if the service is to be continued; for without them the crowd in the aisles would of its own weight subside into open seats, however appropriated, and nothing but a closed door could have prevented it. Square pews, however, are of themselves an abomination and a nuisance, and a contempt of the greatest happiness principle and of the rule that all should be *comfortably accommodated*; for we question whether any one individual can sit in a square pew, well filled, without great discomposure and discomfort, even if he were one of the fortunate half who had not their backs to the pulpit.

The duty and power of the churchwardens are so extensive

that the right of the rector to have sittings or a pew in the chancel, does not carry with it, as a consequence, any exemption from their authority to see that every portion of that part of the church is made available for the parishioners as far as they require it. As to a lay-rector, the churchwardens had the right before the great tithes were ever appropriated, or taken from the original incumbents.

And it is quite settled that no pew in the nave or body of the church can be so appropriated as that the parishioners can be excluded from it when the usual occupants are *not* enjoying it.

Side aisles, and perhaps galleries, are generally recognized by the Courts as standing on peculiar grounds; but it may be doubted whether any part whatever of the inside of the church can be exempt from the power and duties of the churchwardens; and it may be a grave question how far the Ecclesiastical Court can create a freehold in any part of an English church. It seems strange that such rights can be placed on higher ground than the right of the rector in the chancel. But this is beside the general question, though not altogether without point in showing how complete and sufficient the principle of the law will probably be found when it is required. At the same time, a gallery or aisle may be taken as a gift to the church, with the reservation of a pew.

We cannot conclude without noticing a paper of the "National Association for promoting Freedom of Worship." If the name be intended as an imputation that no one comes up to the Society in desiring the attendance of all classes, or any of them, at church, or as a claim that no one else has hit upon the scheme for promoting it, we think the title is wanting in good taste, and fairness too. When, however, they say that the churchwardens have no right to refuse to point out a sitting to every parishioner, on his presenting himself at church a reasonable time before the service begins, we appeal to our readers if we are not on a par with them. But we deny that it is distinctly admitted by any one but themselves that no parishioner has strictly any right to occupy any sitting until the churchwardens or their deputies have, before the commencement of *each* service, pointed out the sitting which he may occupy. "How very wretched!" was the comment of a lady, whom we shall presently quote again. The Society certainly has not proved this proposition; and we have seldom heard of anything more wild and impracticable. We have no doubt that after a season of useless disturbance and confusion, this plan would break down, and all would settle to the present practice, wanting only the security as to our places, which is one of the delights of attending public worship. Yet, with singular inconsistency, the Society tells us that, on their plan,

persons who might choose any particular place would, by going betimes, seldom fail to obtain it; and, more wonderful still, that families, especially large ones, would sit together, who now find it impossible to do so. We never heard of any difficulty in this respect; but of all mistakes this seems the climax. Imagine the mother of a large family, especially if poor, having a number of children to get ready for church, and the various small affairs, and important matters too, which are perpetually going wrong with little ones, and defeating all her plans to be early, and we think all will agree with us that few things can promote families sitting together more than their having appointed seats to go to. And when the paper goes on to say that the legal rights and vested interests of a community would not, as now, be bartered away to private interests for money, and that then the idea would be realized of common prayer in the churches of the people, we see a foregone conclusion against pew rents; and we look in vain, in this paper of the Society's, for a candid and discriminating examination of the subject; and can only be sorry for those who are insensible to the common prayer which continually arises in our congregations. We will offer, as the best practical remedy we ever heard for the difficulties of disposing of the parishioners, the idea of a lady, who, with true feminine tact, and the most exact appreciation of the churchwardens' duties, observed, that she had always thought, if people wanted seats, the proper thing was to make straight for the churchwardens' pew.

A BARRISTER.

WILBERFORCE AND HIS CONTEMPORARIES :
MR. HENRY THORNTON.

AMONG the group assembled in Mr. Wilberforce's house in Palace Yard, when the vote in favour of the abolition of the Slave Trade had brought together his exulting friends, there was one who, to a bystander like Heber, might easily have passed unnoticed; there was nothing, indeed, to attract notice either in his appearance or his deportment. He was not handsome. His was one of those plain strong faces which we meet with in Saxon Englishmen. A forehead well developed intimated intellectual power; full blue eyes indicated thought and resolution; the lower part of the face, the chin and the lips, announced a determined will; but you might easily have passed him by among the persons who surrounded him. A blue coat with metal buttons, and powdered hair, were then the dress of the ordinary gentleman. His look was grave, but rather fixed: his manner composed, nothing about him

that marked impulse: a contrast to the varying countenance and flexible movements of Wilberforce. A plain Englishman all over, the antipodes to the chattering vivacity and expressive pantomime of a Frenchman. A thoughtful man, you would have called him: in moments of excitement, so quiet as to appear unimpassioned—reserved and silent, when others were full of talk and movement. Yet to this grave man Wilberforce on this occasion addressed himself, as if he singled him out for special notice, and turned to him as his chief friend. He addressed him by his Christian name, and asked what measure they should take next. You would have discovered at once that this man was Wilberforce's chief adviser. He was certainly among his earliest, and at this time his most trusted friend. These sketches would indeed be imperfect, if they did not include a notice of Henry Thornton.

More than a century and a half ago—when the wealth of London was petty and its merchants were few, and the South Sea bubble had burst, and swept away many fortunes, and the trade to the West Indies was trifling, and a single factory held the traffic to the East Indies—in an old manor-house hard by the Clapham Common, now girt with smart villas, then bare, and compassed with a few ordinary houses, lived Robert Thornton, a London merchant. In his house, on the 1st of April, 1720, was born to him a son, whom he named John. Their business was in the Russian trade, then an important branch, cultivated by considerable mercantile houses in London and Hull. John Thornton, when he grew to man's estate, continued the traditions of his house, and raised the family fortunes. He was in business an active merchant, keen in watching opportunities, and skilful in using them. Eminent for other qualities, he never lost the practised eye of the merchant and his watchful observation. In one of his tours in Ireland, undertaken late in life, to recruit, as was his habit, his strength, and also to furnish a holiday at his own cost to hard-worked ministers of the Gospel whom he took with him, he showed the habits which peculiarly characterized him. Walking out in the early morning at Cork, he turned down to the harbour, where a number of vessels, laden with tallow, had just come in. A few questions, addressed by him to the persons connected with them, put him in possession of the facts, and by a stroke of his pen he made the cargoes his own. By this stroke he cleared a handsome profit, more than enough to cover the cost of his tour. From the harbour he and his friend strolled into a nursery-garden, where they fell in with its humble proprietor. The poor man was in great perplexity, sore hampered for want of capital. Mr. Thornton talked to him, ascertained his circumstances, inquired into his character; and being satisfied, he, by another stroke of his

pen, helped him out of his troubles, and set him fairly on his feet. We give another example, which is creditable to both the persons concerned ; and as it has been partially stated, we now give it as it occurred, derived from the grandson of one of the parties. There was a young merchant, engaged in business, who attracted Mr. Thornton's notice. A follower of Wesley, he was warmly attached to him, but no less attached to the Church of England, of which he was a sincere admirer. His family was large, his capital small. The want of capital cramped his business. One day Mr. Thornton accosted him on the Exchange, and thus addressed him :—"John, I have been thinking much of you and your circumstances. I think, if you had a larger capital, you would soon do a better business." The young man admitted that this was true. "Well," added Mr. Thornton, "ten thousand pounds are at your service as a loan. If you prosper, you will repay me. If you don't, you will never hear of the debt." The young merchant thanked him warmly, but begged a few days for consideration : but days passed, and he did not approach Mr. Thornton, who at last addressed him again and asked him the reason of his silence. "I have been thinking," was the answer, "of your kind offer ; but I feel that I must decline it. If I lost your money I should be very unhappy, and, through the blessing of God, I am now doing a fair business, and had better remain as I am." Such facts illustrate character, and well deserve a record.

In these traits we have an epitome of the man ; a mind not remarkable for intellectual power, but full of sound sense and practical talents well applied. His industry, tact, and knowledge of business, raised him to wealth, and amongst the thriving merchants of the Metropolis he soon held a high position. But he is better known for benevolence, to an amount which was in those days rare, and remarkable at any time. This virtue gave him, and justly, the title of munificent. Large gains brought him large means ; and a large fortune was spent, not in buying lands and building houses, or setting up a costly establishment, displaying the pomp of plate and splendour of entertainment, but in the better luxury of a discriminating benevolence. His charity ranged far and wide as his business ; his was the hand of a merchant prince, scattering largesses over England, and across the seas in other lands, where he dropped seeds of good that bore fruit after he was gone. Wilberforce, who observed him carefully, thus speaks of him :—"It was by living with great simplicity of intention and conduct in the practice of a Christian life, more than by any superiority of understanding or of knowledge, that John Thornton rendered his name illustrious. . . . He anticipated the disposition and pursuits of the succeeding generation. He devoted large

sums annually to charitable purposes, especially to the promotion of the cause of religion, both in his own and other countries." (*Life*, i. 283, 284.)

Thus, whilst the poor around him partook of his bounty, he supported schemes of education and piety. Young men of promise were sent by him to college; public seminaries were supplied from his purse; the Dissenting Academy of Newport-Pagnell was maintained at his cost for twenty-seven years. After his death, his son Henry was visited by a student from the United States, who had been brought up in a college, founded during the heats of the American War, which owed both its origin and support to the liberality of John Thornton and the Earl of Dartmouth. No wonder that his son records this with honest pride, pointing "to an institution, containing 150 to 200 scholars, in the New World, now spreading its branches in that hemisphere, of which a few hundred pounds, opportunely given by my own parent, sustained the existence." (*MS. Letter of Henry Thornton, Esq.*)

Another channel through which John Thornton applied his liberality, was one characteristic of himself. It was costly, but it had great results. It gave comfort to worthy pastors, help to the poor, hospitality to the stranger, and it also promoted religion. His plan was, to buy livings and present to them deserving clergymen; or when he found clergymen in livings slenderly endowed, starving on narrow incomes, he supplied them with a yearly revenue, that they might give abundant charity and exercise hospitality. Thus he gave Newton £200 a year, during his residence at Olney. Then he transplanted him to St. Mary Woolnoth, which he purchased for him. He furnished an income to another clergyman in a small vicarage in Bedfordshire. He sent yearly sums to the Independent minister at Newport-Pagnell, to supply him means for charity and to buy books for his studies. He writes to him:—"I should not have suspected your business at Oxford, but it is a blessed one; and when the wheels stick, I hope to be able to supply you with somewhat that will keep them going. I think the expense is heavier than you are aware of." Again, "I am glad you are beginning a Sunday school; when you want assistance, you know where to come for it; when you want money, remember I am your banker, and draw freely." (*Memorials of Rev. W. Bull*, pp. 98, 202.) Another mode of charity adopted by him was practical and novel. When he took his holiday he carried with him some hard-worked ministers, dissenters or clergymen, to the coast to recruit their strength, entertaining them as his guests. Mr. Bull was his frequent companion on his Irish tours, to the coast of Norfolk, the coast of Sussex, and the Isle of Wight. He provided for him every comfort, and indulged him in the taste which the

dissenter shared with Newton, the love of his pipe ; he arranged for him an arbour (we owe an apology to our anti-tobacco friends for mentioning it) where the worthy man might indulge his weakness, and smoke the fragrant weed. Mr. Thornton's half-sister had married Wilberforce, the uncle of the philanthropist, and under their roof at Wimbledon the boy spent some of his early years. The uncle and aunt were religious ; but their religion was made attractive to the boy—it laid great hold of his mind, and thoroughly won his affections. "I loved them," he says, "as parents ; indeed I was almost heart-broken at the separation." To his uncle he writes, after they were parted, "I can never forget you as long as I live." Mrs. Wilberforce was, like her brother Mr. Thornton, catholic in her views of religion ; she drew no distinction between church and chapel, she attended either without preference, and followed as her guide any preacher who could benefit her—at one time Newton, then Berridge, Whitfield the Methodist, or Bull the Independent. She corresponded with Newton, and to her several of his letters in the "Cardiphonia" are addressed. She turned often to Mr. Bull for advice, and, in her declining years, for consolation. Both she and her brother, when Mr. Bull accompanied them on their tours, threw open their rooms to receive an audience ; and Mr. Thornton encouraged Mr. Bull to itinerate as a missionary through England, and to preach wherever he could find an open door. But to any persons who are inclined to notice these habits, either by way of imitation or censure, it is right to point out the peculiar circumstances of these times. Then first, after a long stupor, religious feeling had revived in England, and the revival was met by the strongest popular resistance. It was natural that those who were the subjects of these new impressions, should draw close in sympathy with each other ; and that, while they felt themselves animated by a new life, they should attach themselves to those who proved by their actions that they were the subjects of the same revival. When they found themselves cast off by general society, and treated as though they were lepers and outcasts, it was natural that they should regard each other as kindred, overlook the circumstances which separated them, and acknowledge a common bond.

It was vain to tell old Berridge that Whitfield was a sectary, and should be driven out of his parish for not duly observing the rubric. Whitfield and Berridge preached the same truths, and were tarred and feathered with the same opprobrium. It was idle to tell the poet Cowper, or Newton, that their neighbour Mr. Bull was a dangerous Dissenter. The Dissenter taught, in the ugly Bethesda of Newport-Pagnell, the same truths which Newton preached and Cowper heard from the pulpit of the church at Olney. It mattered little to John Thornton whether he gave

his contributions to Newton or to Bull, or took with him, in his rounds of leisure, Dr. Conyers the clergyman, or Rowland Hill who taught in the Tabernacle. Hence arose a curious compound, which in these days might occasion some distaste. In 1782, Mr. Thornton visited Hastings, and hired a house for his preaching friends, in which they might lodge and hold their services; there gathered Dr. Conyers, Newton, and Mr. Bull. "We had a delightful meeting last night," writes the Dissenter. "Mr. Newton preached in Mr. Thornton's house to about thirty." In the services, held every night and morning, clergymen and Dissenters took part. "Your visit was a refreshing time to all of us," writes Mrs. Wilberforce to Mr. Bull.

Another time, Mr. Thornton arrives at Ilfracombe with Mr. Bull. In the morning, they attend church; in the evening, the Independent preaches in a house to several hundred persons. Another autumn they go to Yarmouth; and on this occasion the Dissenter is united with clergymen, with Messrs. Foster, Storry, and Venn. Mr. Foster preaches in the church, and Mr. Bull sits as a hearer. In the Independent and Wesleyan chapels of Norwich and Yarmouth, Mr. Bull officiates, and four clergymen and four Dissenting ministers are his hearers. Nay, so entirely were old differences laid aside, that the Independent, a stout Calvinist, admires the writings of Madame Guyon, hangs her portrait over his chimney, and asks his friend Cowper to translate her verses. Such was the prevailing sentiment in Mr. Thornton's times; but these times did not last long, for when the great flood of religious feeling began to fall, men found out where they differed. When the waters are out, inequalities vanish; when the waters subside, the hillocks reappear, and disputants plant their feet on them and count them great.

It was not, however, this catholicity of Methodism which drove young Wilberforce from the house of his uncle. What his friends disliked was the religious earnestness of the family, which in those days was stigmatised by the name of Methodism. This terrified Wilberforce's mother, and led her to hurry the boy from Wimbledon. This gave dire offence to the old Hull merchant, his grandfather. "If Billy turns Methodist, he shall not have a sixpence of mine." For Methodism was odious, whether found in Newton or Wesley. So the boy was hurried away, and his connexion with his aunt and with John Thornton was abruptly closed. This event happened in 1771, and not till Wilberforce's opinions had undergone a complete reversal, was his intercourse with his aunt renewed.

But when, with his own views altered, he saw Mr. Thornton once more, he was greatly impressed by his character. His beneficence, his composure, and his unaffected happiness, struck him. (Life, i. 98—104.) By this time Wilberforce had settled in the

Adelphi, in order to be nearer Newton and to attend his church ; but he longed for a quiet retreat, where he might collect his thoughts, and might enjoy the converse of more experienced friends. At this juncture, John Thornton threw open to him his villa at Clapham. He left him, with considerate kindness, to keep his own hours, and not to be restrained by the peculiar habits of an old man ; for John Thornton used to dine at two ; on several evenings in the week he attended church ; and then retired to his study in the upper part of the house, where he sat up to a late hour engaged in religious exercises. (Life, i. 284.) It was here that he studied Mr. Bull's Commentary on the Psalms, for which he had supplied him with books ; he transcribed the Commentary with his own hand, and had reached the 138th Psalm at the time of his death. (Memorials of Rev. W. Bull, p. 149.)

Quaint glimpses the life of John Thornton gives us of the habits of these times. When he and his friends resorted for their holiday to the coast, we find them rising at six and breakfasting at eight ; exposition of Scripture and prayers till half-past nine ; at three they dined, and after dinner they smoked their pipes in the arbour of the garden by the shore. Tea at half-past five, and then they sallied forth, Dissenter and Churchman, to preach or to hear preaching in church, chapel, or apartment. (Memorials of Rev. W. Bull, pp. 153, 181.) One of Mr. Thornton's favourite companions in these wanderings was William Bull. The worthy man was large and heavy, and, like stout bodies, he moved slowly and liked ease. He was often ailing, and so inclined to rest. Mr. Thornton, on the contrary, was brisk, and in perpetual movement. The poet Cowper tells us what sort of person the stout Independent was. "A Dissenter," he writes of Mr. Bull, "but a liberal one ; a man of letters and of genius ; a master of a fine imagination ; or rather not master of it, for it runs away with him. He can be lively without levity, and pensive without dejection. But he smokes tobacco ! Nothing is perfect. 'Nihil est ab omni parte beatum.'" On the other hand, Mr. Thornton was without a particle of imagination—a matter-of-fact man, who never rose an inch above the earth, and had no wings ; but busy, active, industrious. So he drags his stout friend with him, reluctant, *multa gemens*, seeking rest and finding it not. Away they go to Scotland in midwinter. In vain the worthy preacher protests that the season is unfavourable—better wait for the summer. But what Mr. Thornton has once decided, must be done. He has been in Russia in midwinter, and found it possible ; winter will therefore suit Scotland perfectly, and is the fit season for their tour. So, in the snows of January, 1789, the Dissenter and John Thornton started for the north—then a severe journey, but

a post-chaise and four horses carried them through it. In Edinburgh they dined with Dr. Erskine, and heard him preach. Crossing the Firth from Leith, they landed in Fife. Starting in the afternoon, with only eighteen miles to travel, they found bad roads blocked with snow, the chaise stuck, and night came on. Late in the evening they reached Melville. Mr. Thornton's only daughter had married Lord Balgonie, the old Earl of Leven's heir; and in the ancient house of Melville the London merchant and his chaplain were entertained. Provision was made for the good preacher's infirmities, for he found on the dressing-table of his bedroom a dozen pipes laid in order; and he writes to his wife, "Just out of bed, with a charming fire and a pipe in my mouth." The first evening they were entertained at supper; but before this meal, a great bell rang for prayers, and Mr. Bull was called upon to be chaplain. He was welcomed with an old-fashioned hospitality by his stately hosts, and he writes warmly of their kindness and excellence, right generous, old-fashioned nobility. Excursions from Melville showed the travellers something of the neighbourhood, but they found a different Scotland from ours. Roads bad, "full of ice and snow, and the country had a very dreary look; mountains covered with snow, and valleys streaming with floods, barren heaths and moors for miles together." The fare of the common people seemed to them as rough as the country. "The common people," he says, "get neither meat, nor butter, nor honey, but boiled oatmeal with some small beer poured over it." This porridge, however, though sung by the muse of Burns, did not please the southern pastor who had his dwelling in the meadows of Bucks. To his horror, in the midst of the fine dishes which covered the hospitable board of Melville, he discovers this unwelcome intruder. "This is one dish we always see on the table. I tasted it, and found it very much like the bran and water that is stirred together to fatten chickens or to feed hogs; but the great folks seem to like it exceedingly well." Mr. Bull preached in the parish church at Melville, and then through Kinross and Stirling the tourists came to Glasgow. They returned through Yorkshire, visiting Helmsley, in which Mr. Thornton's brother-in-law, Dr. Conyers, had once laboured. There the benevolent Thornton was known. "So delighted are the people of Helmsley at Mr. Thornton's being here, that the bells have been ringing most of the afternoon—a loud-speaking mark of respect to the most deserving man in the world."

Soon after their return from Scotland, Mr. Thornton's health began to fail. He completed, indeed (it was his last labour), the new edition of "*Bokatsky's Treasury*," enlarging it, and adding quotations from English hymns, putting Berridge and Bull under

contribution, himself the author of seven papers. He continued his activity in business and his large correspondence to the last. His villa was still open to his preaching friends. With strength reduced, and nerves shattered, he still received Mr. Bull at his house, and set him to conduct family prayers. "He was present, and seemed much revived, and pleased to hear me." "Mr. Thornton," Bull writes in October, "has just been down, and we have dined together; but he is extremely weak, and spoke but a few words. I have just taken leave of him, and I think I shall never see him again." On the 16th of October, 1790, John Thornton went to Bath, then the place of resort for sickness; and on the 7th of November, without a groan, he died. On the 9th, Wilberforce enters in his journal,—"Heard this evening, that on Sunday morning, at Bath, died what was mortal of John Thornton. May my last end be like his!" "I think it probable," says Mr. Newton, "that no one man in Europe, in private life, will be so much missed. You know something of my peculiar obligations to him. To him, under the Lord, I owe all my consideration and comfort as a minister. I hope my respect and affection were in some degree proportionable. It was a pleasure to me if I only saw him passing by."

Now, after this brief sketch of the father, let us turn to the son. John Thornton had married Lucy Watson, the daughter of a Hull merchant: she was born in 1722, and died in 1785. [Her tomb may still be seen in the churchyard of Clapham, where she and her husband worshipped.] By this marriage there was issue three sons and one daughter. The daughter married Lord Balgonie, and became the Countess of Leven; an honourable name, of a lineage well illustrated. The sons were—

Samuel, who first represented Hull, then the county of Surrey, married Miss Milnes, of a Yorkshire family, who bore him three sons and four daughters; he was engaged in the same Russian trade as his father; lived first at Clapham, then purchased Albury; but in the commercial reverses of the French war (1810), the business was wound-up, and Albury passed to Mr. Drummond.

The second brother was Robert, who resided at Clapham, and whose villa was celebrated for the beauty of its garden and conservatory. He was engaged in the same mercantile business, was long member for Colchester, and an East India director. He married, but had no family.

The third brother was Henry, of whom we are to speak.

In thoughtfulness and decision of character, Henry resembled his father. Living in his father's house, when Wilberforce was admitted there, he became acquainted with the young politician, and was soon attracted to him. Their pursuits in life were, indeed, different; Henry Thornton had become

partner in a banking-house in Bartholomew Lane, and, from his qualities for business, soon became a leading person in it. He inherited the business talents of his father, and his untiring perseverance; but the ability, which in his father was limited to mercantile business, rose in him to a higher elevation. His mind was essentially philosophic. To investigate every moral occurrence and physical problem—to trace these through their relations and connections—to analyse their elements—to extract that which was essential from incidental,—this furnished a constant exercise to his intellectual powers. To examine carefully; to deliberate long; to balance each quality and circumstance in the scales of an equal judgment; to accept no standard but that of truth, and to bring everything to be tried by that standard; wherever law was applicable, to apply it fairly, and where law was silent to test the subject by rules of equity,—this was his favourite occupation, and the interest of his leisure hours. The range of mercantile business, the interests of trade, absorbing and various as these are within the City of London, did not yield sufficient stimulants to engage and satisfy this determining and inquiring mind. His natural sphere, had such been open to him, would have been found in the profession of law within our Courts of Admiralty, where intricate questions are decided by the rules of an International code; or in our courts of final jurisdiction, where great colonial and ecclesiastical questions are referred for settlement, affecting the relations of a colony with the mother country, or the delicate connexion of Church and State. Some of these questions did, in fact, come before him, in our memorable Orders in Council, involving serious difficulties, as the wisest statesmen differed upon them: momentous, as they led to the disputes between the United States and England, and at length to the bloody arbitrament of war. Such subjects had for him great attractions, and on these topics he delighted to enlarge, talking slowly, as was his wont, calmly and dispassionately, with no want of words, for a clear mind finds words to express his thoughts—never evading difficulties, nor diverted from the real end, nor turned aside to collateral topics, nor perplexed by labyrinths of details, nor disturbed by the heat of passion. He sought out the facts with earnest care, he listened to the arguments on both sides, he gave to each its due weight, he hunted out parallel cases and authorities; and only when his research was complete, and the case lay before him clear and plain, stripped of its accidents, and reduced to its issues, did he take it up for decision, and then, unbending as a judge, he pronounced upon it an unwavering sentence. His decision on the Orders in Council supplies an example of this. Almost alone at first, he refused to admit their necessity or their wisdom. He weighed the

arguments, and, unmoved by the authority of Mr. Fox, or of Percival's government, or by the partisan subtlety of Stephen, he unequivocally condemned them. Another instance is supplied by an article written by him for this periodical soon after the death of Charles Fox, in which he reviewed the life and character of that eminent person. With no heat or hesitation, with no prejudice or bias, with a calmness which led men to feel that, in the midst of political passion, he alone could be unmoved, he assumed at once the serene attitude which is only reached by ordinary minds through the remoteness and calmness of history. Such a mind, shut out by his circumstances from the profession of the higher branches of law, restrained by business from the researches of philosophy, sought its appropriate sphere within the House of Commons. He entered the House while yet a young man, and he remained in it to the day of his death, representing the popular borough of Southwark through eight successive Parliaments. He spent in the House, first as a bachelor, then as the father of a family, above thirty of his most active years. He early chose for himself in Parliament that line of political action which was most suited to such a temper. The struggles of party, the contests for power, had no interest for him. Without any difficulty he renounced them. He chose for himself, like his friend Wilberforce, a line of independent politics; and to that line, throughout his life, he adhered without faltering. He was attracted early to questions which touched the science of political economy; and he followed this science into its most difficult applications, as it affected Trade and the Currency. The principles of the science he had studied carefully; and the work which he left us on Paper Credit shows how fully he had mastered them. The practical questions which grew out of these principles he discussed as they presented themselves, during his time, in Parliament; confining himself chiefly to this class of topics, and speaking on these with moderation and brevity.

These, indeed, were not subjects for oratorical display. In their nature they were didactic; interesting only to a few, distasteful to the bulk of a popular assembly. They were not unsuited, however, to the mind of Henry Thornton, for he was no orator: images of fancy never attracted him; reason moved him, and he basked in its light; but imagination and casuistry fell on his intellect as the wind and waves dash on a granite cliff and are dispersed in spray. The genius which animated Wilberforce was wanting to him; nor had he his friend's flexible action, his playful fancy, or his silver voice. A matter of fact speaker, he might have seemed to many dull, but that you saw the light of reason in the full eye, and the fixed purpose in the stately figure and deliberate manner. He spoke, without gesture, a few grave words on subjects abstruse

and obscure, but which he made clear through a luminous exposition. None could hear him without thoroughly understanding him; and as he spoke directly and to the purpose, and also briefly, he was listened to. Hence he was soon acceptable to that impatient assembly; and by confining himself to questions which he knew thoroughly, he soon became an authority, and his opinion was looked for. Thus he made for himself a position, much to be envied; and as he attended regularly, and gave his mind to the debates of the House and to its Committees, his influence, great at first, grew steadily year by year. So that, when death came to arrest his labours, he had risen to a position which is rare in Parliament; and, had he lived a few years longer, till age had set its seal upon him, and given to his matured intellect its last mellowing power, he would have occupied a place among the few master minds to whom the House of Commons—an audience difficult but impartial, and, though fastidious, discerning—awards at length its confidence, and bows implicitly to their decisions.

Very characteristic was the first start of Henry Thornton in Parliamentary life. He entered the House of Commons a short time after his friend Wilberforce, at one of the most exciting periods of our political history. It was at the time when Lord Shelburne's ministry had fallen in 1783, and had been replaced by the startling coalition of Fox and Lord North. Every passion of politics was at its height, hope and fear, indignation and surprise, bitter enmity in the Court, burning jealousies in Parliament, out of doors a rising storm of discontent. When the Coalition fell, a stripling of five-and-twenty defied a hostile majority in Parliament; and, after the fiercest contest ever known, a thunderbolt from the Throne struck the House of Commons and scattered it to the winds. After this hurricane, which lasted a year and a half, came the serene period of Mr. Pitt's first administration, which continued for seven years, was upheld by majorities, and only fell at last by its own hand in 1801. During this conflict, Wilberforce fought by the side of his friend Mr. Pitt, both when he led the House under Lord Shelburne, and when he was struggling as Premier against the Coalition. When the Coalition fell, still he adhered to Mr. Pitt; and when the appeal went forth to the country, he flew on wings of friendship to carry the great county of York. When Pitt's government was settled, none was more active in its favour, in every struggle, both during the king's illness and during the disorders of the French revolution. During this exciting period, Henry Thornton made his first speech, on a tax on receipts affecting the City of London! On this dry topic he spoke twice; in the New Parliament he spoke in the Committee of Ways and Means; effectively, for he carried his point; candidly, for both Fox and Pitt praised him, but cer-

tainly he did not choose subjects for rhetorical display. In the same manner, throughout Pitt's ministry, he handles questions of taxes and currency, sometimes siding with the government, not unfrequently against them ; voting at times with Fox, but without passion ; with Pitt, but without partisanship ; not swayed by popular feeling, for he stands up for the unpopular Income Tax and the Bank Restriction Act ; and when the Opposition blame the Government, the just man acquits and defends them. Nor does he shrink from taking a prominent part when it is required—a teller on both the divisions. He follows the same course after Pitt's government had withdrawn ; and when the fallen Minister is assailed, he rises to second Lord Mulgrave, and to clear his impugned reputation. He is equally independent during the ministry of Addington, the second ministry of Pitt, and the short ministry of the Talents. By this time his place in the House was fixed, and his authority on finance and trade established. He discussed Lord Henry Petty's financial plan with singular ability ; and when a Finance Committee was nominated, first by the Whigs, then on two occasions by Percival, to examine the departments of expenditure and to devise retrenchments, Henry Thornton's name appears on them all. In their deliberations, he takes an active part ; attends the Committee constantly ; defends their decisions in the House ; and, in defiance of the compact resistance and the corrupt exigency of officials, he denounces ministerial jobs, and demands prudent reforms. During Percival's ministry he was uniformly fair and impartial, placing no great reliance on the wisdom of Government, but refusing to attack them in party divisions. When, however, he thinks them wrong, he frankly condemns them ; and when Bankes moves to cut down reversions and abolish sinecures, Henry Thornton's name is always found in the ranks of reformers. Bills against bribery, Bills against embezzlement, Bills for reform of Parliament, these have his support ; he takes an active part in the debates on commercial distress ; in the two great Committees nominated by Percival's government, on Commercial Credit and on Bullion, his name is found. In the Bullion Committee he ranks second only to Horner, and he assists in laying down those great principles of currency which have stood the test of many years. These maxims, indeed, are now recognized by all statesmen of eminence ; but it should not be forgotten that they were first set forth clearly, and applied to practice, in the Bullion Committee, whose report was inspired by Horner and Henry Thornton. They, indeed, like all prophets, were set down as visionary theorists. Government carried its resolutions against them. This did not shake Henry Thornton's constant mind—

“*Victrix causa diis placuit, sed victa Catoni.*”

In the great debate of 1811 arose one of those prominent discussions on the currency which mark the gravity of the question and the interest of the House. It was a battle of giants: the leading minds on both sides took part in it. The debate was opened by Horner, who was followed by Rose (Secretary of the Treasury), and in his support spoke Percival (Chancellor of the Exchequer and Premier); but between these officials interposed a speaker, to whom the House listened attentively, who spoke, as he seldom did, at length, and with a full exposition of his views. To the Premier succeeded Canning, then the most brilliant speaker of the House, never more brilliant than in this one of his happiest efforts, in which he handled a question confessedly obscure, and made it luminous by the graces of his oratory. Yet he, in the full tide of his eloquence, turns back from his place on the floor, to point the eyes of the House to the grave and thoughtful speaker who had just instructed them by his "able and lucid speech." Thus, unmoved by the decision of Government, Henry Thornton held on his way; vindicated his principles both against Percival and Lord Liverpool; asserted them in the debate of March, 1812; renewed the discussion in December of the same year; and bequeathed to after times his views clearly set forth in his work on Paper Credit. He did not live to see these views prevail; but while we accept them now as just and undeniable, let us remember that our assent is only confirming his statesman-like wisdom.

No doubt the differences of opinion which thus separated him on many questions from the Tory government had the effect of throwing him, in his later years, more distinctly into opposition. The advocate of the Bullion Committee, of œconomic funds, and of Parliamentary reform, was frequently found voting in minorities against the government; but never as a partisan: temperate as well as decided, he joined with Wilberforce in condemning the conduct of the Duke of York, and in objecting to his being replaced at the head of the army. He was opposed to the Orders in Council, and he voted, with Mr. Brougham (March, 1812), for a committee of inquiry into their effect. He thought the foreign policy of Mr. Percival and of Lord Liverpool on many occasions weak and disastrous. He supported, therefore, the motion for inquiry into the expedition to the Scheldt; and he voted for the censure on Lord Chatham (January and March, 1810). Acting with Bankes and Babington and Wilberforce, he threw all his weight on the side of official economy. After some hesitation (influenced, as we think, by the personal opinions and persuasive eloquence of Alexander Knox), he separated himself, along with Wilberforce, from the Protestant party. From the year 1810 he supported the Roman Catholic claims. But this decision (what-

ever we may think of it) was at least unbiassed : his bias, indeed, was in favour of the Protestant section, and he knew that his change of opinion would wound many friends, Hannah More especially, to whom he was attached. Nor can we wonder that, on so difficult a question, the assurances and promises of the advocates of the Roman Catholic party should have weighed with him and with others. Alexander Knox, who was persuasive both from his piety and genius, was supposed to possess, from familiar acquaintance, a knowledge of the real objects and designs of the priesthood. They had convinced him that their views were changed, and that they had abandoned the ambition and intolerance of their old traditions. Convinced of this himself, he had successfully impressed his conviction on others. It was reserved for a later age to detect the truth ; to ascertain, by evidence of fact, what vain hopes and brilliant imaginations had been idly indulged. Broken promises, bitter enmities, priestly conspiracies, civil strife, followed by their stern lessons to chase away the visions of fancy ; and experience, that sober teacher, has taught us, by her painful warnings, how vain and unreal were these midsummer dreams.

But, though the politics of Henry Thornton were liberal as well as independent, they were always moderate, and in the true sense of the word conservative. With the Radical party, led by Sir Francis Burdett, he was in frequent collision ; and by that party, for his uprightness as well as his firmness, he was fiercely assailed. It is the more surprising that he carried his successive elections for Southwark, and continued for two-and-thirty years to represent that populous but fickle constituency. His success, as it was not due to the arts of the demagogue, so certainly it was not brought about by the power of his purse. To the practice, we will not say of bribery—for that he loathed—but of treating in any shape, he was opposed. The employment of banners, the guinea per head, then invariably given to the poorer voters, he resisted. The common arts of an election he put down with a sternness which startled his friends. How, they said, could he ever expect to carry his election ? Yet he did. It was indeed a triumph of virtue over a saturnalia of vice. Curious spectacle, to see this grave man standing on the hustings before the jests and shouts of a mob, who had scarce one sentiment in common with him. They, hasty, ignorant, and fickle, caught by every cry, trusting every promise, gulled by every assurance, gave themselves up with blind credulity to any political conjuror. Not insensible, at the same time, to more substantial things, to beef and bread—*panem et Circenses*—open taps and flaunting flags, plenty of drink by day, and guineas slipped at dusk into greasy palms. He, on the contrary, standing aloof from all such practices with a firm resolution, his hands clean

and his conscience clear, stood up before the close-packed mob, impassive to the hurricane of plaudits which met his rival, and the tempest of hisses which howled round himself. For the one candidate, the favourite of the rabble, a forest of black hands was held up; for himself, faint and scattered, a few thoughtful voices. But when the tide turned, and success attended him, and, returned by the electors, he went in his chariot to the declaration of the poll, it was curious to watch how, as he had been unmoved by the clamours of the multitude, he was tranquil under his triumph. "I had rather," he said to his children, "have a shake of the hand from good old John Newton, than the cheers of all that foolish mob, who praise one, they don't know why." To his children, who were spectators of the contest, who had wept with vexation to see their father assailed with hisses, and his voice drowned by shouts, but who clapped their hands with childish glee, as they saw from the balcony the long procession with carriages and horses, decked with orange and purple ribbons, flags flying, and a shouting multitude cheering his progress; he meanwhile, unelated and calm, was only anxious to turn to profit the incidents of the scene, and to impress on their young minds the lessons he would have them learn.

With such a candidate, it was not to be wondered at that the canvass was often an up-hill business, and the issue doubtful. More than once his fate hung trembling in the balance. At one time he regarded defeat as certain, and he rather looked forward with satisfaction to be free. But his friends rallied round him, and when (as was the case in 1807) the canvass was pushed into the heart of society, and reached the middle classes, they were found steadfast and firm, resolved to return their upright member, and not to disgrace themselves by rejecting an honest man. The doggerel lines, written during one of the elections, show the estimate they entertained of their member:—

"Nor place nor pension e'er got he,
For self or for connection;
We shall not tax the Treasury
By Thornton's re-election."

It is a characteristic trait of the man, that while, during one of his elections, he had been engaged all day in a hot canvass, toiling through the streets of Southwark, he writes to his wife that he secured a couple of hours in the evening to carry on his work on Paper Credit. In the election of 1802, his success was doubtful. His colleague had secured his seat by assiduous attention to the voters, a sort of chronic canvass: Henry Thornton had given his time to important duties and public business. The Democratic party had secured as their candidate a young man of popular manners and plausible

address. With these advantages in their favour, a run was made against Henry Thornton, and at the nomination the show of hands was against him. But when the voting began, and he was found to stand lowest on the poll, there was a prompt rally in his favour. He had, indeed, no crowds of canvassers, nor could he win the mob to his side by witty eloquence. But his character spoke for him; and his good deeds, experienced by many, spread a savour which influenced a wide circle. To many families he had been a liberal benefactor; every one in distress knew where he could find a sympathising friend. One incident marked the popular feeling. Uneasy and anxious, his wife drove from Battersea Rise into the Borough, to learn tidings of the poll. As Mr. Thornton approached her carriage to bring her the news, a dense concourse gathered round it. One of the multitude, a poor but decent woman, stepped up to him: "Ah! sir," she said, "whether you have it here or not, you will be sure to have it in heaven." It was this character, accepted as true by thousands, which kept for Henry Thornton a seat during life in a turbulent and changeable constituency.

Nor was it in politics alone that this character served him. Grave, resolute, and reserved, he never lost a friend; and his friends felt for him what they felt for few—a warm affection deep as their esteem. He had one evidence of this, which could not but greatly move him. In the autumn of 1810, he was on his road with his family to Scotland. It was a time of severe pressure upon banks and trading interests. Straited by the obstacles of the war, hampered by the embargoes by which Napoleon had deranged the course of trade, many commercial houses, long reckoned safe, sunk; others could only save themselves by flying to the banks for accommodation. The bank, in which Mr. Thornton was a partner, felt the pressure, and felt it severely, just after their most able partner had left London for the north. Had Mr. Thornton known what was impending, he would not have absented himself. The news reached him on his route to Scotland, and caused him some embarrassment. To return from a journey undertaken and generally known, would have spread rumours which might have brought on the very crisis that was to be feared. This course, therefore, could not be thought of. He decided to continue his journey, but he opened himself in confidence to one valued friend, and stated his wish that some thousands of pounds might be placed at demand at the disposal of his partners in the bank. No sooner was the hint given than it was met by ample support. Funds poured in from all quarters—Wilberforce, with generous ardour, hastening to lead the way; and the money came in such a flood, that his bank saw itself lifted above the sands on which it was settling, and floating into deep waters with abundant resources.

In this brief review of Henry Thornton's public life, we must not omit to notice the service which he rendered, and which proved ultimately a signal benefit to the anti-slavery cause. During that long struggle, while he reflected calmly on the best mode of civilizing Africa, he selected colonization as the most effective instrument. He hoped, by the contact of industrious settlers, to stimulate the native mind ; and, by opening channels of legitimate trade, to withdraw the natives gradually from the hateful traffic in human flesh. Thus rose the colony of Sierra Leone. In this labour Henry Thornton had the assistance of several friends—of Wilberforce and Babington, of Granville Sharpe and Zachary Macaulay. But his was the directing mind. He devised the plan ; he formed the company ; he collected the capital ; he arranged the constitution ; he chose, equipped, and despatched the settlers ; he selected and sent out the governor ; he corresponded constantly with him ; he summoned, when needful, the committee ; in every difficulty the appeal was to him. He obtained grants of money from Parliament ; each year, while the colony was independent, he supported the vote on the estimates ; when the colony passed to the Crown, it was he who arranged the terms. In these labours, Wilberforce was content to follow the lead of his judicious friend.

In truth, Wilberforce had so thorough a confidence in Henry Thornton's judgment, that there were few questions on which he did not seek his advice. It was a curious spectacle to watch the two men within the House of Commons. The member for Southwark, tall and stately, sat listening attentively to the debate, weighing every word, and arriving at length, after a full hearing, at a clear decision. Wilberforce, eager, lively, restless, was writing notes on the debate ; now dipping his pen in the ink, and sputtering it, as he handled it awkwardly, over Bankes's nankeens ; then jumping up in distress, and dancing round his friend with ludicrous sympathy, so as to set the House in a roar ; then seated again, he resumed his attention, followed the arguments, whispered into old Bankes's ear a witty sally, which convulsed him with laughter ; then, caught by some speaker on the ministerial bench, he nodded assent, and smiled, and moved his head and body in curious contortions ; but when a speaker rose on the opposite side, he lifted up his eye-glass, watched him, and followed attentively his words, till, caught by some subtle sophism of Fox, some clear statement of Lord H. Petty, he began to feel doubtful and embarrassed. Musing over this, observing how much was to be said on both sides, he wavers and cannot make up his mind. Thus perturbed, he begins to ask himself how he should vote. Up goes the eye-glass ; he scans the benches till he discovers Henry Thornton in his seat. Away he darts, all eagerness, nimble as a boy, but anxious and full of scruples, he seats himself beside

his friend, and pours out his doubts. He argues, gesticulates, and inquires, in an eloquent torrent of words and thoughts. The answer soon comes, short and clear; the case stated with a lawyer's astuteness, the arguments summed up with a judge's discernment, the judgment luminous as a sunbeam. Delighted and satisfied, Wilberforce returns to his seat, settled and at rest. It was a sore loss to Wilberforce when the House of Commons no longer held within its ranks that firm and impartial mind.

But here we conclude the public life. Let us open what is of higher interest—the pages of the inner life, and the domestic history.

CLERICAL SUBSCRIPTION IN THE SWISS CHURCHES.

THE fact of the decline and fall from the faith of the Reformation of the great majority of the Reformed Churches of the Continent is undeniable. Rationalism has mounted the pulpit, as well as established itself in the professor's chair; as national churches, they have almost ceased to exist, and the life which is in them has come to them from without, either by the labour of strangers, like Mr. Haldane in Geneva, or by the establishment of new churches, like that at Lausanne, by M. Nivet. We have only to point to the national church of Switzerland to answer those who think our church more dogmatic and less comprehensive than she ought to be. We have only to study their history to take warning by it. They are children of the Reformation as well as we; they took the same type of nationalism which we find among ourselves. In this respect Hooker, Calvin, and Zuingli are agreed. Much as these three typical men may differ in other respects, on this point they were of one mind,—that a community of common origin should profess one common religion, and that the Church, therefore, is not so much an *Establishment* set up by the State (a phrase of later and Erastian divines, which they would have thought either profane or absurd), as the State itself, under another name and aspect. The old English word Commonwealth, including under it all interests of the community for time and for eternity, expresses the idea of the Church that Hooker, Calvin, and Zuingli held in common. Of the three, it might be said that Calvin leaned most to the idea of a pure theocracy, in which the ministers of religion, as the interpreters of the word of God, should, as the order of prophets in Israel, stand apart for the State, and above the State. Zuingli, on the other hand, approached nearer to the other extreme, in which the preacher was also a citizen, and should fight the

battle of the Lord, rather with Joshua on the plain than with Moses on the mount. Hooker, the "judicious," appears to have held the balance between these two extremes, and, while agreeing substantially with the reformer of Geneva and of Zurich, abstained, with true English moderation, from certain rash conclusions to which the theocratic opinions of Calvin and Zuingli inclined them on either side.

Thus, as the national churches of England and Switzerland had the same origin, allowing for the differences between the political constitution of the two countries, we may well ask ourselves, whence is it that infidelity has laid the one in ruins, while it has (God be thanked !) not yet besieged the other. If the German Professorial system be what Dante said of Rome in his day, "the mother of heresies," how is it, we may ask, that German Rationalism has eaten far more destructively into the life of the Swiss than of the English national church? It is not enough to say, that Switzerland is both smaller and more exposed to German modes of thought than we are. This may go for something in making allowance for Switzerland, but it does not account for the fact that Rationalism is still the enemy *outside* our system, knocking, it is true, at our gates, but not yet finding a breach; while in Switzerland it has long since made good its entrance, and long since levelled the feeble defences that once kept it out. Nor, again, does our "Apostolic order of Church Government" account for the fact that the English Church stands assailed, but unshaken, a full century after the National Churches of the Continent have fallen. It is easy to say that we remain, like Judah, surviving the captivity of schismatic Israel. But metaphors are not an argument; or, if used as such, often "return to plague the inventor." For the retort is obvious, that if the non-episcopal churches of the Continent have been led into captivity (like Israel, for its sin of schism) upon the grounds of Catholic antiquity, then it is but a question of time when we are to follow. Those who draw the parallel between Israel and Independency, must expect others to draw the parallel between Judah and Episcopacy. No; the cause of our exemption lies deeper than any mere difference of external church polity. Let episcopacy have its due. Our preferences for the form of church government are decided; but preference must not become prejudice, and blind the judgment as to the facts of the case, much less must they take too much upon themselves, and assume a divine right, which is nowhere explicit from the word of God. There is a suspicious simplicity about the theories of the Anglican school of divines. As Baum long ago said of nature, that its subtlety is far beyond that of sense, or of the understanding, so the rise and fall of states and churches is not to be accounted for by a single cause, and that an external one—the nature of

their government. Revolutions have overtaken alike republics and monarchies ; and so churches have become corrupt and apostate, whether episcopal, as of Ephesus and Alexandria, or non-episcopal, as of Geneva and Zurich. We cannot, then, reckon on deliverance from Rationalism only on account of an episcopal polity ; external government is not a sufficient preventive against internal error. When the evil has made a lodgment within, and the poison has been taken up into the system, it will work death in the body, no matter how sound its constitution. The churches of the East are a standing warning to the churches of the West, not to be high-minded, but to fear.

The question, then, still remains to be answered, to what are we to attribute our comparative exemption from the plague of Rationalism ? We owe it, through God's mercy, to these two opposite facts in our church history—the existence of dissent without, and of discipline within. We have had both greater liberty and more law than the churches of Switzerland ; liberty, namely, for those who chose to dissent, and law for those who decided to remain in our communion. The resultant of these two lines of thought—the one, setting out from the Act of Uniformity of King Charles, the other from the Bill of Toleration of King William—have kept the Church of England true to her Articles, and preserved in its purity almost the only national Reformed Church. It is puzzling, at first, to be told that two such opposite forces as law and liberty, dogmatism and dissent, have kept the Church of England where she is to this day ; but the more we think on the question, the more we feel that it is so. The converse statement will, perhaps, help to put this in a clearer light. Few will dispute that the two evils which would have killed our national church, are intolerance and indifference. Now these have been provided against by the existence of dissent on the one hand, and of enforced subscription to our Articles on the other hand. Had there been no outlet for dissent, no toleration of nonconformity, the national Church of England would have reigned in the land without a rival, as in Spain and Sweden ; but at what an expense to the higher interests of religion ! A glance at the condition of Spain ought to set at rest any lingering doubt as to the wisdom of our forefathers, in not making an iron yoke of the Act of Uniformity, as Laud and the Stuarts would have riveted it on the necks of English and Scotchmen. On the other hand, had the Church of England, instead of an Act of Toleration, assented to a scheme of vague and unconfessional comprehension, such as the Latitude party at the Revolution desired to see established, and for the sake of its rationalism sacrificed its distinctive Christian character, we should have perished under the same dry rot as the churches of Calvin and

Zwingli. Happily for the Church of England, not so much through the wisdom of its rulers, or any conceit of the superior good sense of Englishmen over foreigners, but by the unmerited mercy of God, law and liberty have been so tempered together that we have known when to give liberty to those who chose to dissent, and when to enforce the law on those who chose to remain. Moreover, this liberty to dissent implies a corresponding rigour in requiring entire and *ex animo* conformity from those who remain. If there was no status for Dissenters in our civil and social system, if "church-ousted by the Prelate," as Milton called himself, an Englishman thereby became almost, if not quite, an outlaw—the same as a Jew, a Moor, or a Protestant in Spain—then, in an age and country like ours, this intolerance would have brought with it its own punishment. Men, rather than forfeit their social privileges, would continue to conform, and church creeds would be degraded into national shibboleths; badges of citizenship, but no longer tests of truth. Confessional orthodoxy would be impossible in a state of society where conformity is made the avenue to political advancement; hypocrisy and unbelief would soon sap the foundations, and at last the cry for relief from the weight of subscription, which no one believed, would go from all sides, and the answer even of believers within the body would be, "Take away her battlements, for they are not the Lord's."

The history of the churches of Switzerland proves that they have succumbed to the plague of rationalism, for these two reasons: first, from too great rigour in pressing religious tests on all civil servants, and then for want of applying the same tests, in their proper place, to spiritual persons and offices. At one time they were unduly intolerant of all dissent; and then, at another, unwisely indifferent to any dissent. The first period extends during the first two centuries after the Reformation; the second period, from the middle of the last century down to the present time.

During the first period, or from the middle of the sixteenth down to the middle of the eighteenth century, the churches of Switzerland were not only dogmatic, but intolerant to a degree, which leaves behind the intolerance of the Church of England in its worst days. In little communities like those of Zurich or Geneva—republics in name, oligarchies in fact and reality,—dissent was regarded as a kind of incivism, which in a born citizen was little short of criminal, and which an alien was glad to get rid of, together with his other disabilities, as soon as he could. It is not enough to say that the doctrine of toleration was not understood by public men in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. More than this: it was not even possible in societies constituted as that of Geneva. Toleration, in a

theocracy like that which Calvin was able to call into existence in Geneva, would have been a suicidal act, which we must blame no State for not consenting to willingly. To understand the Geneva of Calvin, we must transport ourselves to one of the Pacific Islands of our day, where the missionaries have gained a footing, and, after converting the inhabitants to the Christian faith, have proceeded to build up a new society on the patriarchal or tutelary form, which all society invariably assumes in its infancy. It is no reproach to our missionaries that they treat their converts as children, and administer the affairs of the island as a father his family, or the master of a great asylum or reformatory governs the inmates entrusted to him. The only mistake is when they do not see that this state of things is transitional only, and do not prepare their converts for a change which must occur sooner or later. The Jesuits in Paraguay erred doubly in this respect, that they not only put the oak into a flower-pot, but also dwarfed it, as the Chinese are said to do their forest trees, lest it should one day burst its narrow bed, and desire to take root of itself. In the case of Geneva, Calvin does not seem to have looked beyond the wants of the age and society in the midst of which he was cast, or foreseen that the theocracy which was possible in the sixteenth century would be entirely impossible in the eighteenth. No room was allowed for expansion; the contingency of an immigration of Protestant exiles from France and Italy and Germany, bringing with them the ideas and manners of those countries, was not foreseen; and so when the time of expansion came, the theocracy broke up, not gradually, as with us, under the theory of the alliance of Church and State, but violently and forcibly, leaving society a wreck, and religion a prey to the wreckers. The mistakes which religious parents make in bringing up their children are only instances on a small scale of those which the successors of Calvin committed on a large scale at Geneva. The discipline which is necessary in childhood becomes irksome in youth, and intolerable as the child approaches manhood. Instead of relaxing the rein, and accustoming the child to act for himself, the parent often becomes more anxious to keep the child under control, the less willing he is to bear it, until either there is an open revolt against all authority, or a confirmed hypocrisy which is worse than revolt. In such a state of things the tempter will never be far distant. He knows his opportunity too well, and waits till the heart is prepared to welcome him. The history of Voltaire sitting down at the gates of Geneva with the deliberate intention of corrupting the citizens by his wit and wealth, is more like the story of Satan in Eden than any common instance of evil communications corrupting good manners. For ten years the high priest of Antichrist used his great influ-

ence to induce the citizens to allow a theatre and French plays within the walls. At last he succeeded. His ten years' siege of Geneva, like that of Troy, was ended by a stratagem. Once he had induced the citizens to admit a theatre, the gates were thrown open, the fortress stormed, and the degenerate pastors of that day, like old Priam, could only throw a feeble dart, and perish ingloriously with the theocracy which their own weakness had brought to ruin. A few years after, Voltaire sent for Dalember to see and describe the ruins which he had made. Dalember, after visiting Geneva, returned to Paris, and wrote that article in the *Encyclopædia* which made all Europe ring with the history of the decline and fall of the church of Calvin. In vain did the Consistory put out a reply to the taunts of Dalember. In their very denial of the charge of Socinianism there was something implied, a reserve about asserting the eternal Sonship of Christ, which made the world suspect that the *Encyclopædists* were not so unjust as the Consistory said. Unlike Athanasius, daring to stand against the world when the world was against Athanasius, the Consistory seemed more anxious to reconcile their old-fashioned faith with the new-fashioned philosophy, than to maintain the "form of sound words." The world sounded the apology, and found it hollow; and, a few years later, Rousseau was able to say, that when a philosopher came to Geneva and questioned a pastor about the Deity of Christ, he would falter, equivocate, and lead him to understand that he agrees with the philosopher in all he asserts about the humanity of Jesus, but does not go quite so far in denying His divinity.

In German Switzerland the decline from primitive purity took nearly the same course as in French, only with this difference, that as theocratic ideas had been carried out with less precision, so the decline into Latitudinarianism was less startling and sudden. Rationalism in German Switzerland was of later growth than in French, for this reason, that France was the chief seat of Infidelity during last century, and not Germany; hence that part of Switzerland which was most exposed to French influence naturally succumbed first, while German Switzerland was spared until German philosophy had reached the same pitch of impiety which France had attained to a century ago. It was only, however, a difference of time. Just as Antioch fell before Alexandria, and Ephesus before Constantinople; not because there was more power of resistance in the one than the other, but only because it lay farther off; so, for a quarter or a half century at most, German Switzerland was more orthodox than French, only because a false philosophy had not sapped the religion of the people so soon in Germany as in France. At last, like the locusts of the Apocalypse, the plague which

had turned a garden into a wilderness in the city of Calvin, came upon the city of Zuingli. The attack was not less fierce, or the desolation less complete. All that we can say now is, that what Geneva was, Zurich is. The national church of Zurich is as bare under the devouring locust as the national church of Geneva was. When Rousseau could compare the pastors of his native town to Roman augurs, who could not look in each other's face without laughing, we can judge to what a pass things had come in Geneva. Let us hope that God, who has restored to Geneva "the years which the locusts have eaten," and, through the establishment of a Free church there, has begun to put life again into the dry bones of the old national church of Calvin, may be pleased to work the same gracious recovery in Zurich, and under the pressure of the sects, better still under the protest of a Free church, to awaken the national church from its present spiritual death.

From intolerance of all dissent, the national churches of Switzerland passed, as we have seen, into indifference to all dogmatic truth. We have considered the first stage; we have now to consider the second. It is often said that one extreme produces another; we know of no more striking instance of this than the case of the church of Zurich. When the synod of Dort had cast the theology of Calvin into the hardest and rigidest symbol which the Christian church has ever bowed assent to, a reaction might have been foreseen as certain to come within a very few years. So it happened; and in the theological school of Saumur, Amyrant began to teach, so early as the middle of the seventeenth century, a kind of modified Calvinism, such as, among ourselves, went by the name of Baxterianism. The divines of the church of Zurich saw, in this compromise of the Saumur school of theology, the beginnings of heresy, and drew up stringent regulations to keep out this crypto-Arminianism, this outwork of Popery, as they chose to represent it. They went so far as to threaten to withdraw their theological students from Saumur, and actually did remove them for a time to Montauban. Not content with this, they further proceeded to draw up the *Consensus Tigurensis* as a kind of purge of Arminianism. Whoever refused to sign this, was suspected of leanings which the first and last general council of the Protestant world had denounced as sheer heresy. The zeal of Zurich in the cause of Predestinarianism soon provoked the other churches of Switzerland to follow her example. Geneva, not to be outdone in orthodoxy, now adopted the *Consensus*. Berne resisted a little longer, but at last had to yield; and finally this Zurich purge was exalted into a new symbol for the whole of Switzerland, under the name of *Consensus Helveticus*, and took its place beside the Helvetic Confession, as binding on all office-bearers in church and state; not on

pastors only, but on schoolmasters, magistrates, and others. It is the same as if the Nine Lambeth Articles of Whitgift had not only taken their place beside the Thirty-nine Articles of Religion, but had entered, as the Test and Sacrament also did in the case of the Lord's Supper, into the civil life of the nation, and become part of our municipal and statute law. The folly of the procedure was soon seen. Those who had added to the confessions of the Reformation, soon learned to take from them. The effect of bringing in new tests to meet new controversies, was to throw out of use the old. The Helvetic Confession, unlike our Thirty-nine Articles, became, not the standard of the Church, but only one of many standards. It was more venerable, but not more authoritative, than the *Consensus*, and when the *Consensus* dropped out of use, as it did about the middle of last century, the way was prepared for disusing the Helvetic Confession as well. The *Consensus*, moreover, taught the clergy how to equivocate, and sign formularies in a non-natural sense. At first an *ex animo* subscription was required and given; then came the clause, *quatenus Scripturæ consentit*; and at last the mere negative assent, *contrarium non docebo*, was attempted. The Helvetic Confession soon began to be signed with the same saving clause; and at last even this relic of past orthodoxy was removed, and a vague commission "to teach the people out of the Old and New Testament Scripture, according to the principle of the Evangelic reformed faith," is all that is now required of the candidate for Orders.

How little such a commission as this, without any test accompanying, can do to keep out open infidelity, we see from a notorious instance that has lately occurred in the canton of Zurich. At Uster, a village a few miles out of Zurich, on the road to Glarus, the community have, by a large majority, made a call to young Pfarrer Vögeli, who has at least one merit, if such it can be called, that he says out what he means, and puts forth from the pulpit, in the plainest language, the negations which he had been taught in the theological school of Zurich.

As our readers are unfamiliar with such utterances, even from the most "free handling" of the Essays and Reviews school, it is as well to see what the English church might come to, if we gave up our tests, and left it to every man's verifying faculty free to teach what he pleased out of the Scriptures. In an Easter sermon, the newly-elected pastor of Uster drew a parallel between Christ and Judas, greatly in favour of the latter, as he died a martyr to his own conviction (a suicide *sin*), whereas Christ was put to death by others, and only freely suffered in so far as he did nothing to deliver himself. Zuingli, again, was a greater martyr than Christ, as he gave up wife and children to die for his country, while Christ only renounced his mother. In an Advent sermon he spoke upon the humiliation

of Christ. This did not mean, as the church has held it for centuries to mean, that Christ came down from the throne of God and made himself of no reputation, and took upon him the place of a servant; but only that he did not use his talents for his own gain and glory; but as a witness for the truth of God, he denied himself, and so took up his cross: the moral of the whole being, that we should so deny ourselves, and use our talents for the good of others, and not our own only. On the Ascension-day his discourse was under the three following heads, reminding one of the *not* which some wag, in the reign of George II., proposed should be taken out of the Commandments and put into the Creed:—1. Jesus is *not* risen again. 2. Jesus is *not* ascended into heaven. 3. He will *not* come again, thence, at the end of the world.

His Christmas-day sermon was of a piece with this: in it he taught that God had manifested Himself in the Old Testament as the God of the Jews only, and not of the heathen. In the land of the Jews there grew up to manhood one who, although brought up from infancy exposed to the same narrow prejudices as his countrymen, yet rose to a higher point of view, and saw that God was the God of the heathen as well as of the Jew. That enlightened man was Jesus.

We need not pain our readers further with the stale repetition of assertions often heard before in the schools of infidelity, but seldom as yet within the walls of a Christian church. Notes of these sermons were taken down, and a petition sent up to the Church Council of Zurich, signed by 100 inhabitants of Uster, praying that an inquiry should be instituted, and Pastor Vögeli cited before the Church Council, on the ground of his own avowed unbelief. The petition set forth, that by the 4th article of the Zurich National Constitution, according to its last revision in 1852, the Christian religion, according to the Reformed doctrine, is the religion recognised by the State; and by the 14th article of the same Constitution, the pastor takes an oath to preach "truly and entirely the pure Word of God, both Law and Gospel, in conformity with the principles of the Evangelical Reformed Church, as set forth in the Holy Scriptures of the Old and especially of the New Testament."

To this petition the *Kirchen-Rath*, or Church Council of Zurich, has made reply that—1st, It lies only within their jurisdiction to see whether the election at Uster has been made according to the forms by law prescribed; 2nd, That in the present case these conditions have been properly complied with, the conditions being as follows:—*a*, that the elected pastor be an ordained member of the Zurich church; *b*, that, between the time of his ordination and that of his election to a parish, a period of two years at least shall have elapsed; and

therefore resolved that for these reasons the petition of the inhabitants of Uster cannot be entertained.

Thus, by its own confession, the Supreme Council of the Zurich church acknowledges itself unable or unwilling to deal with a glaring case of infidelity of one of its own ministers. If unable, it amounts to this, that the national church of Zurich is now thoroughly secularised; and now exists, as Mr. Wilson would desire to see our national church, for the ethical development of its members only, and not to teach some divinely communicated truth. But it is to be feared that this inability to enforce discipline arises from unwillingness on the part of the members themselves. A member of the Church Council has set forth in print his objections to such interference with the right of private judgment of the clergy, on the following grounds:—

“1. That the Bible contains a multitude of poetical and fabulous statements; that its history is in a great measure not credible, and that its doctrines contain many errors and absurdities. 2. That Jesus neither was nor did that which the New Testament says of him; that he was the natural born son of Joseph and Mary, and not only a man, but a sinner. 3. That Jesus died and did not rise again; and that as no one can tell where he has gone to, so no one can tell whether there is any existence after death, or what becomes of those whose bodies we have laid in the grave. 4. That consequently all faith in him, all confidence of finding through him peace and reconciliation with God in life and in death, is mere superstition and fanaticism.”

With such judges, it is hardly surprising that the petition was not entertained. It amounts to an admission that the national church of Zurich, as such, no longer adheres to the Christian faith. It may retain within its ministry (and this we gladly admit it does, especially in the country districts) many who still hold fast the form of sound words; but, as a church, it has parted with that which is the distinctive mark of a Christian church. It does not hold the Head, *ubi Christus ibi ecclesia*. For want of keeping up the safeguards of orthodoxy, error has been allowed to enter in, and to sap the faith, first of the teachers of theology, then of the pastors, and lastly of the congregations at large. Now that the evil has reached this stage, the case is, humanly speaking, past remedy. For the congregations choose their pastors; and as the majority are now unbelievers, that majority will, as we see in the case of Uster, choose a pastor who is acceptable on account of his infidelity. Christians in Zurich who still cling to the communion of their fathers, hope that, as the few orthodox pastors are not expelled on account of their orthodoxy, it is their duty to remain in the communion, and wait for better times. Such a

feeling is commendable, and we should be the last to say a word to encourage schism ; but it becomes a question whether, by their conformity, they are not keeping up the state of things they deplore. They are countenancing that false theory of a national church, so popular at present in Switzerland, and which a few ill-judging persons wish to introduce among us. It is true that the orthodox pastors are not expelled from the national church of Zurich ; but that not because of any lingering respect for the theology of Zwingli and Bullinger, but because, from their point of view, it is utterly a matter of indifference what opinions a member of the national church may chance to hold on such transcendental questions. If the clergy are only a kind of moral police, it is no more an affair of the state to inquire into their views on the articles of the Christian faith than on the question of pre-Raphael art or the wave theory of light. The toleration of the dominant heterodox party in the Zurich church for the few who remain true to the old paths, is intelligible and consistent. The longer the orthodox submit to this contemptuous toleration, the more they confirm their opponents in the theory which they wish to establish. All conformity, after the deliberate repudiation of the right to judge in an appeal from the election at Uster, goes to confirm the people of Zurich in the opinion that Christianity is a bubble blown by people of a metaphysical or fantastical turn of mind ; and that, as it does not touch the real questions of life, the national church may lay it aside for those who have a taste for such questions. Surely no Christian in Zurich can wish the people to be confirmed in such a deadly error as this. Yet time, which gives a sanction to error, will soon give a prescriptive right to this soul-destroying view of the duties of a national church. In a little time, even moral truth will begin to be treated to the same free handling ; and polygamy, suicide, and slavery, handled as open questions on which the national clerisy must be allowed the right to differ. But probably, before the evil has reached this stage, it will have cured itself ; for the people will find a national church endowed to teach ethics only, an expensive incumbrance. Like the moral priesthood evoked by Julian the Apostate to rival the Christian clergy, they will pass away amid the contempt of the people, for such a mockery of a great and divine institution. We know of no promise that the gates of hell shall not prevail against a national church such as Zurich has attained to, and such as some innovators would desire to see among ourselves.

The best hope of Zurich, then, lies at present in a dissent so wide-spread that it shall assume the form of a free church, like that of Geneva and Scotland. Instead of allying themselves to the sects, British and foreign, all of which bring their peculiarities with them into Zurich, and rend the body of Christ

which they profess to mend, let Christians there gird themselves to a work nobler, because more necessary, than the great Free Kirk movement of Scotland in 1844. Let them, in going out from the national church of Zurich, show that they have not gone to join this or that body of British or American Christians, and to take up peculiarities which their fathers in better days never heard of; but that they go out to preserve in its purity that faith upon which the national church of Zurich was founded. A free church like this would be a witness against the apostasy of the present national church, and a rallying point to all who at present grieve over its deadness. Who can tell but that, in the course of a few years, the two churches might so change places in public estimation, that the people might recall the preachers of the free church to fill the pulpits of the rationalist national church; or that, stirred up by the example of the orthodox free church pastors, the young generation of the national clergy might return to the faith of their fathers. Both these courses are silently taking place in French Switzerland, and it is to be hoped that in the course of a generation the free church there may cease to exist, because it has done its work. But until this church in the wilderness is set up, the church in the city will never be reformed. There is only one way of protesting against a national church which has become unsettled from the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ being the chief corner-stone. If it were an error of individuals, then, no matter what their number or station, the duty of Christians would be plain, to abide and wait for better days. So when, during last century, the great majority, it is feared, of the national clergy of England were little better than "Epictetus' apes," still the church remained sound as a church. The life had retired from the branches to the roots. The Gospel, as it has been said, was heard from the reading-desk, if not from the pulpit; the formularies were untouched; and the Confessions of Faith remained as witnesses against those who repeated them as men asleep repeat words which they do not understand. But with the disuse of confessions, and the release of its pastors from all obligations to orthodoxy, the church of Zurich has as good as disbanded itself. It is like an army without its officers, and owing obedience to no articles of war. Such a body of men may be bandits or patriots, according as their actions are wicked or honourable; but it no longer deserves the name of an army. Such is the church of Zurich at present. Without a Confession, it has no trace of its legitimacy as an orthodox Christian body. It may be Christian, and we do not deny that it is so in part; but for want of a voucher for its legitimacy, we have no more guarantee for the doctrine which we may chance to hear from one of its pulpits, than for that of the followers of Mr. Darby

Walker, or any of the other unconfessional denominations which have gathered followers of late years among ourselves.

The moral of all this is obvious and plain. The church of Zurich, like a ship that has struck on a rock, still holds out a light from her stern, warning us not to follow in her track. From adding to her terms of communion unnecessarily, she passed, about the middle of last century, into the other extreme, and relaxed her requirements to such a degree that she gave up at last her distinctive character as a Christian church. In this position there is nothing for her, but to return at once to confessional orthodoxy, or to renounce all pretension to the name of Christian, and release her members from the allegiance which they owe to her as the Evangelic Reformed Church of the canton of Zurich. We in England are following in the wake of the church of Zurich, and, before we are aware of it, may strike on the same rock on which she has struck. With an influential, if not, as yet, a numerous, party agitating for a release from all tests and terms of communion, we may find ourselves one day on the same reef where the national church of Zurich now lies high and dry. It will be too late, when we have given up subscription to our Thirty-nine Articles, to fulminate at writers like the Bishop of Natal and the Rector of Broad Chalk. Now we can hold them to their bond; then they will plead, and with much show of truth, that, as the clerisy of the national church, they reserve their liberty on all questions of dogma. The more long-sighted of this party wisely see that, instead of carping at this or that article of the popular faith, the more effectual course is to cover all with the same mantle of doubt, and to demand liberty for all, lay and cleric, to hold just as much "truth" as each man "troweth." Once absolved from the ties of the old orthodoxy, it will be idle to complain because one wanders a little farther here and another a little farther there. But by that time the Church of England, ceasing to be Christian, will have ceased to be national. The life which is now in her will have withdrawn, and the cry will have gone up, "To your tents, O Israel!" To profit by the mistakes of others is one of the principal parts of wisdom; and therefore this study of the history of the church of Zurich will not have been written in vain, if it comes as a timely support to those who are now resisting the movement of which the present Dean of Westminster has proclaimed himself the leader, when, as examining chaplain to the Bishop of London, he wrote the letter which has let loose discussion on the subject, and called for a Royal Commission to inquire into the whole subject of clerical subscription.

THE COURT OF FINAL APPEAL.

At pp. lxxvi—lxxviii of the *Collection of the Judgments of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in Ecclesiastical Cases*, just published, with a preface by the Bishop of London,* there will be found, in eleven sections, what are described as being “a few leading principles which have been enunciated in the decisions of the Committee, and by which the Court may be considered to be bound.

It is at least right that the clergy and the laity should understand what these general principles are, because they are evidently intended to be applied in the settlement of future appeals. We therefore do our part towards diffusing a knowledge of them by transferring them to our pages. At the same time, we shall add such remarks as they appear to require from us, both on the principles themselves, and on the effect given to them in the recent judgments. We provide for their being so printed as that they may all be read in order, without the commentary, and may stand ready for future reference, as occasion may require.

We shall not lose sight of the bearing which these principles, and the manner of applying them, may have on the much agitated question of the re-constitution of the Court; but we must here say, that it ought not to be endured any longer, that the forms of this and the lower Courts should be such as to prevent the real issue from being tried. Here reform is urgently needed. It is more than unfortunate, it is unjust, that, after some of the articles of accusation have been rejected in the Court of Arches, others altered, by the requirement of the judge, and others permitted to stand in their original form, the appeal should lie, not from the whole of his decision, but from his judgment on the mutilated portions of the case which his “reforms” may have left for consideration. The judges in the Final Court show distinctly their own sense of the imperfect way in which their judgment touches the merits of the question originally raised by the suit. They say (p. 281), “A few short extracts only are before us, and our judgment must by law be confined to the matter which is therein contained. If therefore this book, or these two essays, or either of them, as a whole, be of a mischievous and baneful tendency, as weakening the foundations of Christian belief, and likely to cause many to offend, they will retain that character, and be liable to that condemnation, notwithstanding this our judgment.” But the very thing designed by the original proceedings, and which only the traditional forms of the lower

* Murray, Albemarle Street, London. 1865.

Court prevented from being made the issue, was to show that the tendency of the writings in question is mischievous and baneful, and, moreover, contrary to the doctrine of the Church of which the writers were ministers, bound by solemn vows to be faithful teachers of her truth. Again, at the close of the judgment, the following words are a virtual protest against the manner in which the question came before the final Court, not by the choice of the promoters of the suit, nor of the judges of the Court of Appeal, but by the rules of the Court of Arches:—"We desire to repeat, that the meagre and disjointed extracts which have been allowed to remain in the reformed Articles, are alone the subject of our judgment." . . . "On the short extracts before us, our judgment is, that the charges are not proved." (p. 289.) But who made the extracts "meagre"? who "disjointed" them? who made them so "short"? Certainly not the promoters. Their desire was, that the whole case should be completely sifted, and then be decided according to its merits. They did not invite this sort of apologetic judgment, stamped with an acknowledgment of its necessary defectiveness for the purposes for which it was sought. If the judge of the inferior Court may have erred in what he allowed to stand (and the superior Court decided that his judgment was untenable), surely it is possible that he was equally mistaken in what he cut out. The very alterations which he required to be made in the articles which he admitted, may have prepared the way for the final judgment, that the articles "are not proved."

The Archbishop of York, in his able Pastoral Letter, explains that—"The course of proceeding in the Court of Arches recognizes a twofold right of appeal. Either party may appeal, either on the admission of the articles of charge, or on the judgment being pronounced. An appeal at the former of these two stages would have raised the question, What passages in the Essays impugned are heretical? An appeal at the latter stage is confined to the much narrower question, Do certain quoted passages deserve, as heretical, the penalty decreed by the Court below? Now, the appeal to the Privy Council was in this narrow form; it was an appeal against the judgment of the Court of Arches, and not against its order for the reformation of the articles of charge. It was an appeal against the penalty, and not an appeal upon the whole merits of the cases. If the judge of the Court of Arches was wrong in admitting or rejecting any passages as heretical, either party could have appealed, and so the opinion of the Privy Council would have been obtained as to the whole case, as to what passages in the whole Essay were, and what were not, at variance with our Articles and formularies. If the promoter thought that, after the large changes directed by the

judge to be made in the articles of charge, the quotations still admitted would give a wrong idea of the unsound teaching of the defendant, he might have had his remedy with the Court above, and might have thus resisted the omissions and alterations ordered by the judge of the Arches. But in each case the promoter waived that right of appeal, and neither case came to the Court above until the later stage—the appeal against the punishment.” (p. 5.)

Now the promoters may have been ill-advised; but certainly the accused gained a great advantage, and the Church suffered, by the final decision being made upon a different issue from that which had been originally raised.

From the form in which the cases of Dr. Williams and Mr. Wilson came before the final Court, we now proceed to introduce to our readers the eleven principles which are said to guide all the decisions of the Privy Council in cases of doctrine, and which indeed are also taken for the guidance of the Courts below:—

“1. In whatever form cases of this kind arise, both the party accused, and the Court before which they are brought, has [have] a right to require that the doctrine of the Church alleged to be impugned, and the doctrine of the accused which is alleged to impugn it, shall be stated with sufficient distinctness to enable the one to frame his defence, and the other to discover what are the real points in controversy. But if a single distinct passage complained of contains a plain meaning, which can admit of no doubt, it may be sufficient to set it out, and to state that it is directly contrary and repugnant to such one or more of the Thirty-nine Articles as are conceived to be opposed to it.”

It is due to our readers to inform them that, in this and the following statements of “principles,” reference is made to certain pages of the volume in which are given those parts of the judgments in which the principles may be found. This first principle is, in itself, perfectly fair and just; but we reiterate that it is not just that the case, when it came before the Court of Appeal, should have been so pared and distorted as no longer really to “state with sufficient distinctness” “the doctrine of the Church alleged to be impugned” by the Essayists, “and the doctrine of the accused which is alleged to impugn it.”

“2. After gaining a clear idea of the doctrines of the accused, the question which the Court has to consider is, not whether these are sound or unsound, but whether they are contrary to the doctrines which the Church of England, by its Articles, formularies, and rubrics, requires to be held by its ministers.”

It would be a great misfortune if a Court so constituted were to act on any other principle than this.

“3. The Court applies to the Articles and Liturgy the same prin-

ciples of construction which are by law applicable to all written instruments, assisted only by such external and historical facts as it may find necessary to enable it to understand the subject-matter to which the instruments relate, and the meaning of the words employed."

We heartily assent to the soundness of this principle. But was it fully respected in the recent judgment? We think not.

In the Gorham case, just after the words whose substance constitutes this 3rd "principle," the Court added,—“We must endeavour to attain for ourselves the true meaning of the language employed.”

This ought to have been sought—1, by considering the grammatical construction of the Articles. In these, “the word of God,” “God’s word written,” and “Holy Scripture,” are indiscriminately used; “all those canonical Books of the Old and New Testament, of whose authority was never any doubt in the Church,” and of which a list is given which includes the whole of our Bible. The natural signification of this language can only be that the Bible *is* the word of God. It is ungrammatical to assume that it only contains the word of God, or, which is the same thing, that some parts of it are not the word of God,—that some parts of the word of God are not the word of God!

But besides the grammatical argument, there is a logical one of considerable weight. If the three creeds may be proved by most certain warrants of Holy Scripture (Art. viii.), then the historical facts which they recite (*e.g.*, that Jesus Christ was born of the Virgin Mary, and that He suffered under Pontius Pilate) bear that certainty, from the authority whence they are derived. And if (Art. xx.) one place of Scripture may not be so expounded as to make it repugnant to another, there cannot be a distinction between one part as only human, and another part as divine. But there is also the argument from the Liturgy, not only corroborative of the preceding, but adding an explanation, if that be necessary, of the expression, “the word of God.” Every reference to the Scriptures treats them as of unquestionable authority, the same equivalents are used as in the Articles; but in the Collect for the second Sunday in Advent there is a distinct categorical proposition, which is only of the greater weight because it is addressed to Almighty God. His grace, to open the understanding, is sought, because He hath “caused *all* Holy Scripture to be written for our learning.”

But further, the principle would conduct the Court to external and historical facts to enable it to understand the subject-matter to which the instruments (in this case the Articles) relate. And here rises up the historical fact, that throughout Christendom, while there were disputes as to what books were canonical, there was no question as to all the canonical Scrip-

tures being the word of God, made so by being given by inspiration. It was an undisputed truth. Nothing more was required than to distinguish the Old and New Testament as being the word of God. To do so, was to assert their inspiration. It remained for modern times to invent a theory that the word of God is something less than the word of God, contained in the Holy Scriptures but being less than the Holy Scriptures. This new theory is that which the majority of the Court (happily not either of the Archbishops) accepted, contrary to grammar, logic, the concurrence of the Liturgy, the light shed upon the subject by the facts of history, and therefore contrary to the principle which they professed to accept for their guidance. That principle we believe that Dr. Lushington followed when he thus declared himself:—"I hold that in the phrases 'God's word written,' and 'the Holy Scripture containeth all things necessary to salvation,' it is necessarily implied that the Holy Scriptures emanated from the extraordinary and preternatural interposition of the Almighty, 'as their cause and origin.'"*

To meet a fallacious objection to the views here taken, of what really is Holy Scripture, or God's written word, we remark upon the small difficulty which is rested on the fact of there being various readings and interpolations. The question here is, whether the reading said to be spurious is so or not, and therefore, whether it is part of the word of God or not; and so also, where there are various readings, one only can be right, and it may not be possible to settle which is correct. But the principle remains untouched, that if the doubt on these points could be cleared away, that which is proved to be the true reading is the word of God.

Here, then, while accepting the principle, and believing it to be thoroughly right, and the only principle by which the Court ought to be guided, we object to the judgment, on the ground that it set aside a decision which was according to the principle, and adopted another which involved a violation of it.

"4. If there be any doctrine on which the Articles are silent, or ambiguously expressed, so as to be capable of two meanings, we must suppose that it was intended to leave that doctrine to private judgment, unless the rubrics and formularies clearly and distinctly decide it."

But surely this is not the proper way of treating human language. Many expressions are ambiguous without being so intended; many are *capable* of bearing even more than two meanings. The question in such cases is, and ought to have been here, What was the meaning intended? not, How may these words be interpreted so as to signify nothing? This principle, fully carried out, may work the gravest mischief to the Church;

* So quoted in the *Collection of the Judgments*, p. 257.

for ingenuity invited into exercise will not be at a loss to discover ambiguities, and capabilities of two meanings, in English words and sentences. The proper question is, Whether the doctrine was designed to be left in some measure of obscurity or no? Such design is probably to be traced in the Baptismal Service; it cannot be shown that there was any such purpose in the expressions which relate to Holy Scripture, God's Word written, and its authority. We are perfectly satisfied that when the Articles were prepared there was no ambiguity in their meaning on this doctrine, and that it remained for rather distant times to discover that the expressions employed were even "capable" of more than one meaning.

"5. Devotional expressions (in the Services of the Church) involving assertions, must not, as of course, be taken to bear an absolute and unconditional sense. The meaning must be ascertained by a careful consideration of the nature of the subject, and the true doctrine applicable to it."

Admitting this principle, we observe that it does not exclude the Advent Collect from being a witness on this subject; and that there "all Holy Scripture" is equivalent to the whole Bible. Almighty God caused that whole Bible to be written for man's instruction. The assertion is made, and not merely "involved."

"6. The meaning to be ascribed to the passages extracted from the writings of accused parties must be that which the words bear, according to the ordinary grammatical meaning of language; and the writer cannot be held responsible for more than he directly and advisedly asserts."

Shuffling and dishonest minds will doubtless use this loophole for propagating error by insinuations and suggestions. We think that necessary inferences from assertions ought also to be taken into account; especially as the Privy Council, in their recent judgment, holds itself authorised to ascribe to the Church such "rule or teaching" as are "plainly involved in, or to be collected from, that which is written."

"7. It is not necessary, in order to bring a clergyman within the statute (13 Eliz. 12), that the Court should distinctly comprehend the exact bearing of the whole of his opinions on the subject as to which false doctrine is imputed to him. It is sufficient that he should have propounded doctrine directly contrary or repugnant to the doctrine laid down in the Articles."

This is so obviously right as not to require a word of comment.

"8. The Court does not pronounce upon the tendency of writings from which extracts are brought before it, but only upon the extracts themselves."

This also is a sound principle; but, as we have already urged, if justice is to be done in such appeals, the forms of pro-

ceeding must not prevent the issue from being raised on the real merits of the case, in the Court of Appeal, instead of being confined to the scraps of it which remain after the lower Courts have done their work. The latter may have wholly altered the aspect of the case, while it is possible for them to have erred in judgment as much in what they have struck out as in what they have admitted and settled by their sentence. It also ought to be allowable to corroborate the interpretation put upon certain extracts by a reference to other passages and expressions, even if the lower Courts have, by their forms, reduced the question from its original character to the contents of a few isolated paragraphs.

"9. The accuser is, for the purposes of the charge, confined to the passages which are included and set out in the articles of charge as the matter of the accusation; but it is competent to the accused to explain, from the rest of his work, the sense or meaning of any passage or word that is challenged by the accuser."

No fault need be found with this principle, if the accuser be not precluded by obstructive forms from fully setting forth the whole of his case. That being provided, he has no right to ask for liberty to introduce new matter. But did the cases of Dr. Williams and Mr. Wilson so come before the Court of Appeal? Let the words of the judgment, to which reference has already been made, answer the question. They complain of the extracts which were allowed to remain in the reformed articles of the accusation, as "meagre and disjointed."

"10. Doctrines and opinions of great writers cannot be received as evidence of the doctrine of the Church of England; but their conduct, unblamed and unquestioned, proves at least the liberty which has been allowed of maintaining such doctrine."

So, if a robber have plundered you, and you know it, but from any cause you are reluctant to prosecute him (perhaps fearing the cost, perhaps doubting the issue of your proceedings), you at least prove that you grant liberty to robbers to treat your possessions as their own. We object to the word "allowed," unless indeed it be "capable of two meanings."

"11. To obtain the benefit provided by the statute (18 Eliz. c. 12), viz., the benefit of retraction, the accused person must hand in to the court a formal revocation of those parts of his published writings which have been adjudged heretical."

This principle cannot be gainsaid, and asks for no comment.

It will be seen by the observations we have made, that, for the most part, we accept the principles which the Court of Final Appeal has taken for its guidance, but that we object to the recent judgment as not having fairly given effect to some of those principles; while, further, we deprecate the operation

of the present forms of proceeding, by which cases come to be twisted into new shapes, and may altogether lose their point, as well as their completeness, before they reach the Court which is supposed to be made responsible for their ultimate settlement.

We quite agree (*principle* 1) that the doctrine impugned should be distinctly stated ; (2) that the Court should not undertake to decide upon doctrine, whether it be true or false, but only whether it be the doctrine of the Church of England, or contrary to it ; (3) that the Court should judge of the formularies of the Church by the same principles of construction which are applicable by law to all legal instruments ; (5) that devotional expressions in the Services are not, as of course, to be construed in an absolute and unconditional sense ; (7) that if a clergyman have distinctly propounded false doctrine, he ought to be liable to punishment, notwithstanding the obscurity, in other respects, of the passages in which the error appears ; (8) that the judgment should be pronounced on the extracts submitted to the Court, and not on the general tendency of the writings from which they are selected ; (9) that the accuser ought to be limited to the terms and quotations which he has introduced into his case, while the accused may explain his meaning by adducing other parts of his work ; (11) that retraction, to be valid, ought to be a formal revocation of the statements adjudged to be heretical.

On the other hand, we demur to the principle (4) that when the Articles are silent, or use words *capable* of two meanings, they must be assumed to have been intended to leave the doctrine undecided, unless the rubrics and formularies clearly and distinctly decide it ; also (6) to making the grammatical construction of a sentence the only method of interpreting it, when, possibly, the context, or other parts of the same composition, would more truly and certainly declare its meaning ; and (10) to converting the escapes of heretical clergymen from merited punishment into an argument that their doctrine has been "allowed" by the Church.

But, besides this, we believe that if justice is really to be administered as the result of these appeals, the methods of proceeding require to be reformed, so that the Final Courts may deal with the whole case, except with the full consent of both parties to any omissions. At present, the judgment may often be formed upon a mere fragment of the case—even its chief points may have been cleared out of it before it reached the ultimate tribunal.

Another thing (in the oversight of which we discern the greatest cause of uneasiness for the future) necessary to the due administration of justice is, that the avowed "principles" should be fairly and truly maintained. The Court ought not to seek

loopholes for the accused, but to ascertain whether, on the showing of the accuser, the other party really holds, or whether he controverts, the doctrine which he is pledged to teach. We must needs maintain that the grammatical meaning of "God's Word written," joined with the grammatical meaning of the Sixth Article, ought to be distinct enough to satisfy any judges that the Bible is held by the Church to be God's Word; while the language of the Liturgy, and "historical facts," are ready at hand to corroborate that understanding of the Articles. But it was not so in the late judgment, and the consequence is that an unpleasant and alarming impression is left upon many minds that justice was not done, and that thereby the Church is wounded.

The *Times*, in a leading article, Feb. 15, 1865, on the republication of Mr. Gladstone's pamphlet on the subject of these appeals, writes:—"Courts of justice are not established to convey the sense of the Church, but to interpret and administer the law of the land. That the Judicial Committee have failed to do this righteously and efficiently, is not even asserted; the complaint was that it had refused to supplement the law of the land by dogmas borrowed from theology."

At all events this is not our complaint, but that there was a failure of justice. The language of the Church, as we think we have shown, was strained from its proper grammatical meaning, in disregard of the corroborative evidence supplied by the Prayer Book, and of the light afforded by "historical facts."

We say, therefore, let the cases come before the Final Court, not "meagre and disjointed," and mutilated by the inferior Court; let the chief principles now recognised stand good for the future, and the 4th, 6th, and 10th be rectified (unless, indeed, they are "capable of two meanings," and therefore only need to be relieved of their ambiguity); and let the principles which are recognised as proper be applied, neither for the accuser nor for the accused, but with entire impartiality; and we believe that we shall desire nothing more—except, indeed, as to matters of detail. We should ask that the judgment should be simply "proven" or "not proven," and that each of the judges should formally read the reasons which have led him to the decision at which he has arrived.

Many are at present earnestly expressing their desire for the constitution of a new Court; but as yet they are far from being agreed as to the elements of which it should be composed; whether of ecclesiastics and laymen, or of ecclesiastics only; and if of ecclesiastics, then whether of the whole bench of bishops, or of a mixed tribunal of bishops and other divines. We are inclined, at present, to prefer, to everything which has thus far been proposed, the moderate reforms of the existing Courts which we have now ventured to suggest.

If these are modifications beyond what the legislature will concede for the protection of the Church from imminent danger, it is scarcely likely that any more decided measures will obtain the sanction necessary to give them effect.

But we cannot refrain from observing, that we think we see the faint outline of a scheme, involving less change than others which have been propounded, yet such as might prove effectual for delivering the Church from unsound teachers. The Final Court appears to consider itself bound to lean towards the accused, and even to devise grounds of his exculpation, because of the temporal interests which are at stake. Might not a power, so fenced as to be prevented from being warped by theological prejudice (which is the great objection to a court of divines), be lodged in the archbishop of each province, aided by certain assessors, including at least one civilian,—in the exercise of which he might suspend heretical clergymen from all spiritual functions? Such a court might also award deprivation of the benefice; but that part of the sentence might be subject to appeal to the Judicial Committee, as at present. By such means the sensitiveness of the civil court as to rights of property would be duly respected, while the Church might be relieved of the misguidance of false apostles, whose injury to the people St. Paul describes, by comparing them to *grievous wolves, not sparing the flock*.

We have no expectation that all our readers will concur in this suggestion. It may be found to have some inherent fault which we have not perceived, or to involve more concessions to the Church than the legislature would be willing to yield. But all will agree in this, that there is cause for anxiety and alarm in the way in which the doctrine of the Church is now deprived of its proper and designed meaning, when it seeks the protection of the legally-constituted Court of Appeal; and that the greater the difficulties which start up in the way of rectifying our position, the stronger our reasons for carrying this trouble before the great Head of the Church, with earnest entreaties that He would Himself, after His own manner, enable the Church of the country still to hold fast and maintain His own truth, which He in His providence committed to its charge, to be faithfully kept and diligently diffused.

"THE THEOLOGY OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY."

WE have no quarrel with that discriminating study of ecclesiastical history, which detects in each succeeding age its own distinctive characteristics. We readily admit that, between the age of Latimer and Ridley, and that of Owen and Goodwin, there was a very perceptible difference;—that, in passing from the Puritan times to those of Atterbury and Tillotson, a mournful declension is apparent; and that as we advance into the middle of the eighteenth century, we seem to feel Christianity waning away into something scarcely better than Deism. The subsequent revival, beginning with Wesley and Whitfield, is recognized by writers of all classes; and it has certainly raised England so far out of the deadness and darkness of the times of the first two Georges, as to render it allowable to speak of "the Theology of the Nineteenth Century." Still, while we concede as much as this, we cannot allow it to be forgotten, that the leaders of this movement never desired, never effected, more than a loyal return to the old faith of St. Paul and St. John, of Augustine and Chrysostom, of Luther and Zwingli, of Latimer and Bradford, of Jewell and Hooker. This revival, and this only, has a right to be termed "the Theology of the Nineteenth Century." It may claim this place, by virtue of its literature, its hold upon the people, and its missionary labours. We should dislike and avoid the assertion of these claims, were there not a cause: but an attempt has recently been made, both to pass over these facts in silence, and to set up another and a rival "Theology" as that "of the Nineteenth Century." And, in such circumstances as these, silence would be a kind of betrayal of the truth.*

Any inquirer has a right to ask of us, "Is there a Theology which properly belongs to the Nineteenth Century; and if so, where shall I find it?" And our answer is, "You must seek for it in the most widely-read religious writings of the time;—in the tone of the pulpit, wherever that pulpit exercises power, and attracts and influences the people;—and, lastly, in the principal religious undertakings carried on, their objects, and their success." Let us, as rapidly as we can, glance at each of these indications of the predominant "Theology of the Nineteenth Century."

1. We say, and surely with obvious truth, that the prevailing theology of any age is to be sought for in the chief

* We allude, it will easily be perceived, to "a paper read by the Dean of Westminster, at St. James's Rectory, Jan. 5, 1865," and afterwards published in *Fraser's Magazine*.

writings of the time. Not in its heresies,—for we do not admit Arianism to have been “the theology of the time of Athanasius,” or Pelagianism to have been “the theology of the days of Augustine;”—but in those works which lived, were generally read, and almost universally accepted, both by the teachers and by the learners, of the day. Let us ask, then, what has been the prevailing theological literature of the nineteenth century?

About the beginning of the century, a hard-working and earnest student, named Thomas Scott, devoted himself to the task of Bible exposition. He spent about twenty years on his Commentary, completing it in 1821. The sale of that book in six huge volumes, during the last thirty or forty years, has amounted to at least fifty thousand copies in England, and twice that number in America. We set down this as one fact, worthy to be noticed in the present inquiry.*

A second fact, of some moment, illustrates our statement, that the theology of our times is only a faithful following of the theology of St. Paul, Augustine, Luther, and Cranmer. About twelve years ago, a resolution was taken, to reproduce, in a voluminous and costly series, the theological writings of the English Reformers. The whole series was a large and expensive one; but the subscribers to it were some seven or eight thousand. About the same time, nearly four thousand copies were issued and purchased, of *Foxe's Acts and Monuments*.

But let us turn to the general character of the theological literature of the time. Again we say, that most of the works which have given a character to the age, have been works which followed St. Paul, and Augustine, and Luther, and Hooker. Take, for instance, Mr. Bridges' book on the 119th Psalm, and the useful volumes issued by Mr. Bickersteth. Of the exposition of Psalm cxix., we believe more than 60,000 copies have been sold; and of Mr. Bickersteth's treatises, about 120,000 or 130,000. More recently, a popular narrative, well known to our readers, entitled “Ministering Children,” announces its “85th thousand” in about ten years. And, only within the last year or two, we have seen Mr. Oxenden's “Pathway of Safety,” and Dr. Bonar's “God's Way of Peace,” each circulating at the rate of ten or twenty thousand copies per annum.

Dean Stanley will doubtless reply, that this is not what he calls “Theology”;—and that such writers as we have named do not advance the “science” one step; but content themselves with treading, over and over again, the old round of “popular theology;” leaving all difficulties just where they found them.

* We cannot adduce the sale of *D'Oyley and Mant's Bible*, as having much bearing on the present enquiry, since that compilation is avowedly made from the writers of the 17th and 18th centuries.

We accept the distinction ; but we remind Dr. Stanley that St. Paul most explicitly and firmly rejects "the wisdom of this world ;" anathematizes the introduction of any new Gospel ; warns us against "the oppositions of science falsely so called," and declares that "it pleased God by the foolishness of preaching to save them that believe." It is that same foolishness, or simplicity of preaching, which now moves the world, from Madagascar to the Rocky Mountains ; while "the knowledge of German theological speculation and research," upon which Dr. Stanley places so much reliance, never changed one heart yet, and never will.

2. Our next test or gauge of the characteristic theology of the age, is not so easily producible as the former one. Books are tangible and visible witnesses ; while the living voice of the pulpit melts away, even while we are listening to it, and all that remains to us is the recollection of the past, and certain results which require to be collected and set in array before their force can be acknowledged.

The immense difference between the pulpit of the eighteenth century, and that of the nineteenth, is to be perceived in two different though kindred facts.

Towards the close of the last century, Mr. Newton, writing to a friend respecting the religious condition of London, said, that there were at that time but two Gospel ministers in the metropolis,—Mr. Romaine and himself,—possessing pulpits and parishes of their own in the Establishment. How vast the change, then, in this respect ! We now look around, and remark at a glance the pastorate of such important parishes as Marylebone, Pancras, Paddington, Islington, Lambeth, Spitalfields, Whitechapel, Bloomsbury, St. Giles's, and Christ Church in Surrey, in the hands of men who would gladly avow that it was their most cherished object to preach the same Gospel which was set forth in the *Letters of Omicron*, and in *Cardiphonia*. Nor is the metropolis peculiarly distinguished in this respect. The whole land enjoys a measure of Gospel light, of which, in George III.'s days, it knew scarcely anything.

We shall be asked, however, here, whether we mean to assert, that the religious system of Jewell and of Hooker has so far re-asserted its supremacy, as to justify a representation that the theology of Reformation-times has returned and assumed the throne in this latter half of the nineteenth century ? If by this it be meant to ask, whether we ascribe these views to the whole, or to the greater part of the clergy of the Church of England in this year 1865, we answer, Certainly not. A whole class, consisting of some fifteen thousand men, cannot with truth be so distinctly characterized. A considerable proportion of the number is formed of men who describe themselves as "of no extreme views," and who are content to enact the

part of a clergyman in a decent, colourless manner; "not committing themselves" to any party. But the bulk of the clergy of the present day consists of two great classes,—the Evangelical clergy, who follow Scott and Newton and Simeon; and the Orthodox or High Church clergy, who, without adopting the views of Scott and Newton, have had their religious views silently elevated by the pervading influence of Reformation theology.

The "High Church" preaching of the present day is far more scriptural, and far more sound, than that of their grandfathers. In the reign of George III., "Blair's Sermons" was a book in extensive use, both in the pulpit and in the family. Now, no one could venture to produce such "skim-milk" among educated men. The old tracts which were in current sale in the Christian Knowledge Society's depots in 1800 have vanished. They are not reprinted, for no one would buy them. Sermons, histories, tracts, and narratives, are now sent forth by High Church writers, which would have rejoiced the hearts of Scott and of Newton, if they had been seen by those good men at the end of the last century.* Thus Evangelical theology has not only gradually advanced, from the possession of a few insignificant pulpits, till it is heard in a dozen cathedrals, and in thousands of parish churches,—but it has leavened the whole Christianity of the land; and there are now thousands of professedly "High Churchmen" who keep "Scott's Commentary" and the Parker Society's publications on their shelves, although they would shrink from avowing any identity with the views styled "Evangelical."

3. We pass on to the last test. A living church must be known by its works. What have been the works of the Church of England during the last fifty years?

The very first which will occur to every one's mind, will furnish a striking proof of the assertion made a few sentences back, that the Evangelical clergy have not only advanced and grown, as a distinct and separate section of the Church; but have also influenced and elevated that large mass of High-Church clergy which kept aloof, and called themselves, by way of distinction, the "Orthodox" portion of the Establishment. More than sixty years ago, three or four Evangelical clergymen, Mr. Newton, Mr. Scott, and Mr. Cecil, with a few laymen their friends, met and formed "the Church Missionary Society." It was with them a fundamental principle, that the doctrines to be carried to the heathen should be precisely those which the Articles of the Church of England asserted, and which such men as Bradford, Ridley, and Latimer had sealed with their blood. They went on for nearly half a century, with but

* We may particularize the writings of Bishops Harold Browne and Ellicott, and of Messrs. Mozley and Burgon of Oxford, as presenting a strong contrast to the works of Bishops Tomline and Herbert Marsh in George III.'s days.

little episcopal patronage, and with no help from what was called "the High Church party." At last, when the annual income of the Society had reached the respectable amount of £90,000, and when it had a considerable number of ordained clergymen employed in the principal heathen countries of the world, it occurred to the rulers of the Church, and to the High Church clergy in general, that it was scarcely decent to stand any longer aloof. The Society changed not in the least. The principles of Newton and Scott and Simeon, its founders, remain its principles still, but in 1841 and 1842 the two Primates, and several other bishops, joined its ranks; and now the Church Missionary Society, founded by the author of *Cardiphonia*, and by the great commentator Thomas Scott, is supported by the whole Church, while it abides, unflinchingly, by the principles of its founders.

Again, about thirty years after the commencement of the Church Missionary Society, the growth of population, and the reflex operation of a missionary spirit, caused another and a different effort. It was observed that large masses of our people, especially in the great towns, were scarcely reached by the few and over-tasked pastors of those places. The same men who were actively engaged in the Church Missionary Society began a new association with home objects, styled the Church Pastoral Aid Society. The High Church or Orthodox section of the clergy followed the example, forming a second Society with the same objects as the first. And now, by these two associations, about 700 new labourers are sent among the people of England and Wales; the larger part of whom are pledged to the faith held by Latimer and Ridley, by John Newton and Thomas Scott.

These are some of the works produced by "the theology of the nineteenth century." They are but samples taken from a large number; but they prove that that theology is more than a fancy or idle dream. Other theologies there have been; other theologies, Dean Stanley tells us, there are now. But we ask in vain for good works produced by the faith of "Essays and Reviews." "Do men gather grapes of thorns, or figs of thistles?" The Dean is a prominent member of a small party in the Church, which has arisen within the last ten years; and of which Dr. Temple, Professor Jowett, and Mr. F. D. Maurice are leaders. We cannot call to mind that we have ever seen the name of any one of these gentlemen connected with a Bible or Missionary Society. The last injunction of the Lord Jesus is, as far as we can see, entirely disregarded by them. But an attempt to obey it is one of the most prominent features of the real "Theology of the Nineteenth Century." The seventeenth century, and the eighteenth, overlooked this duty; but just as the nineteenth opened, a recollection of their Lord's command struck the minds of

many, and the age became "the Age of Missions." And, if there be any party in the Church which systematically neglects this duty, we need no other sign to tell us, that that party cannot have any right to speak in the name of the church or clergy of England.

Strangely, however, and we think most illegitimately, has such a pretension been put forward. In the midst of an assembly of the clergy of Westminster did Dean Stanley rise up to propound and to maintain the claims of a very different "Theology" from that of which we are speaking? So strange a thing is it, that we cannot venture to describe it, save in his own words.

"It must be described as 'the theology of the nineteenth century,' because it is in the close of the last century, and the first sixty years of this, that it has been gaining more or less force, and spreading right and left, till it has penetrated all the Churches of Europe, except, perhaps, those of Spain and Sweden. It is from Germany, as is well known, that the main impulse has come. As at the time of the Reformation, so now, it is the German theologians who (to use the words of Latimer) have lighted the candle which, by God's grace, shall never be put out. But the effect of this teaching would not have been what it has been had it found a less ready reception in the general literature and in the religious instincts of all Europe. The works of Goethe and Walter Scott are full of its savour. It breathes through the whole of Coleridge, prose and verse. It is still more strongly marked in the poetry of Tennyson. It has lit up all the writings of men so different from each other, and yet so important each in his place, as Arnold, Robertson, and Milman. It is that which distinguished Edward Irving from the preaching and teaching of his day in the Church of Scotland, and accounts for the increasing estimate formed of his genius and character; and it has now incontestably influenced not only the most eminent divines of the Established Church of that country, but the writers even of the narrower community of the Free Church, not excluding Dr. Candlish himself. Its effects on the successors of the Puritans in England, both in the Church and amongst Nonconformists, if not equally capable of public proof, will not be denied by any one. It has coloured very deeply Dr. Pusey's book on the Theology of Germany, and large parts of the *Christian Year*; and though the actual *Tracts for the Times* exhibit its traces very slightly, yet the general movement of which they were the expression prided itself on seeking for 'something deeper and truer than satisfied the last century,' and on reckoning Coleridge as one of its unconscious founders."

A theology preached by Goethe and Walter Scott, by Coleridge and Tennyson, by Arnold, Robertson, and Milman, by Irving and Candlish, by Keble and Pusey! Such a thing is a mere dream—a senseless fiction. The last four names are improperly used. That "theology" which Dr. Stanley is about to praise, was and is abhorred by Irving, Candlish, Pusey, and Keble; and the use of their names as abettors of it is altogether unjustifiable. Yet, without those names, what a list would

remain ! Goethe, Walter Scott, and Tennyson, among the founders of a school of Theology ! The first of these is justly described, by his countryman Schaff, as "a refined heathen, without even that desire for salvation which characterised the noblest minds of Greece and Rome ; but perfectly contented with himself and the world of nature."* But Theodore Parker, a Liberal of the first water, and an enthusiastic admirer of German theology, more plainly and rudely describes the poet, saying,—“Goethe, as a man, was selfish to a very high degree, a debauchee and well-bred epicurean, who had little sympathy with what was highest in man.”

Is it from such a human swine as this that we are to learn our new Theology ?

The second name paraded in Dean Stanley's list is that of Walter Scott. Here, too, we will merely cite the judgment of another religious Liberal, Mr. Ruskin, who says,—“Nothing is more notable or sorrowful in Scott's mind than his incapacity of steady belief in anything. He is educated a Presbyterian, and remains one, because he thinks it the most sensible thing he can do, if he is to live in Edinburgh. But he thinks Romanism more picturesque, and profaneness more gentlemanly ; and does not see that anything affects human life but love, courage, and destiny. Through all his works there is no evidence of any purpose, but to while away the hour. All his thoughts were, in their outcome and end, less than nothing and vanity.”†

Goethe and Scott had no fixed, sincere, religious belief ; yet they, forsooth, are to teach us theology ! “If the blind lead the blind, shall not both fall into the ditch ?”

As to Coleridge and Tennyson, they are not to be ranked with such irreligious men as Goethe and Scott ; but their religion, instead of being the joyous faith of St. Paul and St. John, never rises above doubt, vague, ungrounded hope, and obscurity. The Laureate expresses, in poetic phrase, the ignorant hope, which may be heard in every beershop or cab-stand, that “we shall all get to heaven at last”—

“That nothing walks with aimless feet ;
That not one life shall be destroyed :”—

but confesses his utter darkness—

“For what am I ?
An infant crying in the night :
An infant crying for the light :
And with no language but a cry.”‡

Is this the tone which a reasonable man would prefer to St.

* Schaff's Germany, p. 148.

† Mod. Painters, vol. iii. 270—272.

‡ In Memoriam, p. 77.

Paul's—"I know whom I have believed, and am persuaded that He is able to keep that which I have committed unto Him against that day." Shall we take those for teachers who confess that they have never learned?

Let us quit, however, this strange and perplexing account of a Theology compounded of opposites, and promulgated by men who agreed in nothing, and let us ask for some description, some delineation, of this new creed. This, however, is the last thing which Dr. Stanley and his friends are likely to afford us. The truth is, that they follow and support each other in doubting and questioning, first one, then another article of the Creed; but of positive belief in anything, they seldom afford us one word. We turn over this paper of Dean Stanley's in vain for any definite statement—any intelligible description—of this new theology of which he is so fond. We must catch, therefore, where we can, such glimpses and hints of the nature of this "Theology of the Nineteenth Century" as it pleases him to vouchsafe to us.

And, first of all, we find that it comes from Germany. "It is from Germany that the main influence has come." "The German theologians have lighted the candle." (p. 252.) "Without the knowledge of German theological speculation and research, no deep study of Christian doctrine may be achieved." (p. 253.) "The union of English practical life with German speculation is likely to be of much benefit to both." (p. 260.) "This new impulse has been given from Germany,—with all its faults, the most laborious, conscientious, truth-seeking of continental nations." (p. 264.)

Such is the estimation in which German theology is held by one who claims to be a pupil of Arnold. But what said Arnold himself? In his 2nd volume of *Sermons*, p. 480, we thus read:—"It is said that the Hebrew philologists are deeply infected with that same spirit which has characterized so many of the German theologians; and if so, no devout man can use their works habitually in his study of the Scriptures without great pain, or, possibly, without great danger. . . . There is in the Rationalists a coldness and irreverence of tone, and so apparent an absence of all feeling of their own personal relations to God, as men and as sinners, that their intellectual fault is greatly aggravated by these moral defects."

Another prominent Liberal, Dr. Samuel Davidson, concurs in these views, attributing "the miserable character of the German interpretations to the neglect of Divine teaching, and an undue confidence in human wisdom." He adds—"The mind of the German delights to feed, as it were, upon husks, neglecting the nutritious aliment of the Father of Spirits."*

* *Sacred Hermeneutics*, p. 8.

In fact, in whole sections of Germany, Christianity has virtually become extinct. So remarked Mr. Palmer, more than twenty years ago, observing that, "Overrun by the audacious impiety of Neologianism, Lutheranism and Calvinism, as religious systems, seem to have nearly perished in the countries where they arose."*

This, however, it may be said, is merely the arrogant judgment of a foreigner. Let us hear the confessions, then, of Germans themselves. "Throughout Germany," says Dr. Schaff, "the Lutheran Church is become a mere name to the people; and as to the educated classes, it has with them been cut down to the root." "The Church has disappeared, almost to its very name, both amongst the educated classes and with the multitude, in Germany." And again, "In no country has infidelity clothed itself in such an array of learning, assumed such a serious aspect, spread more generally among the professional and higher classes, than on the native soil of Protestantism."† In the like tone speaks Beckendorf: "There is now no Church, but merely parties—the old Church is in ruins." And Superintendent Schlegel: "The greatest part of the Evangelical Churches may be asked if they can make any pretence to the name of a Christian Church." More recently, Kuntze, at the meeting of the Evangelical Alliance at Berlin, said, "The Church has not the slightest influence on the feelings or consciences of the population." And Dollinger adds, "The Church has disappeared, even almost to its very name, both among the educated classes, and with the multitude in Germany."‡

Strange, surely, is it, that a country like England, which is now covering the earth with its missions, should be sent to Germany, sunk in religious death, to learn what Christianity is!

The most revolting part of the whole case is, that men who have, substantially, deserted the Christian faith, and fallen back into Deism, should now coolly set up for Christian teachers. Forty years ago, Mr. H. J. Rose expressed, in his sermons at Cambridge, his anger and his wonder that, "Although these divines rejected all belief in the Divine origin of Christianity, they still retained the name of Christians." And even Bunsen himself was scandalised at "Germans who seemed to be seized with a peculiar mania of overturning Christianity, without openly and frankly saying they had given it up, or at least its records."§

Our own Pye Smith, however, more fitly characterized this gross dishonesty, exclaiming against "The perfidious hypocrisy of wearing the names and titles of Christian profession, while they are labouring to undermine it! Their object is to make

* Treatise on the Church, vol. i. p. 289.

† Schaff, p. 147.

‡ Dollinger's Church and Churches, p. 319.

§ Hippolytus, vol. ii. p. 330.

Christianity the latest term in a series of progressive systems of moral science and religious worship, whose origin is hid in the depths of unknown antiquity, which has been elaborated successively in India, China, Chaldea, Egypt, Judea, and Greece, and which is itself to be superseded by some coming system of Pantheism, or Atheism, or no man knows what."*

It is this new scheme of belief, originating, in modern times, in Germany, to which Dean Stanley would give the title of "The Theology of the Nineteenth Century." Its claim to such a title is utterly baseless. The pretended "theology" of Germany begins its teaching by a bold denial of the authority of the Christian records. It may try to conceal its hostility by an affectation of respect—placing Moses on a level with Homer, and St. Paul with Thucydides—but when the Divine authority of the Scriptures is denied, Christianity itself is, in effect, reduced to the level of Mohammedism or Buddhism. The critic who takes this ground has no more right to style himself a Christian, than he has to profess himself a priest of Buddha or of Brahma. The pretence is utterly hypocritical.

Dean Stanley, however, may try to evade this censure by remarking that "German theology" is an indefinite phrase, since there are Hengstenbergs and Neanders, as well as De Wettes and Ewalds. But he is scarcely free to use this device; for he has defined "German theology" by a frequent reference to Ewald as its brightest ornament. Thus, at pp. 255 and 256, he four times refers to this author as his chief exemplar; and in p. 263 he alludes even to the "Life of Christ" of the same author with a fond and apologetical tone. We are entitled, then, to assume that, when he speaks of "German theology," it is not of Neander or Tholuck that he is thinking, but of such writers as Ewald and De Wette, which latter writer he styles "the most honest, critical, and keen-sighted of commentators." (p. 268.)

Now, to come to plain fact and truth, Ewald and De Wette can only be described as a couple of Deists. They were two of the very men whom Bunsen described as "having a mania for overturning Christianity, without openly and frankly saying that they had given it up."

Ewald was but the precursor of Rénan. Both of them disbelieve one half of the Gospels, and describe Christ as "a young Jewish peasant," who was filled with "a noble enthusiasm," and had treasured up in his mind certain old traditions of a Messiah, which gradually moulded him into a prophet and a teacher. Ewald deems prophecy to have been common to all nations in old time, and regards the prophecies of the Old Testament to be only better than others, as Homer may be a

* On the Person of Christ, vol. i. p. 203.

greater poet than Hesiod. In a word, Ewald, and all writers of his class, reject the idea of an authoritative Divine revelation; discredit the supernatural in all shapes; and receive Christ's own declaration of His eternal existence with the Father, as utterly unworthy of belief. Dr. Stanley asks, "Where is Voltaire now? where is Thomas Paine?" We answer, "They are revived in such men as Ewald and Rénan, but in a more decorous, learned, and plausible guise. Substantially, the two classes are identical."

But let us pass on from the origin of this new Theology, to its intrinsic character.

Dean Stanley, having apprised us, (1), that it took its rise in Germany; and (2), that Ewald may be regarded as one of its brightest representatives,—next goes on to say something of "The relation of the Theology of our age; first, to the Bible; secondly, to general history and philosophy; thirdly, to Christian doctrine." (p. 253.)

The first of these questions governs the other two, and it will probably require all the space that we shall be able to afford. What, then, does this "Theology of the nineteenth century do with reference to the Bible?" Dr. Stanley answers thus:—

"First, as to the external framework of the Bible. In the early ages there was a real desire to know what the Bible was—what books it contained. That desire almost ceased in the cessation of mental activity, at the fall of the Roman Empire. It was revived partially at the Reformation, but it attained its full force at the close of the last century and beginning of this. What is the ancient text of the New and Old Testament? How far does it differ from that which is put forth as the received text in our Authorized Version or in the Vulgate? What are the consequences to our theological studies from the acknowledgment of the famous variations now finally recognized in the chief manuscripts of the New Testament? What is the effect on our sermons of our becoming fully acquainted with the defects of our translation? What is the view which we have to take of the formation of the Canon, after reading such a work as Mr. Westcott's instructive book on the Bible in the Church? What is the new light thrown on the whole question of the Canon, of the original sacred text, of Biblical Inspiration, by the study, up to this time so little pursued, except by the most recondite investigators—even now but slightly approached by general students—of what may be truly called the Old Testament of the Apostolic Age and of the early Church—the Septuagint? I put these in the form of questions, because they are all questions which we might discuss with advantage—they are questions which we might have thought would have stood at the very threshold of any controversies about Inspiration, or about the relation of the Old Testament to the New, or the Bible to tradition, or respecting the merits or demerits of precise dogmatical statements. Let those who have studied these questions say how often, between the time of Jerome and Eras-

mus, and again between the time of Erasmus and of Mill, or even of Griesbach, they have met with adequate answers." (p. 254.)

Again, he enlarges somewhat as follows:—

"It is impossible within these limits to do more than to indicate in the briefest form some of the enlargements of our conception of the sacred records from thus allowing them to speak for themselves. (a.) The composite origin of the Books—of the Psalter—of the Pentateuch—of Zechariah—of Isaiah—of the Chronicles—and of St. Luke. How slowly, yet now, in principle, how universally acknowledged. How interesting—how instructive—is the increased knowledge thus gained of the several sacred writers. (b.) The nature of the Prophetic office—the distinction between Prophecy and Prediction—the moral and religious functions of the Prophets, as separate from that of mere diviners of the future, as increasing with the historical growth and spiritual development of the chosen people. Even within the last years how many strongholds of ignorance on this point have given way. What a difference between the treatment of the question in Bishop Newton's *Dissertations* and the flood of light poured upon the whole office and history of the ancient Prophets by Ewald. (c.) The discovery, if possible, of the peculiar date, object, tendency, doctrine, spirit, of each of the sacred books. How great the gain, for example, of simply ascertaining the chronological grouping of St. Paul's Epistles—the special objects of the different Gospels—the different schemes of doctrine in the different Apostles, as set forth in Dean Alford's *Prolegomena*, in Lücke, and in Neander. (d.) The distinction between poetry and prose in the sacred books, rarely thought of till the time when in the middle of the last century our own Lowth delivered his famous lectures; yet a distinction so obvious when pointed out, so fruitful of immense results when fully investigated. Is this passage poetical and prophetic, or is it historical? Is this metaphorical, or is it literal? To answer this important question in each case is one of the first objects of modern Biblical Theology. To strike the balance, not by our own individual fancies, but by the actual style and intention of the sacred writers themselves, between the extreme allegory of the Alexandrian school and the extreme literalism of the Syrian school, is the privilege of the higher criticism of the nineteenth century." (p. 255.)

There never was a case in which it was more necessary to bethink ourselves of Niebuhr's distinction: "There is much here that is new, and much that is true; but that which is true is not new, and that which is new is not true." It is merely an insolent assumption of superiority to claim for the nineteenth century that it first found out the value of a critical study of Holy Scripture. Such studies were the constant employment of Melancthon and Calvin; nor can any honest man pretend to undervalue the labours of Poole and Calmet, of Walton and Kennicott, of Lardner and Horsley. We have said already that a new life sprang up in the middle of the eighteenth century; and that one result of that new life was, a greater zeal and

earnestness in the study of the word of God than existed in the days of the Stuart and Hanoverian kings. But to characterize this as a new Theology, and as a peculiar merit belonging to our nineteenth century, is a vaunt which had better have been spared.

The next paragraph, however, gives us a singular mixture of "the true which is not new, and the new which is not true":—

"The composite origin of the books of the Psalter, of the Pentateuch, of Zechariah, of Isaiah, of the Chronicles, and of St. Luke. How slowly, yet now, in principle, how universally acknowledged."

The composite origin of the Psalms (apparent on the very face of the document) has always been acknowledged. The composite origin of the Chronicles (similarly evident) has never been questioned. The composite origin of the Pentateuch, of Zechariah, of Isaiah, and of St. Luke, is not acknowledged now; and is nothing more than one of those rash and baseless conjectures with which "German criticism" abounds. Thus, in one breath, in one sentence, Dean Stanley mixes up well-known facts, which have been familiar to all students for many centuries past, with fictions invented by German infidels; and having thus intermingled old truths with new fables, he ascribes the whole, as if it were some great discovery, to the "Theology of the Nineteenth Century."

We have here a notable example of those wonderful achievements upon which the Germans so highly plume themselves. Such critics as Ewald and De Wette devote their lives to an elaborate scrutiny of the old Hebrew records, and when they have satisfied themselves that a different tone and phraseology is apparent in Genesis and in Deuteronomy, or in the earlier chapters of Isaiah and the later, they at once leap to the conclusion that different authors produced the Pentateuch, and that there were two Isaiahs. These "guesses" (and they are nothing more) are immediately enunciated with what Dr. Stanley himself describes as "arbitrary and supercilious dogmatism." And then our Colensos and Rowland Williamses receive these speculations as if they were established truths; and treat with scorn all who adhere to the belief that Moses was the author of the Pentateuch, or that Isaiah wrote the prophecies which have been handed down in his name.

Yet how irrational, how "unphilosophical," is all this. Who does not know that, between the earlier writings and the later, of many great authors of mediæval and modern times, there is the greatest dissimilarity? Now, the book of Deuteronomy purports, on its very face, to have been written in the 120th year of Moses' life, while Exodus was apparently written in his 81st year; and Genesis may have been compiled in his younger

days, while living in the court of Pharaoh, or in middle age, while dwelling with the priest of Midian. Sixty or eighty years may have elapsed between the compilation of the earliest book and the writing of the latest; and who shall wonder that, between the style of the youthful patriot and that of the aged prophet, there should be an evident and marked difference? What rashness and self-confidence is it, then, to build, upon such facts as these, the hypothesis that Moses was the author of none of these books, but that Samuel wrote the earlier portions, and that some prophet of the later times of the monarchy added the fifth book of the Pentateuch!

The same observation applies to the prophecies of Isaiah. At the very opening of the book we are apprized, that these prophecies were given at various times, during four kings' reigns. These reigns extended over more than a whole century; and, hence, the prophet may have been, like Jeremiah, a "child," or youth, at the beginning of his prophetic office, and a very aged man at the close of it. How absurd, therefore, how thoroughly irrational is it, to examine the text of such a book, and to argue, from the different tone and phraseology of the earlier and the later chapters, that "there must have been two Isaiahs." The same sort of "criticism" would have shown us two Cowpers, or two Byrons, or two Irvings, in modern days.

We say, then, that the pretension set up by the admirers of German theology, that Biblical criticism was invented and brought to perfection by this school, is utterly unfounded. A real, reverential study of the sacred text, in order to discover, 1, what it is, and 2, what it reveals, has always existed in the Church, and with more or less vigour as the Church was in a torpid or lively condition. What the Germans have given us is something very different, namely, an infidel school of Biblical criticism. The great critics of old, Melancthon, Calvin, Diodati, and afterwards Poole and others, took up the Bible as the Word of God, and set themselves, first, to obtain a correct text, and then, to ascertain what was the purport of the message. But the German critics, of whom Dr. Stanley speaks with such admiration—De Wette, Ewald, and their fellows—begin by despising Christianity, and utterly disbelieving one half of the Bible. Thus, Ewald will discuss at great length the narratives of the life of Christ, rejecting everything supernatural, and, of course, disbelieving quite one half of the Gospel story. But what is the result? St. Paul tells us in one pithy sentence—"If Christ be not raised, your faith is vain; ye are yet in your sins; and they that are fallen asleep in Christ are perished."

The plain truth is, that the learned criticism of men who do not believe the historic truth of the document, can have no other tendency but to confirm and strengthen infidelity. That

this has been the result in Germany itself, the home of unbelieving criticism, is avowed by numberless German witnesses. "Gervinus said—'We still stand, on the average, much at the same point as Goethe and Schiller, Voss and Jean Paul, who released themselves from the bonds of dogmatic Christianity.' Sixteen years have passed since then, and these words are as true now as they were at that period. Aversion to Christianity, as soon as it attempts to assert itself in life or in science, is still general amongst educated persons,"* in Germany.

Our small remaining space warns us that we can touch only on one more point—the point which Dr. Stanley places in the last and highest rank :—

"The peculiarity of our age is, that it is more and more disposed to regard the moral attributes of God, and the moral duties of man, as the point from which all theology starts, and to which it must return.

"Reflect how many of the theological questions which vex the present time, respecting this life and the next, must begin and end in this: that God is, above all else, a moral being; that He is love; that He is a righteous judge, who will deal with us according to truth; that obedience is greater in his sight than outward ceremonies; that the good, the faithful, and the true, is above every other offering that can be made in heaven or on earth. Such a moral, or, as we sometimes say, a practical view of theology, has gained extensively within our own time." (p. 259.)

And thus does the Dean land us, or attempt to land us, once more, in the theology of Blair's Sermons. A sarcastic writer lately described the three parties in the Church, the High Church, Evangelical, and Broad Church, as exhibiting "attitudinarianism, platitudinarianism, and latitudinarianism." But surely, for "platitudes," no one ever exceeded this latitudinarian writer. So very "mild" is his Christianity, that it is hard to say who will quarrel with it. He asks, "Where is Voltaire? Where is Frederick II.? Where is Thomas Paine?" We will tell him. They are all quite within the circle of Christianity, after *his* fashion. Not one of the three would offer the least objection to his creed,—

"That God is a moral being; that He is love; that He is a righteous judge, who will deal with us according to truth; that obedience is greater in His sight than outward ceremonies, and that the good, the beautiful, and the true, is above every other offering."

Voltaire spent his life in cursing the Saviour, and in crying, "Crush the wretch!" But Voltaire would have subscribed this creed willingly enough; for he would have found nothing about salvation in it—nothing about any danger to be saved from.

* Dollinger's Church and Churches, p. 269.

Dr. Stanley quotes, in his concluding page, some sentences from Dr. Milman, in which the last-named dean expresses his conviction "that the words of Christ, and His alone, the primal indefeasible truths of Christianity, shall not pass away;" and Dr. S. goes on to praise the wisdom of resting our theology on "those Divine words and those Divine acts." Glad should we be if these professions had been, in the slightest degree, carried out in practice. But the theology which he praises, and to extol which his paper was written—the theology which comes from Germany—doubts or denies almost every theological statement made by Christ. What say these writers of the plain and weighty words,—“Except a man be born again, he cannot see the kingdom of God.” “God so loved the world, that He gave His only-begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in Him should not perish, but have everlasting life.” “He that believeth not is condemned already, because he hath not believed in the name of the only-begotten Son of God.” “The hour is coming, in the which all that are in the graves shall hear his voice, and shall come forth; they that have done good, unto the resurrection of life; and they that have done evil, unto the resurrection of damnation.” “Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of Man, and drink His blood, ye have no life in you. Whoso eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, hath eternal life; and I will raise him up at the last day.” “If ye believe not that I am He, ye shall die in your sins.” “Verily I say unto you, Before Abraham was, I am.” “Ye believe not, because ye are not of my sheep: my sheep hear my voice, and I know them, and they follow me: and I give unto them eternal life, and they shall never perish, neither shall any man pluck them out of my hand.” “I pray for them: I pray not for the world; but for them which thou hast given me, for they are thine.”

Here are a few of “the words of Christ,” taken just as they stand in those three or four pages of the last of the four Gospels. The words are very plain and simple and explicit. Do the German critics, De Wette and Ewald, believe one single sentence of all that we have copied? Does Dean Stanley himself believe, in the ordinary meaning of the words, any of these important statements, which are made by Christ Himself? We fear that he does not. But if this be so, what a want of straightforwardness, in fact, of honesty, is apparent in all these loud professions of value and esteem for “the words of Christ,” when, if brought to the test, there is scarcely a theological statement, scarcely a single doctrine connected with salvation, which fell from the lips of Jesus, against which these German critics and their English admirers would not cavil, and from the plain meaning of which they would not try to escape.

Dr. Stanley notices the charge, which is commonly and

justly made against the theology which he praises, that it is "undogmatic"—that it has no doctrines. He replies, first, that there are "a vast number of German books on Dogmatic Theology." To which we might rejoin, that few of these ever find their way to England, and those few are deemed of little value. But he then turns off and gives us a second answer: that the disciples of the new theology prefer to pourtray the person and work of Christ, rather than to give a "dry skeleton" of doctrine—a "barren framework" of words.

"To know Christ—to ascertain the drift, significance, relative importance, of the tenderness, wisdom, truthfulness, love, comprehensiveness, elevation, of His whole appearance and of the several parts of it, is the object, we may say, of the deepest theological researches everywhere. For the sake of a nearer approach to Him, much that shocks, much that distresses, may be tolerated, must be endured. For the sake of this, passages even in Rénan's work may be read with instruction. For the sake of this, the 'Life of Christ,' by Ewald, to many amongst us perhaps hardly less distasteful, has been welcomed with ardour, by one of the few learned Roman Catholic theologians of France, as 'le vrai tableau de la vie de Jésus.'" (p. 268.)

Is it, then, Dr. Stanley's opinion, that we shall come "to know Christ" by studying the Lives of Christ given us by Ewald and by Rénan? If so, we must say that a more fearful error could scarcely have been promulgated. The great effort of both these writers is to strip the life of Christ of all that is supernatural:—the miraculous birth, the Temptation, the "signs and wonders," the Resurrection, and the Ascension—all are explained away; and "the Lord from heaven" is reduced to a mere "Hebrew peasant," filled with "a noble enthusiasm," who imbibes the "old traditions of a Messiah," and falls a sacrifice to a mistaken idea that he himself is to be that deliverer!

There is nothing in all this but DEISM, striving, by the aid of "criticism," to reduce Christianity to its own level. Dr. Stanley endeavours to gild and bedeck this "new Theology" with a few fine phrases, closing his paper with the words, "Christus vincit, Christus regnat, Christus imperat." But his Christ is not the Christ of St. John, St. Peter, or St. Paul. Not one word do we hear throughout the whole paper which at all resembles the homage paid by the apostle:—"To Him who loved us, and washed us from our sins in his own blood, and hath made us kings and priests unto God and his Father, to him be glory and dominion for ever and ever, Amen."

The last words of the beloved disciple are, "If any man shall take away from the words of the book of this prophecy, God shall take away his part out of the book of life." Ewald and Rénan have done their best to take away the whole soul and meaning of the Saviour's history and work upon earth. Let Dr. Stanley beware how he becomes "a partaker in the sins" of these men.

POETRY.

"REJOICE IN THE LORD ALWAYS."

How rejoice? Am I not guilty?
Is there not a weight of sin,
Ever weighing, ever pressing,
On this wretched heart within?
Why, then, rejoice?

Because where sin aboundeth,
Grace doth much more abound;
Because, though sin demands our death,
There is a ransom found.
Because the loving Saviour,
Who died to set us free,
The weak and heavy-laden,
Inviteth, "Come to me."
Oh, then, rejoice!

Can I know in very surety,
That the call was meant for me?
Better to lie here thus weeping
Than exult too hastily—
Too soon rejoice.

Too soon? Perhaps then never!—
Oh, trembling soul, beware,
Come not to thy Redeemer
With such a doubting prayer!
Rise *now*, He gives thee power,
Himself hath moved thy will,
Take now the gift He tenders,
And bid thy heart be still.
Straightway rejoice!

How rejoice? Is earth not dreary?
All around me want and pain;
If the sky is clear one moment,
Soon, too soon, 'tis dark again.
How, then, rejoice?

Rejoice for all the goodness
Thy Lord hath shown thee here,
For the power of lessening sorrow,
Of drying a brother's tear;
Thy undeserved mercies,
With all their golden rays;
And, oh! at thought of all His gifts
Must not the note be praise?
Yes, yes, rejoice!

How rejoice? Is not the sunshine
 Lost, at last, in midnight gloom?
 O'er our pathway lies the shadow
 Of the dark, dark, doleful tomb.
 Oh, how rejoice?

Rejoice, for God our Saviour
 Is victor o'er the grave;—
 Oh, is not He who reigneth
 Omnipotent to save?
 And shall we shrink in terror
 Before a vanquished foe;
 And fear to follow in His steps
 When He shall bid us go?
 Rejoice? Oh, surely, surely!
 With joyous, bounding heart,
 When from this land of shadows
 We may indeed depart:
 When He shall bid us rise and come
 Where He has gone before;
 For ever to be with Him;
 To grieve Him nevermore!
 Be earth, then, bright or gloomy,
 The future, clear or dim,
 With such sweet comfort in His love,
 We *will* rejoice in Him.

SIGMA.

CORRESPONDENCE.

To the Editor of the Christian Observer.

DEAR SIR,—I have this morning received a communication from a friend, thoroughly competent to speak on such questions, and which, therefore, deserves my serious attention; it is to the following effect:—"The recent reply of the Bishop of Salisbury seems to place his conduct in a much better light; though, whether it has cleared it altogether, I am not quite sure. You know that Archbishop Wake thought a union with the Gallican Church not impossible. The correspondence is to be seen in Mosheim. The Archbishop concludes it with saying,—'The Gallican Church may be sure, however, that she must make many more concessions than she is yet disposed to do, before we can unite with her.' I do not quite know what were the views of M. le Maistre."

I fear that the once comparatively independent Gallican Church has sadly degenerated, and that, were it not for the firmness of the French Emperor, she would soon be almost a subservient tool in the hands of the Papacy. May every attempt, on the part of Tractarian and Romanizing prelates, to promote in the Protestant Anglican

Church a degenerate approximation to semi-Romanism or gross Popery, be brought to nought by her Omniscient and Omnipotent Head.

It is not improbable that the guardedly favourable view of Bishop Hamilton's letter, quoted from an able friend's letter above, may be taken by not a few of your readers. Can you spare room for a few remarks on a point which, in the present critical position of Ecclesiastical matters, seems not unimportant?

Bishop Hamilton writes,—“I agree with Count de Maistre that the Church of England ‘touches with one hand,’ so to speak, the different Protestant bodies, and, ‘with the other, the Roman Catholic Church,’ and that she is ‘very precious to Christendom.’”

Surely, if the Bishop had been as impartial, as he is an earnest, peace-maker, he was called upon, instead of using the cold and unjust designation of “Protestant bodies,” while adding “the Roman Catholic Church” (*ROMAN CATHOLIC* has often been objected to as denoting that hybrid and impossible compound, a *particular* *UNIVERSAL*), to speak of the Lutheran Church, and the Church of Scotland. I deliberately employ the term unjust; because very few can doubt, that the faithful men through whom the Lord Jesus Christ established the Protestant Reformed Church in this country, regarded the Lutheran Communion as the Lutheran Church, and the Scottish Communion as the Scottish Church. And those of our Prelates who refuse the designation to the Lutheran and Scottish Communions, while they grant it to that Romish Communion, from which our martyred reformers conscientiously deemed themselves called upon by God, through His revealed Word, to separate themselves as from a heresy or apostasy, while they acknowledged the Lutheran and Scottish Communions to be true Churches of Christ, may be considered as having so far departed from the spirit and practice of our Reformers, and as having (unconsciously and unintentionally) made the first step Rome-ward, by touching, unfavourably, with one hand “the Protestant bodies,” and favourably, with the other hand, the Popish apostasy.

Again, the French Romanist, whose sentiments the Bishop of Salisbury quotes with such marked approbation, when speaking of the Church of England touching with one hand the different Protestant bodies, and with the other the Roman Catholic Church, would seem to mean, if his language have any meaning at all, that the Church of England not only touches the different Protestant bodies favourably, but also touches the Roman Catholic Church favourably. We rejoice to say that the Churches of England and Scotland (the one Episcopalian, and the other Presbyterian) receive the Old and New Testaments (rejecting the Apocrypha) as the Inspired word of God; the doctrine of the Trinity in Unity; the Deity of Jesus Christ, regarding Him as God-man, and the Personality and Deity of the Holy Ghost. And inasmuch as the Romish heresy also professes to hold these doctrines, the two Protestant Churches may be figuratively said to touch the Romish Communion. But there are other points in which they not only differ from her, but also smite and thrust at her with sword and spear. It is one thing to say what certain Tractarian and Romanizing Prelates are doing, and quite another what the Church of England wishes us to do. The French Romanist could

plead ignorance as his excuse in supposing that the Protestant Reformed Church of England touches with almost impartial favour the different bodies and the Roman Catholic Communion. The Bishop of Salisbury has no such plea; as he cannot but be well aware of the quaint and homely faithfulness with which our Reformers and our Homilies have spoken of the Papacy and the Romish heresy.

As far back as 1846, before the present Pope had established the shocking dogma of the immaculate conception of Mary, Dr. Jeune (now Bishop of Peterborough) preached a sermon before the University of Oxford, which was shortly after published by request, under the title of "*The Mariolatry of the Church of Rome, &c.*" We extract the following passage, in which Dr. Jeune shows us how the Church of England touches the so-called Roman Catholic Church. The italics and capitals are ours:—

"It is of importance, too, that men's minds should be disabused of the notion, that a departure from our own Church to the *camp of her enemy* is a mere removal from one part of the Lord's vineyard to another; or, at the worst, a simple act of schism, the guilt of which would cease if men crossed the British Channel (and so passed within the territory of the Gallican Church). The question at issue is really between eternal truth, and the delusions of Satan; it is, *to speak in the words of OUR CHURCH*, whether '*the doctrine and decrees of Rome be agreeable to Christ's Holy Testament, or whether, by making the Holy Ghost the author thereof, she doth not blaspheme and belie the Holy Ghost to her own condemnation.*' If," continues Dr. Jeune, "the Lord be God, follow Him; but if Baal, then follow him. The truth—**THE TRUTH AS IT IS IN JESUS**—this must decide you. Every other consideration is comparatively insignificant between **OUR CHURCH** and the Church of Rome. Our differences are not few, nor on secondary points; they are **MANY**; they are **ESSENTIAL**; they are **ETERNAL**."

All honour to Dr. Jeune for standing up so nobly before the University of Oxford in the cause of his Divine Master, when Tractarian and Romanizing errors were eating, like a canker, into the very vitals of our Church. May he receive grace from above to pursue, as Bishop of Peterborough, the same high and holy career. And may Bishops Hamilton and Wilberforce, and with them Dr. Pusey, read what has just been extracted, on their knees, with earnest prayer to the God, and Father, and Giver of our Lord Jesus Christ, for the promised light and teaching of His Holy Spirit.

Oh, how easy is it to believe that if the dogma of Mary's own immaculate conception in the womb of her mother had been solemnly defined and declared by the then Pope, and received by the Gallican Church in the days of Archbishop Wake, he would have turned with righteous indignation and disgust from every proposal of reunion with the Gallican Church, until she had purged herself from all complicity in such an impious transaction, by publicly and openly condemning and renouncing before God and man such a blasphemously childish, and childishly blasphemous, dogma.

Further, let the Bishop of Salisbury not refuse to weigh well the appeal which his Agricultural Correspondent has made to our Nineteenth Article, bearing in mind that, since the original publication of

that Article, the disgusting dogma, of which we have just spoken, has been published, under the solemn sanction of the Pope, the pretended infallible vicegerent of the Most High on the earth. Can any fair and candid person, who knows how our Reformers were accustomed to speak of the Romish heresy, and how they felt and acted towards the Lutheran and Scottish Churches, hesitate to decide who is the true and more consistent member of the Reformed Protestant Church of England *so far as their interpretation of the Nineteenth Article is concerned*, the Prelate or his Agricultural Correspondent. The Article tells us that "the visible Church of Christ is a congregation of faithful men, in the which the pure Word of God is preached, and the Sacraments be duly ministered according to Christ's ordinance, in all things that of necessity are requisite to the same."

May not the faithful Agriculturist say to his Bishop—Do they preach THE PURE WORD OF GOD, who preach that Church traditions are of equally Divine authority with the Canonical Scriptures? that the Pope is God's infallible vicegerent upon earth? that there is no salvation out of the pale of the Papacy? that the Protestantism which professes to fear God (the Triune Jehovah) and honour the king, in obedience to the Word of God, is a damnable heresy? and that Mary, having been assumed (or taken up) into heaven, is the mother and abundant bestower of Divine grace upon her worshippers?

And with regard to the administration of the Lord's Supper, the Agriculturist may ask—Did not the Lord say, when giving the cup to His disciples, "Drink ye *all* of it" (Matt. xxvi. 27; see also Mark xiv. 23). Is it not necessary, if we would reverently follow Christ's ordinance, to give the cup alike to all communicants, both lay and clerical? We might also ask—Have we the remotest reason for believing that Cyprian, Ambrose, or Athanasius, the Basils or Chrysostoms, Leo the Great, or Gregory the Great, ever favoured that thoroughly anti-scriptural mutilation of the Holy Supper, which is now established in the Romish apostasy? Was, then, the French Romanist correct in asserting that the Church of England touched (favourably) the Protestant bodies with one hand, and the so-called Roman Catholic Church with the other?

In conclusion, permit me to say (though you may, perhaps, not agree with me here) that I find it very difficult to resist the thought that, from long familiarity with Tractarian, Romanizing, and Romish writings, the Bishop of Salisbury may possibly have come at length to regard as innocent, if not as praiseworthy, some things which the Protestant clergyman, to whom his reply is addressed, would look upon as dangerously approximating to unscriptural doctrinal or actual corruption. And that thus, in order to promote that union for which he thinks Christ prayed, he is prepared and intends, so far as may be in his power, to bring into the Anglican Church what they conscientiously believe too nearly resemble corruptions which ought to be condemned and rejected by the faithful members of our Anglican Church.—Yours faithfully,

B. G.

THE COMING OF THE LORD.

To the Editor of the Christian Observer.

DEAR SIR,—The Holy Spirit, in many parts of Scripture, directs our minds to “the Coming of the Lord.” This momentous matter too seldom occupies man’s thoughts. The fact that He will come is not adequately *realized*, and is not borne in mind.

When the Lord ascended in the presence and sight of His disciples, who looked steadfastly upwards, their eyes following their ascending Lord, there were present angels who declared, “This same Jesus, which is taken up from you into Heaven, shall *so* come *in like manner* as ye have seen him go into Heaven.” His coming again is *certain*.

Let us endeavour to *realize* the coming of the Lord to the earth, bearing in mind that every *eye*, the eyes of *each* of us, shall see Him at His coming, and that every ear shall hear that voice which calls the dead to rise and come to judgment.

Doubtless mankind will, at the time of the coming of the Lord, be engaged generally in their ordinary occupations—buying and selling, eating and drinking, marrying and giving in marriage—little thinking that the last moment of every such occupation has come. Then the shout and the voice of the Archangel and the trump of God shall be heard, and every thought shall be absorbed in the awful events of the day. It may be that the shout, and the Archangel’s voice, and the sound of the trump will precede the voice which calls the dead to judgment, and that none of those now on the earth shall hear these preliminary sounds; yet all will be equally interested in the great events. And to man in the present day there comes at unawares, and as a thief in the night, the great personal event, death, which joins him closely to the final coming of the Lord. Some accidental (so called) occurrence, some apparently trifling illness, brings death; and often puts an end, before death, to the exercise of the intellectual and moral powers. Our standing on the right hand or the left is by that time fixed, and the intervening space between that and the final coming of the Lord may, for the present, be thrown out of view.

Having at that day come in the clouds with power and great glory, and all the holy angels with Him, “Then shall the Lord sit upon the throne of his glory, and before him shall be gathered all nations; and he shall separate them one from another, as a shepherd divideth his sheep from the goats: and he shall set the sheep on his right hand, but the goats on the left hand. Then shall the king say to them on his right hand, ‘Come ye blessed of my father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world.’ . . . Then shall he say also unto them on the left hand, ‘Depart from me, ye cursed, into everlasting fire, prepared for the devil and his angels.’”

Each of us shall be present at this assembly of the race of man, each to enter on eternal life, or on everlasting woe.

Let us turn our thoughts to the state of the children of God—the brethren of the Lord—on this great event taking place. Received into their Father’s house, clothed with bodies like to the glorious body of their Lord, seeing Him as He is, and being made like to Him,

walking in the light of His countenance, enjoying extatic communication with Him, occupied probably in service which He prescribes, their happiness will be complete, and their cup of joy ever overflowing. But what will be the state of those who forget God?

The consideration of the "Coming of the Lord," as involving these things, is frequently brought before our minds by the Holy Spirit, as urging to *strenuous exertion* in the Christian course, and to *restraint* from all evil, and to *watchfulness*, and for *support* and *rejoicing*. The Apostle Paul urges to set the affections on things above, adding, "When Christ, who is our life, shall appear, then shall ye also appear with Him in glory;" and then exhorts, "*Mortify therefore your members which are upon the earth.*" The Apostle John exhorts us to abide in Christ, "that when he shall *appear*, we may have confidence, and *not be ashamed before him at his coming.*" We are exhorted to watch, because we know not the day, neither the hour, *when the Son of Man cometh*. The Apostle Peter tells us that "the day of the Lord shall come *as a thief in the night*," and exhorts to holy conversation and godliness, and to the "looking for and hastening to the coming of the day of the Lord." The Apostle James exhorts to patience "*unto the coming of the Lord*," and urges that the heart be established, because "the coming of the Lord draweth nigh." Many other similar passages occur in that word of God, which is given for our salvation.

The remembrance and the contemplation of the coming of the Lord is, then, a means appointed by God, and is by Him endowed with efficacy for the spiritual life of the sons of God.

Are there any who think this a needless aid, a thing without which spiritual life will in them flourish? If any so think, they judge that God has provided and enforced a means of life and progress which for them is not required.

In all seriousness, and as a matter of life and death, let us ask, Are we bearing in mind the "coming of the Lord"? Or are we acting like the servant who sayeth, "My Lord delayeth his coming;" or like the infidel who says, "Where is the promise of his coming?"

R. E.

MR. SPURGEON AND INFANT BAPTISM.

To the Editor of the Christian Observer.

SIR,—You will perhaps scarcely condescend to allow so much as half a page of your valuable Journal to be occupied with even a brief notice of a recent public display of petty malice against the National Church.

It has been asserted, and not contradicted, that a certain popular* Anabaptist teacher was a short time ago pleased to sneer at that part of our Lord's-day Morning worship in which the Ten Commandments are read aloud, and after each the people repeat the short prayer, "Lord, have mercy upon us, and incline our hearts to keep this law." Yet what is this but pleading before the throne of grace the blood and

* We should be deeply grieved if, by the use of this designation, in its present connexion, we give offence to any pious Baptists who admire and love such Baptist ministers as the Rev.

Octavius Winslow, and the Rev. Baptist Noel, who adorn their own denomination, and are shining lights in the Christian Church.

grace of the Gospel Covenant; to plead the blood of Jesus for the pardon of past sins, and the promise of the Spirit of Jesus to help us against their future commission? I can sincerely testify to having found it to be a very profitable and consolatory portion of our Lord's-day Morning devotions.

The same party would probably sneer at pious mothers, members of the Church of England, who think it a pleasure, privilege, and duty to teach their little children to pronounce before the throne of grace the words of Him who is seated thereon at the Father's right hand, and who, when on earth, took up little children in His arms, apparently against the judgment of His disciples, and blessed them. The words here spoken of begin as follows, "Our Father, which art in Heaven." The teacher in question would have us believe that little children, though not too young to be taken up in Christ's arms and receive Christ's blessing, are too young to be admitted by baptism into Christ's visible Church.

To one great truth Infant Baptism bears a clearer testimony than does the Baptism of Adults. In the latter, the adult acknowledges himself to have been a sinner; in the Baptism of Infants the Church confesses that every descendant of Adam brings with it into the world a sinful and corrupt nature, in consequence of Adam's fall.

We shall rejoice to hear that this teacher has been delivered from the evil spirit of childish virulence against the Church of England, and that he is seated at the feet of Jesus, clothed and in his right mind, a faithful and useful Baptist minister in the vineyard of our common Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ.—I am, &c.

PRESBYTER ANGLICANUS.

ORIGINAL SIN.

To the Editor of the Christian Observer.

Sir,—In my letter on "Original Sin," which appeared in the February number of the *Christian Observer*, I remarked,—

"Of course this argument will have force with those only who believe that Adam was justified and saved."

On further consideration, I am convinced that the argument is perfect without this limitation. It will, I think, be universally admitted, that no presumed doctrine of Scripture can be received as an article of faith, unless it rests upon a fact which admits of satisfactory proof.

Now, it cannot be proved either (1) that Adam was not justified, and therefore perished in his sins; or (2) that whereas Adam was a representative man when he sinned, he had ceased to be a representative man when he was justified from his sin.

Hence it appears that the doctrine of imputed sin rests not on a fact which is incontestable, but on a hypothesis which may or may not be true, but the contrary of which has been the creed of the great majority of Christians in every age of the Church:

The inevitable conclusion is, that the doctrine has no claim to be received as an article of faith.—I am, &c.,

JNO. EDMOND. CARR.

The Outwoods, near Derby; March 2nd, 1865.

NOTICES OF NEW BOOKS.

The Autumn Holidays of a Country Parson. By the Author of "The Recreations of a Country Parson." London: Longman, Green, Longman, & Co.—Clever, interesting, and amusing, these essays cannot fail to meet with a wide circulation among all classes; written so simply that a child might read them, and yet with such a depth of thought and insight into human nature, that wise men cannot fail to learn something from them, if read with a calm and unprejudiced mind.

From the commonest events of daily life—the walk by the sea-side, the pruning a tree, or mounting the hill-side—the "Country Parson" has drawn deep lessons of God's providence and love, and also of sincere charity towards his fellow men. Clearly and faithfully has the author endeavoured to show us the natural failings and weaknesses of the human mind; how prone we all are to "think more highly of ourselves than we ought to think." Who can read the following extract without feeling the force and truthfulness of the description?—

"There is one shoot which human nature keeps putting forth again, however frequently it is pruned away. It is self-conceit. *That* would grow into a terrible unwieldy branch, if it were not so often shred away by circumstances: that is, by God's providence. Everybody needs to be frequently taken down: which means, to have his self-conceit pruned away. And what everybody needs, most people (in this case) get. Most people are very frequently taken down. I mean, even modest and sensible people. This wretched little shoot keeps growing again, however hard we try to keep it down. There is a tendency in each of us to be growing up into a higher opinion of ourself; and then, all of a sudden, that higher estimate is cut down to the very earth. You are like a sheep suddenly shorn. A thick fleece of self-complacency had developed itself; something comes, and all at once shears it off, and leaves you shivering in the frosty air. You are like a lawn, where the grass had grown some inches in length, till some dewy morning it is mown down just as close as may be. You had gradually and insensibly come to think rather well of yourself, and your doings. You had grown to think your position in life a rather respectable, or even eminent one; and to fancy that those around estimated you rather highly. But, all of a sudden, some slight, some mortification, some disappointment comes; something is said or done that shows you how far you had been deceiving yourself. Some considerable place in your profession becomes vacant, and nobody thinks of naming you for it. You are in company with two or three men who think themselves specially charged with finding a suitable person for the vacant office; they name a score of possible candidates to fill it, but not you. They never have thought of you; or possibly they refrain from naming you, with the design of mortifying you. And so you are pruned close. For the moment, it is painful. You are ready to sink down disheartened and beaten. You have no energy to do anything. You sit down blankly by the fire, and acknowledge yourself a failure in life. It is not so much that you are beaten, as that you are set in a lower place than you hoped. Yet it is all good for us, doubtless. Few men can say they are too humble with it all. And, as even after all our mowings, prunings, and shearings, we are sometimes so conceited and self-satisfied as we are, what should we have been had those things not befallen us? The elf-locks of wool would have been feet in length. The grass would have been six feet high, like that of the prairies. And the shoot of vanity would have grown and consolidated into a branch, that would have given a lop-sided aspect to the whole tree.

"Happily, there is no chance of these things occurring. We seldom grow

for more than a few days without being pruned, mowed, and shorn afresh. And all this will continue to the end. It is not pleasant, but we need it all. And we are all profiting by it. Possibly no one will read this page, who does not know that he thinks more humbly of himself now than he did ten years since. And ten years hence, if we live, we shall think of ourselves more humbly still."

We have no doubt but these essays will prove useful to many who read them. If by them we are enabled to see ourselves in a truer light, and to endeavour to cut off the shoots of self-conceit and vanity; if we are enabled to think more charitably and kindly of our neighbours, then this work will not have been written in vain. But we cannot help thinking that it would have quite as much influence, if not *more*, had the language been more choice, and the sentences more refined.* There is somewhat of affectation when a man of intellect and cultivation takes pains to use the commonest and most ordinary words in the English language to express his meaning. Our language is rich and varied, and capable of expressing every thought in the fittest manner, and we see no merit in adopting the ordinary parlance of school-boys or working men.

It is true that the sensational literature of the present day has brought a most exaggerated and foolish style of speaking and writing into fashion (a fashion which we hope will go out as rapidly as it came in); but there is equal danger, on the other hand, of leaving our language bare and unadorned, from the fear of exaggeration, or too great use of the superlative. We hope, however, that both dangers will be avoided, and that among our orators and authors the English tongue will still retain the purity and beauty for which it has been so long remarkable.

The early Scottish Church—The Ecclesiastical History of Scotland from the First to the Twelfth Century. By the Rev. Thomas M'Lauchlan, M.A., F.S.A.S., Edinburgh. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 38, George Street. London: Hamilton, Adams, and Co. Dublin: John Robertson and Co. 1865.—The fiction that ascribes the conversion of England to the monk Augustine, in the days of Gregory the Great, is effectually disposed of in this volume. Indeed, we are surprised at the amount and variety of the testimonies which Mr. M'Lauchlan has brought to bear upon the subject, proving that from a very early, perhaps apostolic date, Christianity, under a simple yet pure form, existed in the islands of the north, and thence made its way southward, until a great part, if not the whole, of England had received the Gospel. To these primitive Christians Augustine came as an aggressor, bringing everywhere divisions, superstition, monkery; and the celibacy of the clergy in their train.

We could have wished for his own sake, that the author of this volume had been less anxious to impress upon us the Scriptural claims of a Presbyterian Church, and the unlawfulness of prelatic government. These things have very little interest for us in England. We have no love for Presbyterianism, and never had. We remember how thoroughly it was "whipped," as our American friends would say, when it set up its proud pretensions in the Westminster Assembly, both by the House of Commons and the Independents. And as to prelacy, it suits us—we like it, and we see in Scripture nothing to

* See Essay "Concerning Old Enemies." (p. 211.)

forbid it. On the whole it works well; and while this is the case, all the arguments that come to us in rich abundance from the North will fall unheeded. But we often wonder that writers who are so anxious for the success of their works in England should take so much pains to make them unpalatable to Englishmen.

PUBLIC AFFAIRS.

THE absorbing topic while we write is the sudden, and, as it would appear, the final, overthrow of the Confederates. After several battles, monotonous as usual both in their dreadful slaughter and apparently in their want of results, the Confederates fell back, pursued by the Federals. President Davis was informed by Lee that the defence of Richmond was hopeless; his troops had been overpowered by numbers, and he had no means of recruiting them. In consequence, Richmond was evacuated, a great part of the city was fired, and multitudes of the inhabitants—all, indeed, but the rabble and a few blacks—left the burning wreck, in which their fortunes perished, rather than submit to a Federal conqueror. The next day General Grant discovered that the long-coveted prize was within his reach; and when he marched into it, he found Richmond little more than a second Moscow. Pressing on, however, the Federal armies overtook Lee still retreating, and placed him in a condition in which he was compelled to fight; but his army was now disheartened, and he fought against a greatly superior force. He lost a battle, and Grant was now in a condition to demand the surrender of his army. General Lee, anxious, he said, to avoid the useless effusion of blood, surrendered upon honourable terms, and, on the 9th inst., the army was surrendered—"the officers on their parole not to take up arms against the Government until exchanged; each regimental commander to sign a like parole for the men. Each officer was allowed to retain his side-arms, private horses, and luggage; and both officers and men were allowed to return home, under a promise not to be disturbed so long as they observed their parole." In the south, Mobile is invested, and must soon give way, however severe the loss of the Federals may be; and, besides two monitors, blown up by torpedoes, they have already lost 800 men. Thus, at the end of four years of civil war, and of slaughter such as no European war affords an instance of within the same length of time, the first act closes; for it is scarcely possible that the Confederates should raise fresh armies, or meet the Federals again with any chance of success in the field. Their last hope was in arming the negroes, and giving liberty to them and their families in return; but, whether from selfishness or pride, they declined what no doubt seemed a desperate measure, and one which really may have been so. And thus slavery, in one way or other, is still their difficulty—it bears them into the dust, and will do so as long as it exists.

Four years ago, it was believed in England that the South would be subdued within the first campaign; it is, therefore, no surprise to us that it has been vanquished at last. We then thought that the real difficulties of the North would begin with the second act. (It seemed

impossible either that the Federals should occupy a territory nearly as large as Continental Europe, or that the South should ever be induced to return into the Union. But we have seen much since then which leads us to mistrust our own judgment on either of these questions. Both sides seem to have a facility in accepting the most extravagant conclusions; both sides appear at once so inveterate and so fickle, that we are prepared either for the abject submission of the South, or for a sullen, murderous guerilla warfare, which may last for years—a warfare which peoples every hedge with riflemen, and converts every window into an embrasure, when an enemy is in sight. To us in England the final settlement of the question of one united or of two friendly republics seems to be of but secondary importance. We are still of opinion that it would be happier for both parties that they should separate. They would certainly be more powerful. But it is their own affair; and all that England longs for is to see an end to the most bitter, the most vindictive, and the most bloody civil war that ever raged.

In Parliament, an approaching dissolution casts its shadows before it. Everything is said and done with an evident view to the hustings. The project, so dear to Convocation, and to many laymen who frequent our congresses, of an increase of bishoprics, has been brought before the House of Commons. It received from Sir George Grey an answer worthy of a statesman; and if Congresses are wise, and Convocations prudent, they will be silent upon this subject for some time to come. He said that it was impossible to treat the diocese of Exeter as an exceptional case (for the demand at present is only for an additional bishopric for Cornwall). There were six other dioceses with larger populations than Exeter; and if anything were done, their claims too must be considered. The question was felt by the Government to be a very large one; and they did not think that at present there was any such necessity, for a general revision of the boundaries of dioceses, as demanded the immediate attention of Parliament. Sir George Grey repeated the remark, which has long since appeared in our own pages, that, considering the present greatly increased facilities of communication by railway and by post, and looking at the actual state of things, he saw no sufficient ground for entertaining the general question of a readjustment of the boundaries of the dioceses of England. It is what we have often said, and we repeat, that to charge us with any dislike to Episcopacy on this ground, is just as reasonable as to charge us with a secret dislike of royalty, because we refuse to advocate a return to the heptarchy, when England rejoiced in seven kings instead of one.

But, in conclusion, Sir George Grey reminded the member for Bodmin that the good people of Cornwall have not yet pledged themselves to raise a sum sufficient for the endowment of a single bishopric without assistance; and that, if four or five new bishoprics were created, a sum of from £20,000 to £30,000 a year would have to be deducted from funds which were now being applied most usefully for the benefit of the Church and the spiritual welfare of the people—such as the augmentation of the smaller livings, and the employment of additional clergy in populous districts. He did not think it would be expedient to divert existing funds for these purposes. Expedient!—it would be insanity! Already the Ecclesiastical Commissioners have dis-

covered that they have it in their power, by a rigid economy in other matters, to raise all livings under £300 a year, having a population of 8,000, to that sum as their minimum; and, in four or five years from the present time, the clergy are promised that all benefices, whatever their population may be, shall be raised to at least £300 a year. Imagine the courage, or rather, we must say, the folly, of that minister who would dash these hopes to the ground, and devote £30,000 a year to the endowment of new bishoprics.

As our number comes out, the clergy and pious laity of our Church will have assembled in London for our May Meetings. We can only pray that great grace may be upon them all; that the speakers may have the spirit of power, and love, and of a sound mind; and that the hearers may listen with a much higher purpose than that of gratifying curiosity, or feeding an appetite for excitement. A great blessing seems to have rested upon all the societies. May it rest in an equal measure on those who support them with their almsgiving, their countenance, and their prayers.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

AN esteemed correspondent, whose name we have, strongly censures an expression which occurs in our last number, page 269, where the writer, speaking of Jerusalem, calls it "the place where God himself died for the sin of man." We grant that the expression may be unguarded, and that, in a controversial treatise an unfair advantage might be taken of it by an infidel or a Socinian. Still we must never forget that Christ was "perfect God" as well as "perfect man;" and that His atonement was a divine sacrifice for sin; "For God was in Christ reconciling the world unto himself." We are in much greater danger at present of being led to deny the indwelling of the Godhead in Christ while He hung upon the cross and breathed out His soul even unto death, than of falling into false ideas of the possible mortality of the essential Godhead. Nor do we gain much in controversy by altering the terms and saying that Christ died for us; while in the same breath we maintain that Christ was God—"Immanuel, God with us." It is better humbly to receive this blessed truth, in which consists that mystery of the cross which excites the wonder of angels, than to speculate upon it. The meaning of the esteemed writer of the article is clear, and we may add, that his character is and has long been far too high to allow a doubt to be entertained as to the soundness of his theology. A similar expression occurs in a fragment of poetry, of which it is enough to say that it comes from the pen of a clergyman who fills a post of no little importance in one of the largest parishes in London. Still, the expression ought to be avoided.

AN OLD FRIEND thinks we should not have made the extracts from the two notorious novels of the day, which are so bad that he fears to put the Christian Observer on his drawing-room table. We cannot plead inadvertence here. General censure is not sufficient; curiosity is awake; and the brief sketches we have given of these tales—for we gave no extracts—appeared to us more likely to excite loathing and disgust than to bring a shade of impurity over the mind of any reader; and we have found this to be the case in our own circles.

A third correspondent finds fault with a paragraph which has reference to Bishop Bagot, in our review of Dr. Newman's *Apologia*, &c. He thinks that the paragraph reflects upon the bishop's private character as impeachable. It conveyed no such impression to our own mind; we merely inferred from it, what was perfectly well understood at the time, that if he had not been a Bagot, he would never have been a bishop; and that his previous studies and pursuits had not been such as to qualify him for the office. ogle

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WILBERFORCE AND HIS CONTEMPORARIES:
HENRY THORNTON. (PART II.)

In noticing the private life of Henry Thornton, we cannot omit the influence which Wilberforce exercised over his character. The acquaintance which had sprung up between them under John Thornton's roof had produced on the discerning mind of the younger man a strong impression. He saw that Wilberforce was in his religious convictions thoroughly sincere; that his conduct was directed by his convictions, and that his character grew with a rapid progress to a higher and purer elevation. These signs greatly struck this honest and watchful observer. Suspicious himself of professions, and bringing principles to the test of actions, he saw that in this case religion was a reality and a moral power. "When I entered life," he says, "I saw a great deal of dishonourable conduct among people who made great professions of religion. In my father's house I met with persons of this sort. This so disgusted me, that, had it not been for the admirable pattern of consistency and disinterestedness which I saw in Mr. Wilberforce, I should have been in danger of a sort of infidelity."

Entering Parliament soon after this time, plunged into the engagements of a large borough, immersed in City business, Henry Thornton had little time for idle leisure. But when he noticed Wilberforce's habits, his resolution, in spite of weak health and indifferent eyesight, to consecrate a fixed portion of each day to religious thought; to do his public work well and manfully, but, whatever was his work, to reserve an unbroken morning hour for religion, and an inviolate Sabbath, he was greatly impressed. He saw also—for Wilberforce was careful to introduce him to his friends—men engaged in active business, yet in the midst of their engagements finding time for

calm reflection : this confirmed the impression. "I owed much to Wilberforce," he says, "in every sense, soon after I came out in life, for his enlarged mind, his affectionate and condescending manners, and his very superior piety, were exactly calculated to supply what was wanting to my improvement and my establishment in a right course. It is chiefly through him that I have been introduced to a variety of other most valuable associates." (Life i. 374.) Wilberforce used to carry him to attend his favourite preachers in London, Newton and Scott, between whom and Henry Thornton a pleasant intercourse arose.

On his father's death, in 1792, Henry Thornton had to seek a home, and he persuaded Wilberforce to share it with him. He purchased Mr. Lubbock's house and grounds at Battersea Rise, to which an extensive demesne was attached. Reserving for himself one house, which he enlarged, he built two other houses on his demesne, one of which, the nearest, he let to Mr. Grant; the other, separated by shrubberies that melted into each other, became, under the name of Broomfield, the residence, first of Pitt's brother-in-law, Eliot; in later days, of Wilberforce. In this villa Pitt used to spend some of his brief holidays, and in his intercourse with the two friends he planned the Thornton Library, which has received so many pleasant groups of genial friends. Here, after his brief estrangement from Wilberforce, Pitt met him once more, through Eliot's friendly artifice, and resumed the close intercourse which was only interrupted by death. In this centre villa the two friends led a bachelor life, and spent all the leisure they could snatch—the one, from his house in Palace Yard, and its whirl of multifarious guests; Henry Thornton, from King's Arms Yard, in the heart of the City, where he passed his working days. Here they took counsel with Eliot and Grant on questions of philanthropy or politics; on the infant colony of Sierra Leone (see Life i. 122); on the resolution passed in the House of Commons on India in 1793; on the varying fortunes of the Anti-Slavery warfare; who could speak, who could write, who could arrange and organize petitions. Some milder interests occupied their minds. In 1789, when both the friends, then in delicate health, resorted to the Bath waters, a visit made by Wilberforce to Cowslip Green, where Hannah More "had shut herself up in the country, to devote her talents," writes Wilberforce, "to the instruction of a set of wretched people, sunk in heathen darkness," led to an enterprise of benevolence which long engaged both the friends. At this time Wilberforce visited the sisters in their cottage, and being sent by them to inspect the Cliffs of Cheddar, his compassionate heart was touched by the savage degradation of that neglected people. He engaged, if Hannah More would undertake the trouble of

reclaiming them, that he would bear the cost; and any calls for money he would readily meet, "for," he writes, "I have a rich banker in London, Mr. H. Thornton, whom I cannot oblige so much as by drawing on him for purposes like these." In 1791, when the two friends were again at Bath, Henry Thornton accompanied Wilberforce to Cowslip Green, and thus began that intimate friendship between Hannah More and Henry Thornton which lasted through their lives, and grew closer after Thornton's marriage, when other ties arose to cement it. In 1794 Hannah More visited the two friends at Battersea Rise. She writes to her sister of the care taken of her "by the two masters," the carriages placed at her disposal, the hospitality, society, and pleasant converse. By this time she had learned to value her new friend. Wilberforce, indeed, had early told her what sort of person he was. In 1789 he had written of him "as a most excellent, upright, pure, and generous young man." He had chosen him as his "pleasant companion," when he settled in a villa near Bath, and had dwelt on the rational and agreeable life which they led together, retirement mixed with study, greatly relished "after the bustle to which they had been so long condemned." But Hannah More soon learned for herself what sort of man Henry Thornton was. She had found his purse open to her in all her difficulties; and, better than his purse, his counsels. Trials had fallen on her and her sister in their benevolent labours: threats of prosecution, calumnious charges, raised by obstinate prejudice and envenomed jealousy; the rancorous bitterness of the rich proving more odious than the boorish apathy of the poor. So, when these things came upon her, she poured forth her story to her thoughtful friend. And no matter how busy the story found him—busy at his bank, in parliament, on committees, busy with his colony, helping Wilberforce on abolition (1793), or assisting him to make up his mind on the question of peace with France (1794)—he was never too busy to send advice to her. Take a specimen, written some years after, in 1798, but applicable to previous years:—"Your sister Patty has seldom been more entirely out in her judgment than when she said you would tire us with your school stories. After pondering over the wars in Ireland and Egypt, it is a relief to turn ones eyes to Cheddar and to Wedmore, and to hear of the conflicts you are sustaining with the Arabs of your region." No matter what the subject, he is ready. She is publishing a series of Tracts, half political, half religious: he reviews, retouches, and prints them. He writes some himself. "While we are taking down a dull evidence," he writes from the Finance Committee, "I seize a few minutes to write to you on the subject of Tracts. I have to tell you that I thought it right to prepare a Tract to be included in the

printed volume." Again: "I have some thoughts of writing the second part of the Communion Tract, another of prayers for families, and one for Christmas-day." (MS. Letter, 1797-8.)

Wilberforce is preparing his book; Henry Thornton must revise it. Bachelors in these days they were; but such a life of toil. Take as a specimen what he did in the construction of his African colony. The colony had been engaging his thoughts and time with unwearied labour. He writes to Mr. Babington, Nov. 16, 1791:—"The colony works me from morning till night; the importance of the thing strikes me, and fills my mind so much that at present business, politics, friendship seem all suspended for the sake of it." "Henry Thornton has been at it," writes Wilberforce, "the whole day for some months." Thornton writes to Babington that he hopes to escape from London as soon as the ship, freighted with colonists, has sailed. But that was only to be a change of work. For he was to engage "in preparing, in a retreat from this bustle, the laws and constitution of Sierra Leone." He draws up elaborate instructions, which he sends to Mr. Babington, for the direction of Zachary Macaulay, who was about to sail as second in command; and in his letter he refers to one of fifteen sheets which he had written and sent off to Mr. Clarkson.

These solitary labours are interspersed with others in which he must summon the Directors to his help. How severe these labours were, Mr. Wilberforce's journal shows:—

"Oct. 13th. At Sierra Leone business till four o'clock, and again till past eleven at night. 14th. Sierra Leone business. 17th. Grant dined with us at H. Thornton's, and we discussed Sierra Leone. 18th. Meeting of Directors at H. Thornton's; dined there together, and at evening till late. 19th. Public meeting of directors at King's Head. 20th. Directors at H. Thornton's all morning." From this strain Wilberforce, worn at last, fled to the rural retreat of Yoxall Lodge. There he enjoyed some weeks of delightful rest. Not so his unwearied friend: no rest for him. At length he and Grant start for Gisborne's house. "At night Henry Thornton and Grant came in suddenly." They lay the case before their friends, and their voice is that they must all return to town. So back to the oar, and they ply it hard for a fortnight. "A fortnight at Henry Thornton's, in King's Arms Yard." Leisure seems unknown to them. They may be living at Battersea Rise; but the one friend is all day in the City, and Wilberforce in his study or at his books. "Dec. 26, 1794. Much political talk with Grant and Henry Thornton, making up my mind." 27th. Much again in political talk. "29th. To town, dined Palace Yard." Again a cabinet of friends on the question, should Wilberforce go to Yorkshire? "July, 1795. Grant and

Henry Thornton at breakfast, when we discussed what we ought to do." On the return from Yorkshire, the intercourse with Pitt is renewed, his line of policy explained to Wilberforce; on this he hastens for advice to Henry Thornton. Are the difficulties of the Empire over? Other difficulties begin. The case of Mr. Venn. Still the same pair of friends. Consultation and counsel. (*Life* ii. 136.) 1796. A cloud of political questions arises; the case of Lafayette; the prospects of the war. East India missions: still the eager philanthropist turns to his thoughtful friend. "Amended the motion, strengthened by Henry Thornton's advice and concurrence." "Consultation on East India missions: discussing all evening." "Politics: Battersea Rise all day." "Talking politics with Henry Thornton." Are Church of England missions desirable? Should there be a new Society to undertake them? The idea is started in 1797, is matured in 1800. Simeon and Venn and others must be consulted; but always Henry Thornton. (1797.) "To town, and back to dine at Henry Thornton's, where Simeon and Grant, to talk over Mission scheme." (*Life* ii. 225.) Yet, in all this hurricane of work which the busy mind of Wilberforce stirs up round him, his patient friend toils on undisturbed in the circle of his own peculiar calling. He writes to Macaulay in his African exile, to help, to guide, to cheer him; he assists him when overwhelmed by disaster; he replaces with infinite pains what war and havoc have destroyed; he sends out fresh supplies of money, provisions, and men; he receives him when driven back sick; he encourages him to resume his work; he sends him to inspect English schools as models for schools on African soil; he confers with Eliot and Grant and Wilberforce, "dining early at three, that they might give a long evening to Sierra Leone."

At length on this busy life comes a welcome change—a streak of sunlight breaks to gild the dusky horizon. In one of the rare intervals of that bachelor leisure, when he was seeking health on the muirs of Buxton, a vision had crossed the path of the toiling man. He had put it from him, and had come back solitary to London. But now it met him once more. A dream hardly dwelt upon formerly, but dismissed as a passing fancy, was now to turn itself into a reality, and become his comfort and stay. But to explain this we leave St. Stephen's and the banking-house, and repair to the North, away from the sunny slopes of Clapham to the blustering shores of the Humber.

Nine miles from Hull there lived, during the last century, a merchant of note, Mr. Sykes. He was in the trade which engaged John Thornton, the Baltic trade; and in the same branch was another shrewd and successful merchant, William Wilberforce, grandfather of the philanthropist. When the old Wilberforce died, Mr. and Mrs. Sykes, who were friends of his widowed mother,

became the friends and helpers of the fatherless boy. Mr. Sykes watched over his mercantile interests with a wary vigilance, and threw open to him the circle of his hospitable house. In that circle Wilberforce found but one daughter; but Mr. Sykes had five boys, who became henceforth companions of the solitary boy. With them he went to school, and in their society he often spent pleasant holidays under the roof of the affluent merchant in his villa at West Ella. The lads, with whom the boy thus grew up, were clever. One of them in after life showed rare powers—member for Beverley and for Hull, disciple of Fox, friend of Brougham; he joined with the latter in several of the enterprises which engaged that energetic mind.

The daughter of the house was even more fitted than the sons to influence her associates. Her character was formed for influence: thoughtful, reflective, inquiring, loving; with a spirit of eager curiosity, but with lively affections. She took delight in information. With her brother Daniel she discussed politics and metaphysics, and handled these intelligently, but rather because these subjects interested others, and what interested those she loved was interesting to her. Hers was one of those genial natures which receive from others, and render back to them, strong impressions. She had been brought up at home, by a father who was not only an active merchant, but a classical scholar, and by a mother who united many accomplishments with literary tastes. Under such training, in a house the resort of cultivated society, the young mind developed; and when, at the age of twelve, she was sent to visit Miss Seward at Lichfield (a minor star, who had kept up in that town its literary reputation), she was able to appreciate, and detail to her mother, the conversation of Dr. Darwin, and the ideas of the clever circle which surrounded him. This, however, was not the only circle into which, in her youth, she was thrown. From Miss Seward's brilliant but somewhat eccentric society, she often passed into a less stimulating but more healthy atmosphere. She was a guest under Gisborne's kindly roof, and was introduced there to the delightful society which Wilberforce and Babington brought with them. Thence she passed to the easy circle of Rothley Temple, where, repairing as a guest, she soon became a valued friend, and her departure was mourned by every one, from the studious host down to the child whose affections she had gained and the nurse whose jealousy she had disarmed. "Do not think," writes Mrs. Babington to her on her departure, "that I mean to flatter when I say that very few people have left this house since I came into it whose absence has occasioned so great a chasm as yours." These events occurred in 1792, but two years before there crossed her path an incident which was to exercise a lasting influence on her life.

The resorts to which in these days, when German waters were unknown or inaccessible, English doctors used to send their patients, were Bath and Buxton. To Bath, Horace Walpole, Pitt, Burke, Wilberforce, frequently resorted. Buxton had its share of favour. Dr. Hey, then a medical man of repute at Leeds, the warm friend and admirer of Wilberforce, urged him, in 1789, to repair his shattered strength by a visit to the Buxton waters. There accordingly Wilberforce went, and his friend Henry Thornton accompanied him. Under the same advice they returned in the following summer, in July, 1790, as soon as they could escape from the Parliamentary business of London. Arrived at Buxton, they met with Dr. Hey, and entered with their usual ardour into some of his schemes of Yorkshire philanthropy. About the same time, sent on the like errand of health, arrived Mr. Daniel Sykes and his sister, from Hull. With Wilberforce they had been long united; they were among his earliest friends; they had long regarded and treated him as a brother. Under such circumstances, Henry Thornton naturally passed into a rapid intimacy with these new acquaintances. The acquaintance thus formed led to important results—on the one side, to conversations which, among other themes, touching on religion, lastingly impressed the younger and more susceptible mind; on the other side, they produced an attachment which, then begun and afterwards renewed, led finally, in the spring of 1796, to a marriage which satisfied the wishes and removed the anxieties of the thankful father.

No doubt, like all human things, these prospects were darkened by trials, for the brightest sunshine draws after it from the earth clouds and showers. Feelings so acute, affections so strong, as those which the happy wife brought to her new home, were allied with a constitution of fragile mechanism. Frequent attacks marked the delicacy of chest, severe headaches crushed her with heavy blows. But these trials were, by her at least, not unlooked for; for she had felt them often, and she bore them bravely. But another trial came upon her, for which she was unprepared. Outwardly Henry Thornton appeared vigorous, but in truth his constitution was infirm from early life, almost as delicate as that of Wilberforce. A mind eminently active was enclosed in a body subject to almost constant disorders. This anxiety fell upon the wife from early married days. It hung over her like a black cloud, small at first, but it grew and spread till it darkened the horizon. To him, indeed, frequent sickness caused little annoyance. Writing to his friend Hannah More, he numbers among his mercies that his illnesses were neither painful nor disabling; and, now that he had found a congenial companion, his pains were lightened and his pleasures enhanced. After the trial of many years, he

expressed his views to a young friend who was about to choose a wife, and told him the qualities he should seek. "Piety and kindness, these are the qualities which contribute the true soft green of life."

No doubt his incessant labours needed the relief of a sympathy which could share them ; for his life was one of unintermitting toil. We have spoken of his parliamentary work, and in this his activity became every year greater as he was better known, till, in the later years of his life, there were few Committees on finance, or taxes, or public economy on which we do not find his name. When we add to these parliamentary labours the claims of his constituency, their local requirements, letters, memorials, private exigencies, and public deputations,—when we reckon up the weeks of work which his infant colony of Sierra Leone cost him,—we can see how he toiled. To these labours are to be added his occupations as a banker, for of the bank he was an active partner ; and his life was cast in a period of our commercial history the most critical which British trade has ever undergone. This business occupied his time and interrupted his few intervals of leisure. It brought him almost daily to the City, broke his holidays, and forced him to London from Bath, Brighton, or the Isle of Wight. It left him few and uncertain seasons either for research or reflection. No doubt, as his parliamentary work grew, this encroached somewhat on his banking efforts ; and the business of a banker, which demands constant supervision, suffered from this diversion of his time. But this was not leisure, but only a change of work, the substitution of one class of labour for another more absorbing. A glimpse of these will suffice. Take the years about 1810, years of hot political conflicts, and trace their effects on the life of a private member. Fierce debates on Burdett's letter, and his committal to the Tower ; eager struggles on Bankes's motion on Sinécures, in which the economists beat Percival's government ; renewed debates on the Catholic question, lighted up by Grattan's eccentric and exciting eloquence ; long deliberations in the Bullion Committee, in which Horner and Henry Thornton carried their motions against government by 11 to 4. In these engagements days and weeks slipped away, leaving no time for quiet leisure or pauses from toil, to enjoy his fragrant and sheltered garden at Battersea Rise. Meanwhile, thus engrossed by politics, he wields and employs his pen. When we turn to his literary efforts, we are greatly surprised. During his lifetime he published a work on Paper Credit, which was admitted to be of high authority ; and this work was only one of many. He wrote as much as most who have health and abundant leisure. He seized every fragment of time ; wrote after his days of canvassing in Southwark, or after his work at the bank, or while en-

gaged in the construction of his colony; in evenings when he was solitary in King's Arms Yard, or, when his family were absent, at Battersea Rise. He jotted down his thoughts in his carriage as he travelled, even on horseback as he rode; and the results of this industrious application are before us. Faithful to his memory, Sir Robert Inglis gave to the world an octavo volume of his Commentaries on the Old Testament and the New, written, indeed, for his family, and used in his domestic worship, but thoughtful, pointed, well worthy to be preserved. His volume of Prayers is known to most of our readers, and has passed through many editions. Another volume, published after his death, on three female characters, resembles, in its truthfulness and power of delineation, the writings of Hannah More; and this volume introduces us to a department of his literary labours which began early, and was continued to the last. He it was who joined in setting up this periodical, and did more, by his co-operation, to promote it, than any living man, except its editor. Bowdler contributed to it essays of greater length and deeper research; but when we consider that the published volume on female character represents seven articles in the *Christian Observer*, and that, in addition to these, Henry Thornton contributed during his life seventy-five others (making in all eighty-two), we shall form some idea how active was his mind and pen. Nor is the range of subjects chosen by him narrow, their handling commonplace or careless. They, indeed, all fall under two heads—the moral, and the political: sketches of public affairs, of the state of parties in the stormy times of 1803, 1806, 1810, and 1813; the difficult question of the Orders in Council is handled, and the Middlesex election; biographies of Pitt and of Fox, written with the thoughtfulness as well as the impartiality of history. Critiques on the *Edinburgh Review*, on various books, on the temper of religious parties, these are interspersed with advice as wise as Addison's, less playful but more sound. And all this work was done by a busy politician and banker, through the constant orderly application of time and thought. Never hurried, but never idle; never harassed, but never resting; moments caught up as well as hours; the workman ever working under a Father's gracious eye. His rest was to turn from one labour to a different one—to go from the bank to a council of benevolence—from a political discussion to a struggling colony or a school in difficulties. He lays down the pen of the financier to take up the pen of the philanthropist—to write long letters to a harassed governor—to settle differences among contending missionaries—to snatch an interval from a dull witness before a parliamentary committee, in order to write letters or compose tracts for Hannah More. The comforts he offers to her he took to himself. "If you

should sink in the midst of your work, it will be better than sinking, like Bonaparte, in the midst of the Egyptian sands, or in that Holy Land which he may have to traverse. My wife and I have lately observed, and agreed much in the observation, how much happier and better entitled to comfort are they who, towards the close of life, have to look back on scenes of activity, than they who have only been talking and feeling religiously all their days." This thought cheered him through life's labours. His health failed often. Two continuous nights of unbroken rest he rarely knew. Medical care he constantly needed. He had often attacks of severe illness, but these did not discompose him. He rose buoyant above them, and renewed his labours. Health drove him away from London to recruit his strength at Bath or Brighton, for to the hurry of a London life his constitution was quite unequal. But he never thought of remitting, hardly of relaxing, his labours. He realized the poet's dream :—

"Work, for it is a noble thing,
 With a worthy end in view,
 To tread the path that God ordains
 With steadfast hearts and true,
 That will not quail, whate'er betide,
 But bravely bear us through.

* * * *

"Work, and with cheerful, earnest hearts
 Fulfil the high behest,
 For in a busy world like ours
 There is no place of rest;
 And think not they who vainly dream
 Their lives away are blest."

To him, indeed, the home at Battersea Rise, to which he repaired from the noise of King's Arms Yard, or, in later days, from the political whirl of Palace Yard, when he had relieved Wilberforce of his house, was no place of frivolous leisure or listless ease. The sheltered garden behind, with its arbei trees and elms and Scotch firs, as it looked so still, with close-shaven lawn, looked gay on a May afternoon, when groups of young and old were seated under the shade of the trees or scattered over the grounds. Matrons of households were there, who had strolled in to enjoy a social hour, and their children busied themselves in sports with youthful glee, cheered, not checked, by the presence of the elders. For neighbourly hospitality and easy friendship were features of that family life. Presently, streaming from adjoining villas or crossing the common, appeared others who, like Henry Thornton, had spent an occupied day in town, and now resorted to this well-known garden to gather up their families and enjoy a pleasant hour. Hannah More is there, with sparkling talk; and the benevolent Patty, the delight

of young and old; and the long-faced, blue-eyed Scotchman, with his fixed, calm look, unchanging as an aloe tree, known as the Indian Director, one of the kings of Leadenhall Street; and the gentle Thane, whose pleasant talk flowed on, like a southern brook, with a sort of drowsy murmur; and Macaulay stands by listening, silent, with hanging eyebrows; and Babington, in blue coat, dropping weighty words with husky voice; and young listeners too, starting into life, who draw round the thoughtful host, and gather up his words, and feel them to be wise; the young Grants, and young Stephen, and Copley, a "very clever young lawyer." They handle many points, and give forth various views—themes for the Academy—of science and philosophy, at times of practical policy, bullion and currency, and sinecures and reforms; grave questions of polity, the Orders in Council, Napoleon's threats, the pressure on our blockaded shores, the young Chancellor of the Exchequer's first Budget speech, and the brightening hopes of the Abolition cause; the ministry of the Talents, will they stand? Windham's crotchets, and Grey's acuteness, and Lord Grenville's stately reserve. But whilst these things are talked of in the shade, and the knot of wise men draw close together, in darts the member for Yorkshire from the green fields to the south, like a sunbeam into a shady room, and the faces of the old brighten, and the children clap their hands with joy. He joins the group of the elders, catches up a thread of their talk, dashes off a bright remark, pours a ray of happy illumination, and for a few moments seems as wise, as thoughtful, and as constant as themselves. But this dream will not last, and these watchful young eyes know it. They remember that he is as restless as they are, as fond of fun and movement. So, on the first youthful challenge, away flies the volatile statesman. A bunch of flowers, a ball thrown in sport, and away dash, in joyous rivalry, the children and the philanthropist. Law and statesmanship forgotten, he is the gayest child of them all.

But now, when the group has broken up, and the friends have gone to their homes, the circle under Henry Thornton's roof gathers for its evening talk. In the Oval Library, which Pitt planned, niched and fringed all round with books, looking out on the pleasant lawn, they meet for their more sustained conversation. In this easy intercourse even the shy Gisborne opens himself. At times the talk is interspersed with reading the books chosen by the host—curious, significant signs of a thoughtful mind; now an Essay of Foster's, lately published; now, anticipating Lord Derby, he reads to the circle a book of the Iliad; now, some Essays of Bacon; or—singular choice—a portion of Aristotle's Ethics; or he and Gisborne read by turns one of Wilberforce's brilliant orations. Or they vary

their summer evenings by strolling through the fresh green fields into the wilder shrubbery which fringes Mr. Wilberforce's demesne: Broomfield, not like Battersea Rise, with its trim parterres and close-mown lawn, but unkempt—a picture of stray genius and free irregular thoughts. As they pass to the windows that look out on the north, and admire the old elms that shade the pleasant slopes to the stream, the kindly host hears their voices, and runs with his cheerful welcome. So they are led into that charmed circle of worth and mind, and find there the portly Dean, with his stentorian voice, and the eager Stephen, Admiral Gambier and his wife, and the good Bishop Porteus, who has come from Fulham to see his old friends, the Mores. Another evening the party cross the common, and drop into the villa of the Teignmouths, or spend a pleasant hour in Robert Thornton's decorated grounds, to look into his conservatory full of rare plants, and his library with its costly volumes. On Sunday they take their seats in the old church, with the Wilberforces' and Macaulays' and Stephens' pews close to their own, and in the front gallery the Teignmouths; and they listen to the wise discourses of Venn: another Sunday they sit enchanted under the preaching of Gisborne. All round their home, gathered by the loadstone of kindness, are settled friends who make up a large circle; friends from all quarters of the earth, drawn here by sympathy, and finding a pleasant rural home in that which then held a scattered population of 5000, but is now swelled to six times its size.

Of some of these friends, forming the inner circle, we must for a moment speak. Nearest to them, separated only by a hedge, blended by community of tastes, was the family whom Henry Thornton had placed at the villa nearest his own. For though Charles Grant had passed part of his life in India, and had settled in England after many years of oriental toil, there was in his strong character, and the sturdiness of his unflinching integrity, that which suited well the character of Henry Thornton. They soon learned to esteem each other, and esteem passed rapidly into regard. Both were men of energy, both fond of work, both after a time members of Parliament, both resolute to turn to account their influence, and both, whether they differed or agreed, liking to know the other's thoughts, for they felt they would hear the utterances of a bold and honest mind. Mr. Grant, indeed, on his return to England, directed his chief attention, as was natural, to the concerns of our Indian Empire; for in India he had spent his most active years; in India he had gathered the modest fortune which gave him competency; to India he owed his position in England, his seat as a Director, and his seat in Parliament. He was a Director, not in the later days which we have known,

when the shadows were falling thick over Leadenhall Street, and though the Senate met, the Capitol was crumbling under the feet of the senators ; but in the palmy days, when they sat in their curule chairs, merchant princes, holding sceptres of ivory and gold, sending forth their missives to proconsuls in the East, restraining the lofty ambition of Wellesley, sanctioning the warlike decisions of Hastings ; satisfying or blighting the projects of Minto or Ellenborough ; wielding patronage which ministers of state envied ; for in their antichambers, peers and commoners stood humble petitioners, to gather the crumbs from their full table. To this great empire of English influence and dominion abroad, the Directors had risen, step by step, through circumstances, years, and conquests, till they held in their hands an empire vast as the ambition of Napoleon ; including race after race ; subjugating nation after nation ; swelling to dimensions which recalled the dream and surpassed the deeds of Alexander. It had begun in a few petty forts, the counting-houses of a few supercargoes on the Hooghly ; but it spread itself, by a law inexorable as destiny, from the Ganges to the Indus, and from the Southern Cape, buffeted by the Indian waves, to the snow mountains which fenced off the ancient kingdom of Aurungzebe, from the land of Thibet and the empire of China. Of this vast dominion, at the time of which we speak, the East India Directors were the lords ; and among this Venetian oligarchy Charles Grant was at once the ablest and the most influential ruler. He had attained his high position, not by interest or connexion or fortune, but by rare habits of business, by a strong will and a bold integrity. These forced a way for his purposes over all forms of opposition, and made him, in a council-chamber of masters where all were equal and independent, the lord paramount over weaker minds. When therefore Wilberforce, settling his plans with Henry Thornton, turned his eyes to the East, and resolved to drop into our Indian empire, then lying waste and given up to superstition, the germ of Christianity, he turned to Charles Grant as his counsellor and helper. Indeed, without the help of such a man, it may be safely said that his plans would have failed, and the step gained in the Charter of 1813 might have been postponed for many years. Before such assistance, however, difficulties disappeared, and the iron will and unbending purpose of Grant, combined with the judgment of Henry Thornton and the persuasive eloquence of Wilberforce, prevailed over a host of obstacles. From the time, therefore, that Charles Grant settled at Battersea Rise, he became the counsellor of both the friends, and henceforth upon every public question the inner cabinet consisted of these three remarkable men.

Domestic circumstances followed to strengthen the public tie. For when the marriage of Henry Thornton brought

a female head to the household, the alliance of the two houses was cemented by the intimacy which sprang up between the ladies who presided over them. To the elder matron, the mother of a large family, and of long experience, the younger wife naturally turned. And, truly, less susceptible dispositions would have been won by the character of Mrs. Grant. Married in India, having passed in that tropical climate many of her most impressible years, a character naturally gentle seemed to have been mellowed into special tenderness under those eastern suns; so that when she left India and passed into our colder and sterner society, she brought, in her manner and looks and sentiments, something of that sensitive delicacy and clinging disposition which belongs to plants nursed into luxuriant growth under the heat of southern suns. The voice soft and low, the manner quiet and retiring; the dress itself, the veil thrown over the head, and falling down in folds over the figure, were all in keeping with that veiled modesty and gentle purity. In the household over which she was placed, the ostensible ruler was no doubt the man of strong will whom we have sketched, and whose slightest word was law. But while the reins of government were held fast in his hands, the formation of the character of the children lay chiefly with the mother; for she ruled by love, and thus her sway was unconscious and irresistible, and her example moulded, by insensible impression, the thoughts and sentiments of all around her. So it came to pass that the characters of the children, while they inherited much of the talent and powerful intellect of the father, reflected, in their refined tastes and their exquisite but over-fastidious sensitiveness, the exotic temperament of the mother. It was natural that any young mother, placed in close neighbourhood with such a mind, should have yielded herself to her influence; much more one who, like Mrs. Henry Thornton, partook of the same sensibilities and the same quick and refined feelings. Hence it was that the two matrons became fast friends, and in every circumstance of life, in care, or trouble, or languor, or sickness, Mrs. Henry Thornton turned to Mrs. Grant as her counsellor. And, in truth, the delight of the elder matron was to answer the appeal; for whenever trouble came, when care entered to break the rest or wrinkle the brow, when the wife was anxious or the mother embarrassed, Mrs. Grant came, a prompt friend; and as soon as the gentle face was seen, the clouds began to break, and streaks of light dimpled the sky. Equally comforting she was to the depressed mother, when she sat by her sofa, drew forth the causes of her anxiety, and whispered words of encouragement; or when her noiseless step passed, like a vision, along the nursery floor, and she sat herself down by the bedside of some wakeful child, soothed her

fretfulness, and lulled her into slumber with the tones of her voice and the verses of a hymn.

Thus the troubles of life only drew the households together; and even after the Grants removed to London, the intercourse remained undisturbed. Whatever touched the Director's house, sad events or glad, Mrs. Thornton was the first to hear the tidings. When she wanted companions, she drew them from that household. And when her own great sorrow came, the same friend was still by her at Kensington Gore, to soothe her in her hour of desolation; and when she too drooped, Mrs. Grant was still beside her sofa to whisper words of comfort, and to cheer the patient sufferer, as she glided from earth, which had lost its sunlight, to pass, through a merciful decline, into the world which has neither cloud nor care.

But not only were the elders of the Grant household intimate with Henry Thornton and his wife: many friends grew up around them from the younger branches of the family. For they in their turn felt for the hostess of Battersea Rise much of that clinging affection which she entertained for Mrs. Grant. When the daughters were weary of London excitement, they resorted for rest to this second home; and when the sons, overworked at Cambridge, or in public life, sought to recruit their strength, they knew that a cordial welcome awaited them in that peaceful home at Battersea Rise. Thus, while they benefitted, they brought the attractions of their gifts, and these were manifold. For if the sensibility which they inherited was for the work of life a hindrance, it added to social intercourse a great charm. Nursed, as they had been, in a home atmosphere, where every sentiment was refined, they shrank, with an almost morbid recoil, from the rough contact of ordinary minds, but they drew the more closely to that charmed circle of Battersea Rise, in which intellect and taste were found happily combined.

Of the young men who thus contributed their genius and accomplishments to their society, we may speak freely, as their names are public words, written in our annals; one known for his statesmanlike eloquence in the House of Commons, Secretary for Ireland, then Secretary for the Colonies, now a peer; the other distinguished as a public speaker, the writer of sacred poetry, universally admired—too early taken from us as governor of one of our East India provinces (Bombay). But of the other members of the family we say but little; as the sacredness of domestic life is apt to wither even under the breath of praise. This at least may be said, that their society brought with it a charm deeply felt by her who presided as the hostess. Of one of them Mrs. Thornton used to say, that her conversation was a more reviving cordial than a tonic mineral spring. She exercised over all the young a witchery of inde-

scribable influence, and in her Madame de Staël found the realisation of that poetical vision which was embodied in the character of Corinne.

From this family we must pass to speak of another which added its quota to the circle of Battersea Rise. At no great distance across the common, Lord Teignmouth, after his return from India, had fixed his home, and there, while his children were growing up, he resided. Both the elder and younger members of the family were frequent guests at Battersea Rise. Nor was it to be wondered at; for if ever goodness and meekness shone forth in a public man, they were found in Lord Teignmouth; as happy in the modest walk of his unpretending benevolence, when he took part in the rising society in Earle Street, as he had been when he guided the counsels of the great empire of India; as full of zest, when he seated himself in the Clapham coach, with his umbrella by his side, as when he rolled in the pomp of sovereignty through the streets of Calcutta. His benign worth made a strong impression on all who saw him; while his partner added to the vivacity, so attractive in a woman, a quaint originalty of thought, and a playful kindness. The younger members grew up with their cotemporaries to share their pursuits and prospects.

To us, indeed, the picture of that household comes, not as it showed itself to the Thorntons in its morning prime, but as we recall it touched by the shadows of the declining light as it fell on the hospitable house in Portman Square. For by that time the circle was not unbroken, and its strength was impaired. One of the sons had passed far away into Eastern exile, another was laid to rest in a foreign grave. The venerable host was bending under the weight of seventy summers, the voice more slow, the step more feeble; but in his placid looks goodness and peace reigned, and worth cast its radiance on the evening of a useful life. Lord Teignmouth had been summoned, by the respect of a large body of religious philanthropists, to preside over one of those great societies which have made an epoch in the philanthropy of England, and have left a permanent mark on the character of mankind. He had given himself to the counsels of the Bible Society with a patient assiduity, and watched with patriarchal interest over its daily administration. Not possessed of the gifts which dazzle society, not able by eloquence to stimulate large assemblies, he was eminently fitted by his gentleness and judgment for the effective guidance of practical counsels. In this respect the Society profited much by his advice and experience. He was its first president; as Henry Thornton was its first treasurer.

Even now we recall, with something of the faintness of a distant dream, those evenings in Portman Square, when, after the crowd and stir of an anniversary meeting, all that was notable in London

in patriotism or philanthropy, met in these hospitable rooms; when the old forms of men of mark, drooping under the weight of years—Wilberforce, and Lord Bexley, and Lord Sidmouth, were to be seen mingled with younger men rising into note—Sir Robert Inglis, and the Grants, and Sir Thomas Acland; bishops were there to represent the Church; sectaries of catholic spirit greeted bishops, anxious to forget their differences and to unite in thankful praise. These days have fled, the groups are gone, the halls, once so thronged, are silent. Here and there the footsteps of a solitary straggler wake with the echoes of his feeble tread mournful memories, and recall to us the band of which he is the survivor; but those who witnessed this scene will understand what interest, what harmony, what kindness and worth, that household, in its earlier days, brought to Henry Thornton's happy home.

Still, as we review the circle gathered near Battersea Rise, our picture, to be true, must include the pastor, who brought his counsels to their families, taught them by his weekly lessons, and comforted them in times of trouble. In these respects Clapham was highly favoured, as both in John Venn, and his successor Dr. Dealtry, the parishioners possessed clergymen characterized alike by zeal and by wisdom, presenting the special characteristics of their church—learning, earnestness, and a wise moderation. Both of these clergymen, during their incumbency, which extended over more than one generation, enjoyed the respect of their parishioners, and an influence greatly to be valued; not confined to weekly addresses, though enhanced by them, but springing out of the warmth of sympathy and the steadiness of friendship. In their teaching they resembled each other: firm in their adherence to the cardinal points of the ancient faith which the Church of England has inherited from early times, but alike opposed to the fluctuating fashions of modern theology, which at one time swells into unwholesome excitement, or shrivels into a dry and lifeless Deism; but they were withal moderate, gentle as those can be who are strong—looking for success, not to excitement and emotion, but to the patient teaching of Divine truth, set forth with loving earnestness, dropped, with silent prayer for a blessing, like seed, the germ of habits, into the cold stiff soil. This, the husbandry of their unwearied labours, was at once their duty and their delight. This teaching, acceptable to the thoughtful, not alluring or stimulating to the multitude, was greatly prized by Henry Thornton. No other style of thought would have suited his balanced judgment. It was by this process that his own mind had been formed—not by impulse or enthusiasm, but by the persevering study of the Divine Record, which offers pleas to the doubting and difficulties to the careless, but which, when honestly read and carried faithfully

into practice, becomes always to the humble intelligible and clear. This formation of character had given him a cast of thought which was his characteristic. Gentle in his judgment of others, tolerant of their differences, indulgent to their infirmities, only to himself unsparing, he gave with an intrepid liberality freely of his time and wealth to the poor, the sick, and the suffering—to the minutest cases of distress, as to the largest schemes of benevolence. In the latter sphere he always chose the hardest work and the most unobserved portion, and setting aside the care of his health and all thought of ease, he did his work strenuously, hardly allowing even his infirmities to relax or suspend it. Aware of his own weakness, and of the help he needed, he gave part of each of his occupied days to a careful study of Scripture, to reflection, and to prayer. Often he might be seen, in fellowship with his friend Bowdler, in the quiet library which looked out on the shaded lawn, taking the large Bible from the shelves, studying it with fixed attention, and extracting from it its lessons for practice and for comfort.

The perseverance of his character, and the continuity of his labours, reminds us somewhat of the versatile activity of John Wesley. Seeking rest at Buxton, with flagging health and weakness, only interrupted by sharp attacks of fever, he plies his pen busily, and sends to Macaulay constant supplies. Later in life, as he is travelling for health, he is reading the new publications, and writing for his children or his household simple prayers. Nor does failing health induce him to stop his works, or to abate his interest in them. It is true that these benevolent labours brought at times their refreshment. He lived to see the fruits in Africa of his life-long toil. Before his death he was able to point out the results. A land once desolate, now cultivated by agriculturists; once a desert, then a population of 5000 souls; thriving farms occupied by industrious freemen, who had once been ignorant captives, and these covering with a flush of verdure an area of eight miles from Free Town.

These results, however, though they refreshed his spirit, were not the sources of his happiness. That he found in religion—in the contemplation of the Divine character, and the glorious prospects of a new and more elevated life. This reconciled him to the weakness of his constitution—to the frequent infirmities which tried him; and this made him spurn with a lofty disregard the vain pursuits of accumulating wealth, and only regard its acquisition as valuable inasmuch as it led to the help and relief of others.

But we have already exceeded our limits; and we must defer to another article the close of this active life.

ON PEW-RENTS.

IN a paper on Pews in our last number, we endeavoured to elucidate the working of the appropriation of seats, as the law allows it in our churches; and we found it (with a few exceptions, which, perhaps, could not be sustained) strictly this: that the churchwardens are bound to apply the space within the walls for the universal good of the parishioners, seating the whole of them before the service begins; that no one afterwards has any right to retain a seat unoccupied; and that all pre-arrangements, by appropriating pews, are thoroughly subordinate to these rights and duties, and give no property and no right whatever to the supposed owner, except of pre-occupation before the beginning of the service. We carefully avoided touching on Pew-rents, except by showing that paying for a pew gives nothing more than the same right of pre-occupation, which, with a view to the proper order of the worshippers, may be had to the same extent without any payment at all, or in free seats; and that if the hirer of a pew think that he has got more than this, it is simply a mistake, because the law prevents the churchwardens from giving more, and him from taking it. A patient, we observed, in a hospital might as lawfully, and we may add as reasonably, claim that his bed was to be kept for him when he was out, and another wanted it.

But pew-rents are denounced, especially by the National Association for promoting Freedom of Worship, as contrary to law; which, as they are imposed by Act of Parliament, must mean (if it mean anything) that they are so contrary to the rights of the parishioners, that even the authority of parliament cannot overcome the repugnancy. They are also denounced as unscriptural, and it is urged that, for this reason again, even the law of the land cannot make them right. Our objection to these arguments is to the premises. Of course we begin with the alleged scriptural difficulty. Looking at the teaching of the New Testament, that "they which preach the Gospel should live of the Gospel," and that "the labourer is worthy of his hire" (Luke x. 7), we cannot find any ground whatever on which pew-rents are unscriptural, or objectionable as the means of providing for the support of our clergy. On the contrary, our duty to enable them to live by the Gospel is so binding, that objections to this mode or that mode, which are fanciful or conventional, are nothing. We think the most strenuous opposer of pew-rents will scarcely attempt to prove them *malum per se*. We are only contending now that pew-rents may be used, and we are very much surprised that any one can hold the contrary.

But the zeal of some adversaries to pew-rents is so great, that

they even assert that any pre-arrangement for the occupation of pews is unlawful. We shall find strong arguments against them. But on what principle is such pre-arrangement unlawful? How is it contrary to the rule of law, that the church is to be enjoyed by the parishioners for their universal good? We endeavoured in our last number to show, with no little detail, how arrangements beforehand conduce to the regular and comfortable attendance of the worshippers. And we must add, that there are other advantages which we did not then mention. One is the privacy of the worship, so eminently necessary, and so helpful to our devotions. Another is like it; and we have heard it spoken of feelingly by those who are deeply sensible of the evil *working* of the pew system, as one which they have experienced, and could scarcely bear: and that is, being placed too near, or even next, to those whose habits are wanting in the ordinary decencies of life, particularly as to an odious American habit, which is really distressing to people of delicacy, or even of common decorum. It is one of the evils of promiscuous distribution at church, that such people cannot be avoided, without vacating a place once taken, or assigning reasons which no third person can fully enter into, and which often become known, and give dire though ill-taken offence. By proper pre-arrangements all such evils, or at least the recurrence of them, may be avoided without any complaint being brought forward; and it is the policy of every wise system, that, in its working, accusations and offences, and causes of offence, should not arise. The text of St. James certainly does not militate against precautions to save the refinement and the decencies of life, wherever they may be found, from being brought into undue proximity with grossness, and habits bad in themselves.

The object of the law in allowing pews is to be found over and over again in every legal work on the subject. They are appropriated, as far as appropriation is allowed, as "conducive to more undivided attention," as "affording a point of union and mutual good example among individuals of families," and "that people may with more convenience attend divine service." And we are content with the reasons which have governed the law, and believe that they are in unison with the experience of some centuries.

Whilst arguing for the modified appropriation of pews as lawful (which it is), we cannot help remembering the maxim, once so urged as conclusive in spiritual matters—"Ut id teneamus quod ubique, quod semper, quod ab omnibus creditum est." We never could understand how human consent and agreement, even if carried to this extent, could of itself be of authority as to doctrine, though it might have been, of course, proof of how Divine teaching had been understood. And we always regarded the enunciation and use of this rule as nothing

more than an indication of minds deficient in practical character, and unable to see what was the real state of the world around them. For as to what doctrine, in any age or in any country, much more in all ages and in all countries, was such unanimity ever found? But when we come to a human system, the argument is essentially different. There the *quod semper, quod ubique, quod ab omnibus* is not only a proof of practice, but is the system itself. Now, since the time of the Reformation, when and where has there ever been a single* church throughout the length and breadth of the land where there were not pews (with or without doors), and where the pews have not always been subject to arrangements made before the service, as to the parishioners who were to occupy them? If there have been a few churches where the seats were all free, still they were subject to pre-arrangements. For, as we showed in our former paper, free seats are only free from being let for money, and are not free to anarchy or violent seizure, or to people who are not parishioners. They are still subject to the authority of the churchwardens, and are in this respect, in fact, in exactly the same position as pews in our parish churches originally were. The principle of appropriation has been carried too far, but the law would have restrained it. This proof is so overwhelming, that we cannot help wondering how any one can argue, that what has been so universally required at the churchwardens' hands is not sanctioned by law.

But free seats require very special consideration. We have always used the term as involving not merely a latent, but a very prominent recognition of the poor having the first right to them. But perhaps this may not have been quite sufficient, and we desire to place and keep the right of the poor in the strongest light. The first Act of Parliament which provided free seats says they are to be *appropriated* for the poor. Here, then, we gain an instance of the appropriation of seats by the highest authority. But that is of smaller importance than the question, what are the rights of the poor? We do not suppose that anyone will ever think that if the poor be actually absent from the church, the free seats are to remain unoccupied and useless to the very end of the service, although others who may be more or less near to their condition be standing in the aisle, and requiring the accommodation of the vacant seats. The appropriation which is really made for the poor must be construed reasonably, and in accordance with the general law on the subject; and unless the conclusion really be that the rich are not to be permitted, under any circumstances, to sit down in them, and that rather than admit them the seats are

* We are reminded of one or two churches with chairs; but generally they have so many practices alien to Protestantism, that this innovation (if anything) strengthens our argument.

to be useless, or that they are to be turned out if the poor come, there is no point where the line can be drawn; and we therefore are driven to the ordinary rule which, we are glad to find, will stand this fresh case. And all is easy and simple and self-consistent, if the practice be that, up to the beginning of the service, no one ought to be admitted to the free seats except the poor; and also, as Parliament has appropriated them for the poor collectively, that, in order to secure the right more effectually, the churchwardens may still further, with a view to future services, appropriate them among the poor individually; but that, if the proper occupants be not there when the service begins, they are open to all parishioners, and come under the general rights and duties of the churchwardens. We would go a little further, and consider it most in accordance with the spirit of the Act, that the poor always, even during the service, should have preference before others to vacant free seats; but we think that to them, even more than to the rich, the practice advocated by the Society, that the churchwardens are to point out for each separate service where they are to sit, would appear like ordering them about, and be peculiarly intermeddling and offensive.*

In other matters, principles quite as general as those on which the Society builds such a faulty result are well known to the law, but they are always worked with care to carry out the idea, and not to bring things to a dead lock. Few things can be imagined more free than the public roads, but is it illegal in any sense, or even unsuitable, to set up turnpikes, and to shut them too if the toll is not paid? A common is considered, if possible, as a still more universal enjoyment; but common without stint, that is, without limit, is destructive to the rights of others, and therefore, apparently, contrary to law. In all cases, the law means its general principles to be practical, and not theo-

* Since this was sent to press, our attention has been called to the expression, "free seats *unappropriated* to the poor for ever." After careful examination, we have not found it in any Act of Parliament. We find it in the conditions of grants by the Incorporated Society for Building Churches. But we say with deference to that Society, that we hope they will review the terms of their grants. It cannot be their desire to go beyond the law; in fact, if they do, it is at least questionable whether every word of their conditions does not become void altogether, and fail. Except in accordance with law, churchwardens and incumbents cannot bind their successors; nay, they cannot bind themselves. The expression in the Act 58 Geo. 3. c. 45, is, "Free seats shall be appropri-

ated and set apart for the use of poor persons resorting thereto for ever;" which, we think, clearly means, appropriated for poor parishioners from time to time, or at any time, desirous of using the same. That parishioners are meant cannot be doubted, and the Act shows it by the charges on the parish. This Act appropriates seats for the poor *collectively*; the churchwardens may still appropriate them for the poor *individually*. The rich, under this Act, may have appropriated seats: if the poor cannot, how much their position is made worse than their neighbours'; for, as we have often pointed out, the result is, that the poor do not get their places with security and comfort, and often do not get them at all.

retical and self-destructive, and carries them out in their true spirit. And so the legislature may fairly resort to pew-rents to forward the ministrations of the Church; and much more, if the principle be correct, that where the *right* to a seat without paying exists, there is an independent provision for the incumbent.

But we must go a little further, and show that the law enforces arrangements, before the service, for the proper disposition of the congregation. Though pews became universal after the Reformation, yet before it pews or seats, sometimes fixed and sometimes moveable, were in use. And if a parishioner were dissatisfied with the place he could obtain from the churchwardens, he had an appeal to the Ordinary. This right of appeal still exists. When, therefore, the Society (in one of their circulars containing observations which they themselves assert to be excellent) state, that it is distinctly admitted that no parishioner has strictly "any right to occupy a sitting until the churchwardens, or their deputies, have, *before the commencement of EACH service*, pointed out the sitting which he may occupy," it is obvious that they state that to be law which is not law, and that their assertion, that this idea of theirs is distinctly admitted, is not, and cannot be, true. On the contrary, the law compels the churchwardens to make a suitable disposition of the congregation, not only previously to the arrival of the service, but more or less permanent, as the case may require. For it is plain that if the rule were as the Society suggest, and any parishioner had a cause of complaint as to the place assigned him, an appeal would be an absurdity, and that it would have nothing to rest on if the offence did not relate to the future, but were only a wrong inflicted for a past service, and a past service *only*. In that case the proceeding would be of a criminal nature. The appeal is not to punish a churchwarden for having done wrong, but to redress the wrong which a parishioner would, without it, have to suffer at future services; it is a civil proceeding only. The fact of the existence of this right of appeal proves that the Society is altogether in error on this fundamental principle.

And this crotchet of the Society is open to another objection, namely, that to work it is an impossibility. In a populous neighbourhood or a large town, and an extensive parish, it would be beyond the power of any officer to know who might be parishioners, and yet the first principle of the law is that the church is to be kept for them.

Again, what danger there would constantly be of unseemly altercations, and of capricious or hasty decisions by a churchwarden, and of resistance, more or less determined and more or less excusable, to their arrangements. Why should people be prevented from occupying the seats they had last Sunday? everyone would ask—and feel it, too—if his place were altered. And nothing can be plainer than that any scheme for altering

the seats perpetually is a downright absurdity, and that it would be worked by allowing 99 people out of every 100 to take the seats they were accustomed to. But what shall we think of the statement that it is admitted that the churchwardens are at each service to direct the people where to go? We cannot see why the church should be an exception to the practice so generally adopted at public meetings for the public convenience—of arranging before-hand, as far as it may be practicable, how those who attend are to be disposed of and accommodated.

Once more, consider the large amount of bribery which this plan would introduce. But it is not necessary to go into details on a matter which is unfortunately forced upon our attention by the common occurrences of life. We hope that no member of the Society will ever, in common consistency, give a shilling to a pew-opener. If he be at his own parish church, he must see how improper it is; and if he be not, is he not acting still worse by tempting a parish servant to “barter away the vested interest of another parishioner for money”?

We have seldom seen any publication open to more serious observations than this circular issued by the Society. It is headed, too, with a pretentious introduction:—“The following *Legal* opinions on the subject of pews are submitted to the consideration of members of the English Church.” The *italics* are ours.

We have demolished, we think, a little of the Society’s law, and we think a great deal more of it is equally fragile.

The paper opens with three or four citations of authorities declaring the rights of parishioners to seats in the church without payment, and then it is said—“The sale or hire of pews, it will have been observed, is illegal.” Neither the authorities nor the conclusion (except with a little qualification) are disputed, but they are all confined to the parish church, which, when this law was settled, had all the tithes of the parish. So far, the law and the logic may be good. But the Society’s proposition extends to all pews in all churches to which the authorities were never meant to extend, to churches built under a great variety of circumstances and under many different Acts of Parliament, some expressly imposing pew-rents; and therefore we are justified in saying—nay, we are compelled to say—that this circular begins with a sweeping mis-statement of the general law as to new churches. If we deduced any general principle from the authorities, it would be this,—that the *right* to a seat without contemporary payment was an incident of a previous endowment enabling the clergyman to live of the Gospel. And, indeed, the little qualification we just adverted to does bring out this great principle. For it is well known that the law now allows pew-rents to be levied in old parish churches where a sufficient number of the parishioners desire a third service, and funds are wanting to support it.

Then the paper proceeds with a statement which we might be accused of doing injustice to if we did not copy it in a marginal note,* and let it speak for itself. Our comment shall be as short as possible. The quotation relates to churches under the "New Parishes Acts" only. But our readers should bear in mind that, if the Society mean by this expression to refer only to the Peel Acts and Lord Blandford's Act, the Society would very conveniently drop out of sight a period of nearly 40 years, at the beginning of which pew-rents were sanctioned by Parliament, and have ever since been paid in new churches. The dates are important. The first Act imposing pew-rents was passed in 1818; the other Act, from which the Society quotes, became law in 1856. Other Acts recognizing pew-rents are to be found in the meantime. Of course we must allow the Society, if it please, to pass over the pew-rents between 1818 and the first of the New Parishes Acts (1843). We think they are too difficult for the Society to grapple with. By that Act, of 1843, other endowments, it is well known, were contemplated; a large fund, half-a-million from Queen Anne's Bounty, will, for instance, be in the memory of everyone. For the churches built under *this Act* it was therefore thought that pew-rents might not be wanted, and they are not provided by it. This was the experiment—not that which the Society suggests. The effort to do without pew-rents was clearly what was tried; the later enactment, which the Society founds so much upon, shows that it has failed.

Indeed, the evil of the omission was soon felt, but it was promptly met; for the Church Commissioners had power to apply their funds for the purposes of this Act (§ 24); and where they did so, they secured pew-rents. Proof, again, that the experiment (possibly it was only an omission) to do without pew-rents would not do at all. Then, to make the failure of the plan to do without pew-rents as plain as possible, by Lord Blandford's Act, in 1856, the powers of Ecclesiastical corporate bodies to endow new churches is still further increased; and to crown all, when endowments cannot

* The case of churches in which Pew-rents are alleged to be in accordance with the New Parishes Acts, has in several ways caused considerable misconstruction of the said Acts.

In the first place, these Acts referred (as indeed their title ought to have reminded anyone) exclusively to certain new churches. But, in the next place, as regards even those new churches to which these supplementary bye-laws did refer, so far from encouraging pew-rents, these Acts ruled, in express terms, that pew-rents should

not be levied in those churches except as a mere experiment—an experiment barely tolerated—tolerated only partially—and this partial toleration only conditionally. Now what are the express provisions of these Acts? Why, that "if it shall appear that sufficient funds cannot be provided from other sources, *but not otherwise*, that annual rents may be taken in respect of any pews or sittings . . . provided always, that one half part at least of the whole number of sittings shall be free."

be had from this source, or from the Church Commissioners, it enacts that pew-rents may be resorted to. So far from their failing, they are the last resort. And once more, the Church Commissioners, with their powers, being all united to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, who might always allow pew-rents, they may be looked for in all future churches. Almost every word of the quotation, in our last note, from the Society's paper, is wrong.

It is unfortunately a popular delusion that common sense and law have very little to do with each other. And, indeed, we know of nothing which could tend more to confirm this notion than this paper of so-called legal opinions. We hope to rescue the law from the low estimation too many are apt to entertain of it, by the opinion of one who was no mean poet, and, as appears even by many of his poems, no mean philosopher. Gray, in one of his letters to his friend West, who did not love the profession as he ought to have done, (his father was Chancellor of Ireland,) encourages him with this view of the pursuit:—"Laws have been the result of long deliberation, and that not of dull men, but the contrary; and have so close a connection with history, nay, with philosophy itself, that they must partake a little of what they are related to so nearly."

We apprehend that the legislative talents indicated by this paper are about equal to the legal correctness and acuteness which it exhibits. For it goes on with a burst of enthusiasm,—“Happily the experiment has most signally failed.” Happily—why happily? When we consider how many clergymen are maintained by pew-rents, we are aghast at the policy which exults in the failure of a plan which has for years secured the position and usefulness of so many ministers of religion. Of four parishes lying together in the south of London, of which we know the particulars, we believe we are correct in saying there are not more than four churches without pew-rents, and eighteen dependent upon them. In our own parish, where we know the facts too well to be mistaken, there are four dependent upon pew-rents, and one without. Is it wisdom, in those who desire an increased attendance on divine worship, to destroy these congregations? Where is to be the substituted maintenance for the clergy? where the substituted means of supporting the service of the Church? Burke calls the revolutionists of France the ablest architects of ruin that the world ever saw, and we cannot help feeling that our pew-destroyers are pursuing the same course. These numerous congregations, whilst they maintain themselves by pew-rents, afford great facilities (which we think the Society would do well to take more into account) to those who do not pay, to attend and enjoy all the advantages of the service, as well as of the clergyman's ministrations and parochial work, whether they attend the church or not. These ministrations, which extend

as far as possible, are all of them to be destroyed, because the pews are to be thrown open. But we insist upon the amount of benefit which these churches afford to multitudes, young men in particular, who never think of the minister's remuneration. We remember a somewhat amusing incident which occurred at one of these churches, at which we then ourselves paid for a pew. The clergyman was applied to by a lady, adding to her signature "your constant hearer," for the loan of one of his sermons for her perusal; and as he did not happen to know her name, he asked the churchwardens where she sat. The answer was, that although she had attended for twelve years, she never had condescended to pay anything to secure a fixed place.

We should be full of regret if this class of hearers, whether permanent or occasional, were neglected; but we think it an invasion of all propriety to break up our congregations and invade the rights of the clergy, in order that such hearers, or even those more casual still, may be the most considered of all. We are not ourselves aware of any pews being let to non-parishioners, except when the Act allows it, from year to year, if the parishioners do not apply for them. Of course it is illegal for parishioners to sublet a seat.

But what proof does the Society bring that church-rates have failed? That the offertory has been extensively tried, and the returns have abundantly demonstrated that considerably greater sums than those produced by pew-rents have been the results. We will, without criticising the language, accept what we suppose is the meaning, that larger sums have been collected at the offertory than pew-rents have yielded. But if it were at different churches, how does it prove anything? And again; as these collections are applicable to a variety of objects, which may almost be termed infinite, (the Society enumerates twelve, adding "various charities and societies,") we are at a loss for a "demonstration" that what the offertory yields for the support of the clergy is more than they got from the pew-rents. And on this head we are much impressed with another circular of the Society on the occasion of throwing open St. Mary's, Aston Brook, and St. Matthias, Birmingham, but asking for a subscription and a special guarantee. We are content to let our readers draw their own conclusion. We ourselves look upon this as a comment destructive of the text.

Still we have not arrived at the discovery why it is a happy thing that pew-rents have failed, unless the first mention of the offertory suggested it to our readers as it did to ourselves. We do not intend to make any observation on this subject, except that we are quite sure that if there be any purpose of promoting the offertory, and not the proper accommodation of the people at church, by the means of this Society, it will

be felt in time, and damage or destroy the Society's influence.

But the reliance on the offertory may arise from the Society regarding it, as they state it to be, the only *conceivable* remedy for the loss of pew-rents; which, considering that the Acts of Parliament have pointed to such various other ways of providing for the purpose, is a blindness perfectly incomprehensible; especially as the "Quarterly Review," just published, proposes, in an article on the Bishop of London's Fund, to "relieve the scheme by the removal of endowments from the range of its operations," adding, "since the fund was started, the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, by new rules, have amply provided for that object." As we must conclude this diocese is not favoured at the expense of the rest of England, we think every one will be forced to admit that the Society's powers of seeing what was possible were very feeble.

As, however, the offertory is thus put forward, we will proceed to examine the Society's views. They state the offertory to be in exact accordance with Holy Scripture, citing 1 Cor. xvi. 1, 2. But does this text point to a weekly offertory? If it taught us to have always a weekly appropriation of money for charity, it would not be a weekly offertory, or even a weekly collection; quite the contrary. The text is, "Let every one of you *lay by him in store*." The occasion, too, was peculiar, and the money would probably be wanted suddenly, "that there be no gatherings when I come." And then the Society's paper goes on to say, that the offertory is in exact accordance with the law of the Church, the Rubric in the Holy Communion Service. But that question was the subject of a contest, a few years ago, which we should think the Society would not have forgotten; and that contest ended in a drawn battle as to the *obligations* imposed by the Rubric; and so the Society's third foundation for the offertory, that the Rubric is the law of the land, is not of much avail.

But the effect of the offertory on the support of the clergy is too important to be left unnoticed. The Society, with the easy off-hand way in which they treat the subject, propose that the clergymen should receive only a proportionate share for their stipends, as might be from time to time agreed upon, saying not a word as to the legality of such an arrangement, which certainly is not clear, or the precarious nature of such an income. We will quote the Rubric:—"After divine service ended, the money given at the offertory shall be disposed of to such pious and charitable uses as the minister and churchwardens shall think fit, wherein if they disagree it shall be disposed of as the Ordinary may appoint."

Although we do not deny that the support of the clergy is a pious use, yet there are many very grave considerations which make the doubt, whether it be a lawful application of the offer-

tory money, a very weighty one. The chief argument is that the clergy, who, with the churchwardens, are the distributors of the fund, and it may fairly be said the collectors of it alone, are thus placed in a position where they have an interest antagonistic to their duty; and we are only regarding them as on an equality with their fellow-men, when we ask whether the law can account their profession or their position a reason for excepting them from the general principle, that no man (and still more, no body of men) is to be called upon to perform a duty under such circumstances, and that wherever there would be such a conflict, it is avoided for the man's own sake by making his interest give way, and he is rendered incapable of taking or acquiring any benefit for himself. A sale by a trustee to himself is simply void; there is no contract; a man cannot both sell and buy. And if he cannot thus acquire property by purchase, can he acquire it by gift, or what would be (except for the co-operation of the churchwardens) very like helping himself? But do they give protection enough, as the incumbent has by the general law a voice in the appointment of both churchwardens, if he and the parish agree; and if not, he can always secure the appointment of one of them for himself absolutely, and so he and his nominee at the worst really constitute a permanent majority of the distributing body. Then the question comes with additional force, Are the clergy among the objects for which the offertory was retained in our Reformed Church? For it is obvious that then all the clergy were, in estimation of law, provided for by endowments, and the destination of the offertory to them is so recent that we think it cannot be said that the right of the clergy is clear. Then again, is the weekly offertory compulsory? The Society, we suspect, will find it rather hard to escape the horns of a dilemma. If it be not compulsory, there is a way of escape, that the congregation is at liberty, whenever they please, to have an extra offertory for the benefit of the clergyman. But if the Society insist, as we understand those whose views of the offertory agree, as we apprehend, with theirs, do insist, that the weekly offertory is enjoined, then the public duties of the clergy extend to every offertory, and these duties are the more opposed to the objects of the Society. And their usefulness may be still more affected, for partaking in the offertory is very likely to expose them to obloquy, whilst acting (that is, supposing they may lawfully partake) even with perfect propriety. Such imputations, even if unmerited, will touch them in a very tender point. Nor is this all. We remember reading, in a book of travels in Italy, that one of the causes of the degradation of the priests was the facility with which they could obtain money enough for a meal by celebrating a mass. It is sometimes said that the pew-rent system has a tendency

to lower the independence of the clergyman, and to make him court his hearers too much, and even preach to please them. We hope it is not so, and we have not perceived it; and we think that the proportion of the clergy paid by tithes and endowments is so large as to prevent this evil. But, at any rate, would not the offertory produce far worse results in this respect, as each sermon after which it is to be collected would tell upon the collection of that very day?

But suppose these difficulties could be avoided, as the Society suggest, by selecting certain days on which the clergy are to take the whole offertory, or by giving them an aliquot part; and suppose also that this is lawful, or was made lawful; on what principle is the division to be arranged at first? and still more, if it require re-adjustment, how is that to be done? No churchwardens would be bound by the acts of their predecessors. So that to some extent the question of what days, or what proportion, would necessarily arise from time to time. It would be an awkward matter for the clergyman to settle with the churchwardens; and one which he would approach at a disadvantage, especially when he wanted an increase. If they gave it him, would they not do it with the feeling that they were conferring on him a personal favour? And if the bishop were referred to, would it not tend to bring the clergyman into a painful state of dependence upon his diocesan, or of antagonism to him? We earnestly entreat the clergy, for their own sakes, to appreciate the working of the offertory, as the system instead of pew-rents, before they seek to cast themselves upon it. The existing system has one advantage, the mention of which, we hope, will not give offence. It has been adopted for centuries, we believe we may say, by all classes of Christians in our country whose theory is the voluntary system; and as we all hope for, and occasionally rejoice in, their return to our national church, is it not an argument for our present system that it does not introduce them to a novelty which perhaps might be a difficulty?

The Society has announced, among their "inevitable consequences," one which we think is a mistake, though they state it as so very clear, and worse than a mistake by the addition which they make to it, namely, "that the plea of necessity for pew-rents cannot any longer be advanced in good faith." This had been better avoided, especially considering the many shortcomings of their arguments; and that when we noticed the Society's predilection for the offertory, we had rather a tempting opportunity of making a thrust of this sort; and still further, when we recollect that, as to those two churches so recently opened on their plan, they are very wisely, and no doubt only in strict justice to the clergyman, endeavouring to get up a guarantee fund.

Since our last paper was written, we have had two elucidations

tions of the Society's views brought to our notice. One relates to the effect of free seats, without previous appropriation, on large families; the Society telling us that, on their plan, families, especially large ones, would sit together, who now find it impossible to do so. But a case to the contrary, well known in the locality at least, has lately occurred in a church in the diocese of Rochester, appearing in the contrast between two large families, one belonging to a paterfamilias who paid for his pew, and of course they all sat together; but the other father was obliged to wander about the church trying to find room in the free seats, first for a few, and then for a few more. This was the practical working of seats without pre-arrangement. The town is populous, and the resort of multitudes on a Sunday, so that the free seats are fully occupied. Happily the evil has been remedied, but altogether on our principle, and not in the Society's way, which it is plain afforded no means of doing any good. But the churchwardens fortunately found out that they could make an appropriation of seats called free, and now the poor man's family is as secure of their place as the rich. And we are glad that our views are those of an unknown adviser of the churchwardens, who has turned them to so good an account.*

We have ourselves been witnesses of another lamentable defect in the Society's views, having been down to Brighton during the Easter vacation, and we went to the church at which we noticed in our last paper the clever contrivance of a family to secure places in the free seats, by sending their servants beforehand, and then coming and turning them out. We believe Brighton is all still one vast parish, and we went (though not to the parish church) as parishioners for the time. We hope we were not mistaken in this opinion. At any rate we were sure we should not interfere with the poor, and perhaps we had an eye to attempt to do the people good, by observing what passed. We entered the church as soon as the doors were opened, disposing of a few previous minutes by a stroll, and got places on the open bench running along the aisle, perfectly to our own satisfaction. But there was not a poor person in the free seats. And so it will always be when there is any attraction at the church, or any reason for being extra early. The well-to-do classes will always, by having the

* Since this paper was written, we regret to find that the churchwardens are in a difficulty in continuing to the poor father his fixed seats, because in the vestry is a board, stating that the Incorporated Society for building Churches gave a certain sum on condition that so many seats should be free and unappropriated to the poor. We can only hope that the church-

wardens will be advised that this attempt to keep seats unappropriated is void and illegal, and that they can properly continue to secure the poor father and children their comfortable seats. Surely this Society cannot do what Convocation cannot do; and Lord Coke tells us that Convocation cannot alter the law of the land.

command of their time, fill the free seats, even though they may not belong to the parish, and exclude the poor. And we have no doubt whatever that the only way of securing the poor their proper places is to appropriate and keep the free seats for stated hearers, and to turn out intruders, or, if necessary, by pews with doors prevent their entrance; and that a greater practical and legal mistake was never made than when the Society say that the churchwardens or their deputies are to point out to every one, before each service, the sitting he may occupy. It was the subject of frequent remark made to us by many, and it accorded with our own observation, how the pew-openers selected well-dressed persons to be put into pews, how gentlemen were always preferred to females, were accommodated soonest, and got the best seats; except once, when a lady, apparently of rank, came in preceded and announced by a servant in livery, with a coronet, we were told, on the buttons, and then even the servant was at once attended to. We had not ourselves the smallest reason for complaint; but we felt, what every one will, we doubt not, fully recognize, that the petty authority of the churchwardens' deputy, if like the present pew-opener, would be intolerable. As a brother barrister has just observed, pew-openers are far above the law.

It cannot be denied that, in London and our large towns, there is a real difficulty in accommodating the worshippers at church. The proper parochial or district church is not large enough for its own population, and people will, for various reasons, resort to it from other parishes. And seeing the liberty which the clergy have, within the limits of the Church system, as to the doctrines they may preach, we cannot be surprised at the laity exercising a liberty as wide as to the churches they like to attend. It is a subject of real importance. What the Society have to propose we have considered. Some have suggested a plan somewhat like that adopted at the Temple—namely, that the parishioners shall be admitted first, but that the whole interior should be open to all who got admittance. But it would never do to keep the doors shut after service began, or up to the moment of beginning service, whilst some are admitted; in some weathers it would be inhumane, it would always be vexatious. And wherein is the shutting the one door of the church a smaller evil than shutting the pew-doors? It is, at best, doing the same thing at one stroke. Some have thought chairs would be an improvement, perhaps they would hardly say a remedy; but it would be an annoying and a useless change. If the chairs be joined in batches, they are only benches; they are noisy, easily displaced and driven back upon those behind, unfavourable to privacy, and afford less room than pews. After all the consideration we have been able to give to the subject, we confess we think the law cannot be improved. It provides for the parishioners, and beyond

doubt it ought to continue to do so. We deprecate any change in our parochial system, and we think we have shown that the allotment of pews and seats, and even pew-rents, may be useful auxiliaries for securing the comfort and rights of rich and poor alike. In fact, not securing seats beforehand for parishioners would be giving up our parochial worship altogether. The grievance which is felt and complained of, is that seats are kept empty after the service is begun, and parishioners, or even strangers, are kept standing, and are put into a pew as a favour. But when the seats are actually filled, no one complains, except that there are no more seats; for what more can be done? The people see that, and are satisfied. The galling disregard of their wants by those who have room and keep it, is at an end; though the recollection of it long continues when it takes place. Therefore, and on every account, we press for filling the seats before the service begins. And we would also urge that a large part of every church should be really secured for the poor; and, in addition to securing them places, there would be another benefit. For the richer classes getting only perhaps half the church, and so feeling the want of another church, along with the poor, and much sooner than they do, their greater wealth and power would sooner be driven to provide fresh churches, without which the wants of the people can never be overtaken or supplied. Nothing could be more disastrous to the Church of England than to separate the interests of the rich and poor as to their parish churches, and we seriously fear that such would be the result of the Society's operations.

A BARRISTER.

THE CHURCH IN INDIA.

1. *A Charge to the Clergy of the Diocese and Province of Calcutta, at the Second Diocesan and First Metropolitan Visitation of George Edward Lynch Cotton, D.D., Bishop of Calcutta; Metropolitan in India and Ceylon. Calcutta: Hay & Co. London: Macmillan.*
2. *A Charge delivered on the 23rd of April, 1863, in St. George's Cathedral, Madras, at the Primary Visitation of Frederick Gell, D.D., Bishop of Madras. Madras: Higginbotham.*

WHATEVER throws light on the state and prospects of religion in British India has a claim to the attentive consideration of Christians in this land. The like regard is due to any sensible suggestions for furthering the work which our missionaries already have in hand. For many generations to come, be the

political fortunes of India what they may, its people must be the objects of lively interest to all who desire that Christ may be known amongst the Gentiles.

Hence the Charges of the Bishops of Calcutta and Madras are more welcome than their writers appear to have anticipated. The few copies sent from Calcutta to the London publishers have long since been sold. As for the Bishop of Madras's Charge, our booksellers have not been able to discover whether it may be procured in London at all. The publications of missionaries, in separate volumes, are also eagerly read by many; and there are at least some persons who thoughtfully peruse the journals printed in the periodicals, although, from their very nature as truthful records of things as they are, they must often be somewhat dry. An intelligent returned missionary soon discovers that it is not only on the platform that his society and conversation are sought. Religious laymen from India, whether in the military or civil service, find multitudes of anxious listeners when they impart the results of their scrutiny of the work of the Gospel. Even those who care nothing for religion on their own account, and who, because they know nothing of its progress in India, think it right to assert that it makes none, are yet questioned, partly perhaps in order to ascertain how far they are competent to be judges of such matters, and partly because thereby their knowledge of other things connected with India is elicited, in the hope that the scenes of missionary labour may be the better realized and understood.

A bishop has his special point of view from which to contemplate the work which he is commissioned to superintend. And as it is evident that the hearts of these two bishops are in the Lord's work, it is good to stand beside them, and through their eyes to survey the vast fields of missionary toil, and the other regions white for the harvest but as yet unoccupied, all of which, in the providence of God, have been committed to the charge of this country, with an accompanying responsibility. It is our duty faithfully to seek that they may be Christ's inheritance and possession.

The preface to the Charge of the Bishop of Calcutta bears the date of October twelvemonth. It treats of the hopes, perils, and duties (1) of the Church in India, (2) of the Church of England, and (3) of the Catholic Church, by which expression is meant the Church of Christ throughout the world. It was intended to be delivered afterwards at Madras, Bombay, and Columbo, as opportunity might be found, and therefore it may not even yet have to be numbered amongst the documents of the past.

The preface is chiefly occupied with a discussion of the best seat for a new bishopric in India; the present area of that of Calcutta being regarded as unmanageable for one bishop, sup-

posing that he is ever so well disposed and qualified to fulfil successfully the duties of his office.

"A bishop," says Dr. Cotton, "should be the centre of Christian and benevolent enterprise in his diocese, ever ready to advise, and often to take the lead, in any scheme of usefulness, whether for the extension or building up of Christ's Church, or the promotion of education and intellectual progress, or the removal of temporal suffering. But no prelate, however highly gifted, still less one of ordinary powers, can carry in his head, and promote by his personal exertions, all the schemes of this kind which either originate, or ought to originate, in this vast territory; and if there were another bishop, (of course assuming that he understood the duties of his position,) many plans which can now only be carried on in succession, would be simultaneously, and therefore far more speedily, accomplished, while many again would be actively promoted, which are now never suggested at all. The other duty which it is physically impossible for a bishop of Calcutta properly to fulfil, is that of travelling. He cannot, even with uninterrupted health, (and who can count on uninterrupted health in India?) visit his diocese in a shorter period than four years, and during this long interval between his visits to any one place, important functions must be omitted, which none but a bishop can lawfully discharge."

The bishop thinks that whatever might have been said for Agra in time past, under its present circumstances it is not the proper place for the new see. Neither does he approve of Simla, now that it is settled that the government shall not be transferred to that city. There remain Lahore and Rangoon, between which his choice would lie. If the bishopric were to be established by the Indian government, he thinks that Lahore would be most fitly selected for the see.* He would, however, prefer Rangoon, with an endowment provided in part by voluntary contributions, (he mentions the *Society for the Propagation of the Gospel*, as having a missionary staff in Burmah,) the other half consisting of the income of a government chaplaincy. To this bishop he would give charge of a diocese comprising Burmah, and, for the present at least, extending along the straits as far as Singapore. A consideration of the dissimilarity of the languages spoken in Burmah from those of the Indian peninsula strongly recommends this arrangement.

We listen with great respect to these suggestions. They appear to be grounded in wisdom. We shall be glad to see a prudent and moderate extension of the episcopate. But we never think on that important subject without wishing that some distinct settlement were made of the relations subsisting between the bishops and clergy in the colonies and dependencies of England, whereby the latter might be placed under an authority limited by known and clearly defined laws, as is the case with incumbents in the English dioceses, and not subject

* While these pages are passing through the press, a Lahore Bishopric Bill is awaiting the consideration of the House of Commons.

to the caprices and errors of arbitrary power. The *Church Missionary Society* has been unjustly reproached with indifference to episcopacy, when it has only asked that, before it joins in active measures for the increase of the episcopate, the rights of the clergy may first be secured, and their position settled. The treatment of Mr. Long at the Cape is a sufficient justification of that Society in claiming that reasonable restrictions be placed on episcopal powers,—that the bishop be a constitutional and not an absolute ruler. This preface is also very distinct in its utterance on another question which at this day interests many churchmen. The Bishop of Calcutta resolutely objects to the establishment of missionary bishoprics in the midst of existing dioceses, and with jurisdiction limited to native Christians. He holds that such a scheme is opposed to ancient precedent, and fraught with practical evils of a serious character. “It would divide the Indian Church into two separate portions, and introduce into it distinctions of race scarcely less fatal than those of caste, from which native believers are with difficulty delivered. There is already too little connection between Asiatic and European Christians, too little sympathy between the missionaries and the ministers of English congregations.” (p. xii.)

This sensible judgment shows what careful consideration is due to such subjects, how much local knowledge is required for the wise settlement of them, and how watchfully we ought to guard against being led away by hot and impetuous but ill-informed advocates of theories, or, as they may call them, principles, avowedly for the furtherance of the Gospel, but possibly for its hindrance.

We now come to the Charge itself, and we are almost out of breath in following the bishop through a visitation occupying nearly four years, and traversing a diocese extending over thirty-three degrees of latitude and sixteen of longitude.

He speaks of the mutiny as issuing in a virtual reconquest of India, and as leaving some special and lasting results behind it. The European dislikes the country more than he did, and longs more impatiently for home; yet there is a much larger number of European settlers, whose spiritual wants are to be considered. So, also, a great British army is introduced, and with it certain moral and religious influences, for good or evil. And, as regards the natives themselves, their minds have been thoroughly unsettled by that convulsion, so that they are open, to a degree in which they never were before, to listen to new doctrines, and therefore to Christian truth.

Together with these great facts discernible in the condition of India, the bishop turns his eye thoughtfully to the mental peculiarities of Christendom, which must needs influence the progress of thought in India. The vital questions (Inspiration and others), which are now publicly discussed in England,

"are directly connected," says the Bishop, "with our work here, and can scarcely be left unnoticed." (p. 4.) Hence arose the second and the third divisions of his Charge, already described.

The survey of such subjects, by a mind so clear and intelligent, and withal so evidently in earnest from beginning to end, involves a reviewer in perplexity. He scarcely knows how to leave out anything. Yet, since a selection must be made, we think it right to give the preference to what he tells us of India; allowing ourselves, therefore, more liberty on that division than on the others.

He looks with anxiety upon the British army of 70,000 officers and men, the vast majority unmarried, living in "enforced idleness," through the climate, and because these are times of peace. He points to "the untold mischief which arises from a want of occupation." He urges upon the chaplains the duty of seeking to exercise a healthy influence over a frivolous society, and to be as beacons of Christianity in the midst of worldliness. And, while listening to him, may we not call the attention of Christian parents to the dangers incidental to military life in India, in the hope of withdrawing them from sharing in that eager rush for employment for their children in a service which seems to expose all to special temptations, and which proves to be the absolute ruin of many? At least it is right to consider impartially and anxiously, whether the son for whom such employment is sought be of a character to stand the terrible trial of an "enforced idleness," in an enervating climate, and where the means and opportunities of indulgence are all too ready to hand.

The bishop also pressed upon the chaplain his duties to the soldiers in the ranks, in a way which shows that the adviser who addressed him had a clear view of the peculiar circumstances of the life of the private. "To find out their wants and weaknesses, to influence them for good, to provide them with rational occupation, above all, to lead them to the saving knowledge of God in Christ, are the direct means by which many of you must fulfil the *ministry which you have received of the Lord.*" (p. 5.) He pities the condition of the soldier in India, regarding him as helpless, ignorant, needing guidance, and exposed to great temptations; and yet he looks upon him as rewarding efforts for his welfare, not only with gratitude, but with visible improvement. After leaving a military station, the bishop has often thought "that the extremes of godliness and ungodliness meet in the British army." (p. 6.) He speaks of "a small knot of thoughtful men" as to be found in almost every regiment, "sometimes as active, always as silent, witnesses for a kingdom of righteousness and purity, and for Him who is its Lord." (p. 6.) He urges the chaplains, in the name of Christ, to struggle earnestly against the vices which

are ruining the soldiers in body and soul. He declares his belief that the Government ought, at all risks, to give the soldiers facilities for marriage, the cost of which he believes would be counterbalanced by a diminished demand for recruits. Then he speaks of various means of occupying the soldier's time, in employments which tend to improve his tastes and conversation,—Soldiers' Institutes or Clubs, with books and innocent recreations; and, of a more directly religious character, prayer-meetings, managed by the chaplains, not excluding extempore prayer, if the men desire it; on which whole subject he offers wise counsels (p. 10), to which some might do well to give heed at home. Moreover, he bids the chaplains to take care that their ministrations amongst the soldiers, in Bible classes, in the schools, and in their visits to the hospitals, be "full of life and reality, and the spirit of piety and love." (p. 11.) He would have the church services to be hearty and impressive, the choir well trained, the reading reverent and impressive, the preaching a right division of the Word of Truth, setting forth "the true Gospel of Christ, in all its simplicity, and in all its power." (p. 11.) He would have more done to draw the men to the "Holy Communion," and recommends the instruction of classes in preparation for confirmation and the Lord's Supper.

What a blessing it may be to the army in India that the Bishop of Calcutta should have thus vigorously urged upon the military chaplains such methods for the treatment of soldiers as may tend to preserve them from the lowest degradation, to which allurements abound on all sides, in every place, and to help and encourage them to live as Christian men.

Over the next class of the community in India, of which the bishop speaks in the same strain of earnest interest, we must pass with a very few remarks. It consists of Europeans of the middle class, engaged in various employments (as clerks, railway servants, surveyors, &c. &c.), and likewise of persons of mixed blood, European and Indian, now commonly known as Eurasians (Eur-Asians). They and their children are too much left to themselves as regards sacred ordinances, pastoral ministrations, and Christian education. It is impossible to read what the bishop says (pp. 13—16) without commiseration for the spiritual isolation of these our fellow-Christians, without desiring that additional means may be set in motion at once for their edification and comfort, or without feeling that they might be of great use for the furtherance of the Gospel, as a Christian leaven, were more care shown for their souls.

But we are compelled to hasten on to the bishop's thoughts on missionary work in India. Only first we are free to say that we had not reached this part of the Charge before our sympathies were thoroughly engaged by the bishop, and our confidence established in his heartiness, intelligence, and lively interest

in the work to which he has dedicated the talents which God has given to him. He had made us ready to listen respectfully to the views on any other subjects which he might have seen fit to propound. In him we see with thankfulness one of many instances in which God is pleased to fit and qualify men for the duties to which they are called, foreign though they may have been to their previous avocations.

We come, then, to his "few" but important "remarks" on the missionary work which is in progress in India. He justly points to the vast influence for good which might be at work if European society in India were regenerated by means of Gospel truth, constituting "a body of faithful men and women, living in an atmosphere of prayer and holiness and active benevolence." (p. 16.) On the other hand, he notices the lamentable hindrances thrown in the way of Christ's religion "by the lives of professing Christians who are faithless to their Lord." We often meet with persons returned from India who speak of Christianity as making no progress; they are probably little aware how much they have themselves been stumbling-blocks in the way of the heathen.

The bishop believes that at the present time there are two classes of the native population on whom our labour may be most hopefully bestowed, namely, the most educated and the least civilized. Looking upon the latter, he sees for the present the most promising scenes for evangelical enterprise in the aboriginal tribes, and others unfettered by caste, and free from the influence of the Brahmins and of the Buddhist priests. He infers this from the successes actually achieved. The most notable scenes of missionary progress are, Tinnevely, Chota Nagpore, and Burmah, amongst the Karens. On this account he rejoices over the work which the *Church Missionary Society* has commenced amongst the Sonthals; and he wishes that the same Society may be induced to extend its operations for the benefit of that "interesting race," the Gonds, in central India. He would like to see the *Society for the Propagation of the Gospel* answering a providential invitation to it to care for the Kachàri aborigines of Assam, the tribes on the hills and plains by the Brahmaputra, and the Kookies and other tribes on the mountains near Chittagong.

Attempting, by the aid of the valuable survey which we find in Dr. Mullens's *Brief Review of Ten Years' Missionary Labour in India* (1852—1861), to realize the missionary work of which India is the scene, we had ourselves been struck with the fact, that all the regions in which fruit is borne on so large a scale as to gladden the hearts of our Lord's harvest-men, are neither under the sway of the Hindoo, the Buddhist, nor the Mahometan religions. For all that has been achieved amongst any of these people, we, in common with the bishop, are

thankful. With him we are disposed to accept the suggestion that other such like people hold out, at the present time, the greatest promise of success to those who go forth to preach the Gospel. But we also feel that those other deeply-rooted religions which hold the great mass of the people of India within their grasp, must be approached as soon as possible with energy, discretion, and careful preparedness of mind; that they are not to be left to maintain undisturbed tyranny over the mind, but that, in dependence on God, in hopefulness of success, and by the use of the best instruments that can be found, the servants of Christ must gird themselves to undermine and overthrow them. God's Truth will be found in the end stronger than any religion of human devising, however ancient its origin may have been, and however firm its hold on man's fallen mind.

It may be that one of these systems, the Hindoo, is intended by God to go to pieces ere long by means of its own absurdity, and of its inconsistency with the ascertained facts of nature. The bishop speaks of the higher classes of the Hindoos as now being the worthy objects of anxious interest to the hearts of Christians. The educated natives of Bengal are generally acquainted with our literature, receive a similar education to our own, are members of learned professions, are employed in our civil service, have seats in our councils, and are judges in our courts of law; "so that, in everything except Christianity, they are fast becoming European." (p. 18.) But as regards religion, and the salvation of the soul, they are passing through "a merely negative and destructive period." (p. 19.) Many of them have constructed a system, the morals of which are drawn chiefly from the Gospel, while it rejects the Christian faith. The rest consists of "conjectures and baseless hopes." This is the religion of what is often called "Young Bengal," a religion which exhibits none of those elements of permanence, and will either pass into the more excellent way, or let go the good that is in it, and end in Deism. It ought, therefore, to be encountered with intelligence and energy by Christian argument and influence. The bishop regards this class as impressible; emancipated from their ancient superstition, yet also surrounded by intellectual and other temptations to stand aloof from the Gospel. He believes that "Christian evidence, Christian example, and Christian influence," will be mighty, through God, to the pulling down of their strongholds. While this great enterprise is in hand, he deprecates our being exacting at home. The "tale of baptism" may be insignificant for some years. "We are but beleaguering the fortress of unbelief, bringing up our siege train, and digging our trenches." (p. 21.) These are appropriate cautions. We trust that the friends of Missions will give heed to them. We wish that they might even reach the eyes of the writers of leading articles in the

Times newspaper, who like to play with such subjects occasionally in a mischievous way, though evidently without understanding them, or having made use of the knowledge to which access is easily attained.

The bishop speaks in warm terms of admiration of the labours originated by Dr. Duff, having it for their aim to direct education to the worthy end of spreading Christianity. He describes Dr. D. as "that illustrious missionary." (p. 21.) He urges that the great work of the Christian instruction of this educated class should be energetically sustained, by private intercourse, by lectures, and by the provision of churches, "not in mission compounds, but in the midst of great cities," as has been done at Umritsur, and is in preparation in the suburbs of Calcutta. On this point he quotes in a note the recommendations of "one of the oldest, the most experienced, and the most devoted of our missionaries" (p. 23), the Rev. W. Smith, missionary of the C.M.S. at Benares. He urges forward the "great movement" now in progress, which is not only permitted but desired by all enlightened Hindus, for the education of their wives and mothers; he wishes to see a new and Christianly-influenced college for natives in Calcutta, leaving Bishop's College to be a seminary mainly theological; and he asks that the "miserable ignorance of the Bengal ryots," or peasantry (p. 25), "may be no longer overlooked," but that they may be educated, in order to make them better citizens, and that they may be taught Christianity for their souls' sake.

The bishop speaks with regret of the Mahometan part of the population of India, as having been systematically neglected by missionary agency. He probably has the province of Bengal in view, for the labours of Dr. Pfander, for a time, were not inconsiderable in Northern India. He says there is an evident movement, and desire for intellectual progress, in Mahometan society in Calcutta. A Mahometan writer at Ghazeepore is answering Bishop Colenso's cavils against the Pentateuch. In order that this field may not be left uncultivated, he desires that missionaries should master the Arabic language, and study the Mahometan mind. (p. 27.)

Concerning the native churches, the bishop expresses his thoughts with the earnestness which indeed breathes through the whole of this instructive and spirit-stirring Charge. He would have them taught universally, as they are in some parts, to contribute systematically to the maintenance of their native pastors; and more than urges them to support an active aggressive warfare against heathenism. Each convert ought to be stirred up "to make others partakers of the treasure which he himself has found." They should be made to see that the time ought to be near "when these episcopal sees, multiplied twentyfold, are occupied by Indian prelates, that our English bishops are

only the foreign Augustines and Theodores, to be followed, I trust, by a goodly succession of native Stigands and Langtons." (p. 29.)

Our closely succeeding references to pages have shown how rapidly we have passed along a discussion which itself professes to be but a glance and a summary. We can truly say that it would have been far more agreeable, and even easier, to us to have lingered longer amidst "the thoughts that breathe and words that burn," on this momentous subject of Christian Missions in India, in the Bishop of Calcutta's Charge, than to touch upon its topics with such haste and imperfectness.

We wring our hands in despair when we think that two-thirds of this Charge remain to be noticed, and that we have not yet said a word on the further contribution to our missionary lore provided by the good Bishop of Madras. But we must not throw down the pen merely because we cannot write as freely as we could desire.

The second division of Bishop Cotton's Charge has for its subject the Church of England. He treats principally on some of the alleged causes of the diminution of the supply of clergy, at a time when the wants of the home population are continually on the increase, and when the colonies and the mission fields are ever making greater demands for help from the mother country. He considers that one cause is certainly to be found in "the perplexities produced by scepticism." "There has been a tendency," he says, "to disparage its importance, to speak of the assertion, that many young men scruple to subscribe our formularies, as exaggerated; sometimes even to denounce such scruples with asperity and contempt." From such a treatment of the case he wholly dissents. His sagacious mind distinguishes between the difficulties which a student may encounter in an honest search after truth (which he regards with tenderness, and with hope as to the issue), and the "scepticism which may be a cloak for eccentricity, or vanity, or ungodly living," or may spring from intellectual pride, or a heart in which the conviction of sin is wanting, and from worldliness and selfishness. (p. 34.)

The other alleged hindrance to the supply of clergy, on which he enlarges, is to be found in objections to our formularies.

"Believing firmly that our Liturgy and Articles faithfully represent to us the whole truth of Christ's Gospel," and loving the Church of England "from conviction that its teaching is at once evangelical, apostolical, and catholic," and moved by other reasons, he would not wish to see the formularies of the Church altered in principle, nor any omissions or additions made in them "which could change their tone or character." (p. 35.) But he is far from wishing to "crush as disloyal" every proposal for improvements, and he deprecates resistance to "reasonable change," though his own evident belief is, that expla-

nation is, in most cases, preferable to any alteration. He admits that the *Baptismal Services* are differently understood, but is content with their language, as properly applicable to an admission into a covenanted relation to God. He sets a high value on the *Athanasian Creed*, for its enunciations of doctrine, but has often been disturbed by the damnatory clauses. Careful consideration has, however, brought him to the conclusion that "whosoever will be saved," is intended to mean, "whosoever desires to be among the saved, a real Christian," that the Catholic faith must be "held" as "the first step towards Christian holiness," and that what is declared is, that a man must "persevere in this faith to the end, walking according to its precepts, or else he will be cast out, and perish eternally." (p. 41.) With the late Bishop Blomfield, he desires that an explanatory rubric might be appended to the Creed. These pages (37—42) will repay a thoughtful perusal.

He desires "slight modifications" of the *Burial Service*, such as might easily be made without lowering its tone, as indeed he suggests is exemplified in the Office for Burial at Sea. He shows that the Church in India specially requires what he asks. The words to which many object in the *Form and Manner of Ordaining of Priests* ("whose sins, &c.") he accepts as applicable conditionally, and as giving solemn and helpful encouragement to those who bear Christ's commission, if they are faithful, to believe that they may go to their work in the strength of the Holy Ghost. He wishes for a revision of this *Table of Lessons*, and of the *Canons*, for some greater liberty as to services in India; and for a provision (which we, too, want at home) for the confirmation of persons baptised in riper years. He asks for simplified subscriptions, declarations, and oaths (a request which appears to be on the eve of being granted); and lastly, and earnestly, for what he quotes Archbishop Whately as calling "some kind of collective Synod, representing the whole united Church," considering that at present the Church is "practically reduced to silence." (p. 51.) He craves some general assembly of the whole Church, gathered from England, Ireland, and the Colonies, composed of clergy and laity, "meeting, perhaps, once in every five years," "under the control of the English monarchy and Parliament," with authority defined by the Legislature, which also might properly maintain a veto on its proceedings. (pp. 52, 53.)

We feel most reluctant to skim hastily over the surface of the third important division of this Charge, which relates to the difficulties of the present day on the momentous subject of the Divine authority of Holy Scripture. But we can only attempt to indicate what will be found in it. The bishop shows why he cannot accept what is called the "theory of dictation;" why he repudiates the denial of special inspiration; why he believes in a Divine interposition and supernatural inspiration in the

composition of the whole Bible; and why he prefers to offer no theory of inspiration, and to be content with holding, what can be clearly proved, that the Bible is the written Word of God.

But of this part, and of the whole Charge, we must say, that we wish that the Bishop of Calcutta's words—so calm, so earnest, so wise, so dignified, so fearless, so sound in the faith, so expressive of true piety, so trustful in God's truth—instead of being no longer on sale in England, were made accessible to all by being reprinted in a small volume.

The concluding sentences convey to the clergy an exhortation to insist on "the spiritual and moral evidences, the answer of the Gospel to the cry of the awakened sinner, and the perfect pattern of holiness set before us by our Lord." (p. 88.) The golden words of the last page are these:—

"Let us all, whether pastors of Christian Churches, or evangelists to the heathen, preach the Lord Jesus Christ by our words, and yet more by our lives, in all the fulness and variety of His perfections. Preach Him as the Word and Revelation of the Father, and therefore as the Light of the world. Preach Him as the all-sufficient Atonement, the Lamb without blemish and without spot, the Son of God and Son of man, who fulfilled all righteousness, and was therefore accepted as the perfect Sacrifice which taketh away the sin of the world. Preach Him as the Good Shepherd, giving his life for the sheep, and going forth into the wilderness to bring them back into the fold. Preach Him as the eternal High Priest and Intercessor, presenting our prayers to the Father, and sending forth into our hearts the Spirit of truth and holiness. Preach Him as the King, Captain, Prophet, and Teacher of His people. Preach Him as the example of all goodness, the Man who lived and died to show us how to live and die. Preach Him as the Judge who will return to take account of all our thoughts and words and deeds. Appeal to the hearts, the consciences, the inmost spiritual feelings of those who hear you, and ask them if this picture of Christ, as the Redeemer of mankind, does not satisfy their highest aspirations and deepest wants. If you begin in this way, every other part of God's revealed Truth will fall into its proper place. When those who have so learned Christ come to inquire into the history of the religion which you have taught them, you will show that this does not shrink from examination, and that the course of the world, through long ages, was divinely ordered to prepare the way of the Lord. Such I believe to be the appointed order of Christian evidence, the true course of Christian teaching, the final proof of the inspiration of Scripture. God grant that we may be enabled by the Spirit of power to turn many to righteousness through such teaching, and to bring them to the calm enjoyment of that love of God which is in Christ Jesus our Lord." (p. 89.)

The Primary Charge of the Bishop of Madras was delivered when he had been but seventeen months in India. In that time he had travelled over his extensive diocese, gathering much information, the fruits of which are to be found in this Charge. It is written in a beautiful spirit, so modest, so

devout, so full of sympathy with faithful workers for Christ, so earnest and affectionate in stirring up all to labour diligently for the enlargement and building up of the Redeemer's kingdom. Besides important statistical information respecting his own diocese, and his sensible remarks thereon, there are a few special points to which we refer with reluctant brevity. The bishop desires that the Government should provide for the teaching of the Bible in such of its schools as are under the instruction of Christian masters. He presses upon chaplains the duty of interesting themselves in missionary work, of learning the native languages, of drawing the attention of their European congregations to that important branch of Christian service, and of pressing upon them their responsibility for being examples of Christian character to the heathen around them. Like the Bishop of Calcutta, he shows a lively interest in the condition of the European soldier. And he concludes his Charge with an earnest exhortation to the clergy "to teach and preach Christ," pointing, in a very beautiful passage, to the loving spirit with which St. Paul regarded his converts.

We must limit ourselves to a single quotation, trusting that the bishop's useful life may be spared for many a year, and that the results of his longer experience, as they may be communicated in a future Charge, may receive more full attention in our own pages.

Has missionary effort proved a failure? The bishop answers such a question as follows:—

"The sight of Tinnevely scatters to the winds almost all that has been written to disparage Mission work. The Christian will seek to preach the Gospel to the heathen, though he sees no success, because his beloved Master, whose Word with him is everything, has said, '*Go ye into all the world, and preach the Gospel to every creature.*' But unmistakeably in Tinnevely the Word of God, preached by devoted men, has not returned to Him void, but has accomplished much. Not all the results are there that everybody says ought to be there. But there are many saved and sanctified souls there, not perfectly sanctified, but wonderfully different from the soul of an idolater; there are men spending themselves for the Gospel; there are native pastors tried and efficient; there are catechists bent on winning souls for Christ; there are many intelligent children learning God's word and the spirit of the Gospel; there are many congregations in which the heartiness of the people, and the preaching of their minister, would put to shame many an English church; there are external signs of something new, and something better than the old heathenism, in the cleanliness and order of the Christian villages; and there is an acknowledged superiority in the intelligence and civilization of the Christian population, which must influence for good the heathen around." (pp. 6, 7.)

God grant His richest blessings to these two Indian bishops, and make them His instruments for guiding and directing to the happiest end the work which is at least begun effectually in India! We are encouraged to believe that the providence

and grace of God have been, and are now, preparing room for His own vine in that land. By these, or by whatsoever human agents He may choose, may He be pleased to carry the work onward to perfection; and may the day speedily come in which it may be said that the Gospel vine has not only taken *deep root*, but has *filled the land*!

ON "HANDLING THE WORD OF GOD DECEITFULLY."*

THERE are two ways of handling or receiving the Word of God. According to the first, we accept it as our supreme authority in all matters of doctrine, faith, and practice, recognising it as the revelation of the mind and will of the Infallible, and prepared to bow to its decisions, even although those decisions should be found to be discordant with the conclusions of our reason or the intimations of our preconceived opinions. Reason, according to these views, has nearly fulfilled her office, and almost exhausted her functions, when she has arrived at the conviction that the Bible is the Word of God. It may have strained her powers, and taxed her habits of independence, to have reached that conviction; for in the Scriptures there are many things hard to be understood, and many things that cannot be understood at all. But, having reached it, she is thenceforth bound to accept its contents as being too true to be suspected, and too authoritative to be questioned. In other words, she surrenders her own judgment to that of Revelation. For, if Revelation be the expression of the wisdom and knowledge of God, and if God be infallible, there remains for reason little else to do than to accept what she dares not deny, and to submit to what it were, after such a conclusion, unreasonable to doubt. We say not that there are not many things in the Bible utterly outside the province and powers of reason, and many other things contradictory to her discoveries and deductions; but that, in the one case, it is her duty to believe where she is incompetent to comprehend, and in the other, to draw the distinction between modes of expression and the obvious truth intended.

But there is another way in which the Word of God is accepted. According to it, reason puts herself in a position of equality with the Revelation of God, declining to accept anything which is not level to her own power of comprehension, or in harmony with her own deductions. Doctrines, communications, there may be in the Scriptures, perfectly plain and intelligible as to what they seem to assert, although the thing

* The above is the substance of a Sermon preached, May 3, the Anniversary of the Church Pastoral Aid Society, by the Rev. Canon Boyd, on the words forming the title of this Article.

asserted by them may be utterly mysterious and incomprehensible. In such cases, the action of reason is clearly to inform herself whether such a communication be made; and if so, at once to accept it. To go a step beyond this, and demand that the thing revealed should be intelligible in itself, is to demand either that the Infinite should be as the finite, or the finite exalted to the capacity of the Infinite. "Men would be as gods, knowing (in the widest sense) good and evil." If that demand be reasonable, then "faith is made void, and the promise made of none effect." The Bible has nothing in it but what man could invent, or, if not invent, confirm out of the powers of his own understanding. It were easy to show that, according to this theory, things undeniably and demonstratively true ought to be rejected by those who had not opportunities or means of testing their truth. To us, the solidation of water into ice is an accepted truth; to the men at the Equator, an unreasonable impossibility. To the men of the Arctic regions, the appearance of the sun at midnight is a truth; to us an improbability. Yet, things such as these are universally accepted on sufficient testimony, even although there be nothing demonstrative to confirm them. It is this temper of demanding satisfaction for reason in everything, that has in all ages been the parent of resolute infidelity. Three centuries past, Socinus wrote his views respecting the Satisfaction of Christ. "If not once only, but often, it should be written in the Sacred Scriptures that Christ made satisfaction to God for sins, I could not therefore believe it. . . . Any, even the greatest force, is to be used with words rather than take this, in this the obvious sense." Here, the truth revealed is confessed to be "obvious" as a revelation, yet denied as a fact. The difficulty of belief lies not in the obscurity of the communication, but in the nature of the thing itself. To us it is enough, however clad in difficulties, that the Word of God has announced the "satisfaction;" to the great apostle of Socinians, a thousand declarations are nothing, because declaring that which reason chooses not to accept. A century past, Dr. Priestley wrote in a similar spirit respecting the pre-existence of our Lord; denying that truth—not because dimly revealed, or resting on an insufficient amount of testimony, but because transcending the powers of reason to conceive. Each individual around him began existence at his birth into this world, and therefore Christ could not have had an existence previous to His entrance on this world. That which the Pythagorean or the Hindu can believe on dreamy suggestion, a professing Christian cannot believe on God's assertion. "So strange and incredible does the hypothesis of a pre-existent state appear, that sooner than admit it I would suppose the whole verse (John vi. 62) to be an interpolation, or that the old apostle dictated one thing, and his amanuensis

wrote another." To a mind of this description, so utterly undisciplined to reverence or trust, repeated revelations or harmonious statements of any amount, or of any unambiguity, could avail positively nothing. Its creed is not, "Let God be true, but every man a liar;" but, "Let reason be infallible, even though God should be proved untruthful." Proud wilfulness, not trustful humility, is its very attitude and characteristic; for we have it in a recent avowal of opinion: "I will believe the statement about the angels, because I like it; but I will not believe that about the devils, because I do not like it."

Now, in our own days a school has arisen representing to a great degree these principles, and claiming for itself to express the Theology of the age. We mean not to impute to it the unreasonable dogmatism of Socinus, or the coarse irreverent flippancy of Priestley; but are unable to acquit it of holding principles which only require a certain amount of intrepidity and indulgence to expand into errors as serious. For that which lies equally at the root of both is a doubt and distrust of the very truth of the Word of God. If Socinus disliked the doctrine of Satisfaction, and thought an atonement through suffering altogether at variance with his preconceived and arbitrary notions of the character of God, he hesitated not to discard it, as a notion which reason could not tolerate. It mattered not to him, that the book of appeal (if we have such a thing) affirmed it in passages too plain and numerous to be gainsayed; for that book must be in error, because reason—that is, himself—had decided differently. The words of Scripture he admitted to be strong, but "the greatest force was to be used with them, rather than admit the obvious sense." Of course, such a man had no Bible. He was his own Bible, and Reason was the high priest of his profession. The case is only altered as to the peculiar doctrine selected for rejection. In the instance of Priestley, the text could not be denied as to its meaning, but it could be got rid of as an interpolation or a clerical mistake. Is there nothing of this spirit, nothing of this practice, nothing of this daring encroachment on the authority of the Bible, to be traced to this school of the theology of the age? So much of them all there is, that almost every expedient is resorted to, to break down that authority, and to make its clear voice to utter sounds indistinct, ambiguous, meaningless, contradictory. If the early historic facts of the Bible be, to reason's estimate, unreal or unlikely, let them stand, not as facts, but as myths. If the statements of the Bible are too strong for the diluted theology of the nineteenth century, let these assertions be modified, and their inconvenient angles rounded off by allowance made for poetic exuberance and metaphorical exaggeration. If texts sturdily maintain, or appear to maintain, the old creed, which the Church in all ages has revered; and if their insurmountable testimony is not to be

refined away by explanation, let there be grave doubts thrown over their authority, by cautions as to the various readings and various versions of the Scripture. If passages there be, which appear too strong for reason's acceptance, too decisive, too dogmatic, too stern, too vindictive, it is well to remember that Inspiration is a questionable thing, that the human element is so mingled with the Divine afflatus in the mind of the writer, that it becomes a matter of difficulty to determine how much of the writing owes its parentage to God, and how much to man. If the startling question be asked by the timid enquirer, how much of this discredited record, of this doubtful authority, is to be considered truth, and how much possible error,—how the line is to be drawn between the trustworthy and the uncertain,—how we are to know when Isaiah wrote, as "moved by the Holy Ghost," or when he moved himself,—we are cast, not so much upon solid criticism, or parallel confirmation, as upon the "verifying faculty" in man. In a word, man is made, by this school, a "law unto himself;" or, in language cited, "I believe, because I like the doctrine; and I will not believe the doctrine, because I do not like it." Surely, this is no satisfactory position in which to leave the great question of the criterion or test of truth. If facts and history, texts and passages, doctrines and promises, threats and warnings, prophecies and experience, inspiration and the question of the soundness of the sacred text itself, are thus to be left to the mercy of fancy, reason, conjecture, and shallow criticism, the result is likely to be this,—that all trust in Revelation will be shaken to its centre; and that, notwithstanding the grand successes of Christianity effected through the preaching of the Bible, as God's word of unquestionable truth, we are to be left to the exploded conjectures of philosophy, and a wisdom which knew not God.

Now, there is no question whatever, that in our own day there is a strong and alarming current in this free-thinking direction. That, whether it be that appetite for novelty is on the increase, or the old and simple reverence for things sacred is passing away, or the fascinations of daring scholarship are carrying men beyond those limits by which the truth is guarded, there is a growing disposition to bring down the communications of God to the level of human wisdom. It is true that, in the positions taken up by this school, there is nothing deserving the name of originality or novelty. There is scarcely a thought put forward, or a suspicion whispered, or a doubt suggested, which has not struck the minds of sceptics ages since, and been made the subject of repeated refutation. The questions of the formation of the canon of Scripture, of the various readings which have disfigured the original text, of the poetic element in the sacred writings, of the amount and kind of in-

spiration which produced them,—these have been before the Church, from the days of Origen and Chrysostom, and have been re-produced in the various forms of inquiry and accusation from those of Porphyry to Paine. But, nevertheless, notorious as it is, that questions of this nature are discoverable in all ages, they are claimed as being specially the characteristics of the present. Floating, as they have been, through the writings of many past periods, they are considered so distinctly to culminate in this, as to warrant their being called "*The Theology of the Nineteenth Century.*" It may be as well, therefore, at this stage of our subject, to speak a few words on the consideration of the point, what, as to its permanent impression, the theology of an age may be worth.

It is impossible to look back on the line of Church history without feeling that almost every age has had its peculiar theology; that that theology exercised for a time a certain influence, enrolled under its banners a large body of disciples, and then, in its turn, gave way to some other theology more fresh and attractive. The theology of the fourth century was, for example, confessedly Arian. The hesitating doubts and whispered objections of the earlier heretics then resolved themselves into a dogmatic system, so influential and well-defined as to call for Conciliary rebuke. True it is, that in the Nicene Council, orthodoxy appeared to represent the views of the Church. But history has revealed the fact, that many who voted for the creed of Nice were themselves Arian, and that that creed was more of an equivocal compromise than a real and final affirmation of truth. With the removal of imperial influence, the real theology of the age came so fully to light, that the firmest defenders of the faith were obliged to bend before its power. And yet that school of opinion passed away. Again, the theology of the eighth century was confessedly sensuous. If the first Council of Nice failed to arrest Arianism, the second Council ruled that Scripture itself must give way to edicts, and that the Second Commandment must yield to the desire for material representations of Deity. And yet that theology was scorned by the Schoolmen and the Reformers. The theology of the twelfth age espoused the doctrine of the religious value of pilgrimages and bodily exercises, placed the seal of its warm eulogy on monastic institutions and ascetic discipline, and held that to translate the Word of Life into the common tongue understood by the people, was to do disservice to piety, and open the door to the incursions of heretical or questionable opinions. And that theology, though upheld by the full strength of the monastic orders, and the weighty influence of a selfish priesthood, broke down under the force of the growing intelligence of the close of the middle ages. The theology of the sixteenth century is looked upon with reprobation by the nineteenth; for the Creed of Trent is repudiated

by all Protestants, and the Confessions of England, Geneva, and Augsburg pronounced by modern rationalism to be "symbolical books, which modern criticism has shut up." Of course, in that latter opinion we do not concur. But the use we can make of it is this, that, in the judgment of the advanced theologians of our times, the creeds of the Reformation are unsuited to the broad opinions of our day. While, if, in the last place, we refer to the theology which marked the close of the last century, distinguished in France by infidelity, and in England by a cold formalism, an utter indifference to distinctive doctrine, and sentiments so unlike the Christianity of the Bible as to call for the remedy of the "Practical View" of Wilberforce, we shall find that, fashionable and universally accepted as it was then, no man would venture to lift his voice in approval of it now.

What is the inference we draw from this review? This : that the theology of an age, if it be not based on the immutable revelation of the Word of God, the only thing connected with opinion which "abideth for ever," no matter how specious it may appear, no matter how flattering to human reason, no matter how supposed to rectify the errors of inspiration, and no matter how disturbing for the present of the simple faith of earnest Christians—may share the fate of other theologies, and live but to be entombed at last among the dry skeletons of those daring criticisms which once spoke with power, but "whose memorial has perished." All things die but truth ; and truth, for the purposes of salvation and peace, lies in the Bible. "The grass withereth, and the flower thereof falleth away : but the Word of the Lord endureth for ever."

Now, in dealing with these modern encroachments on the claims and supreme authority of the Scripture, it were equally uncandid and unjust to charge on the theologians by whom they are sanctioned, a deliberate intention to unsettle the faith of their fellow-men in their trust and reverence for the Word of God. According to their own declaration, nothing is further from their design or wishes, than to detract from the claims of the Bible to be considered as the grand exponent of truth. On the contrary, they will tell us, that their very aim is to put the Bible in a higher and more secure position, by relieving it of those features of weakness, and disembarassing it of those misconceptions of its true meaning, and those fantastic interpretations which detract so much from its proper authority. According to them, there is a wide distinction to be taken between truth verbal and truth doctrinal, between truth formal and truth actual, between what the Bible means to say and what it appears to say. To them it matters nothing or little, how the truth be expressed, so that it be truth. It may lie upon the pages of Scripture as a parable, or a history, or a story, or an image. The drapery of truth is nothing, so that the warm,

living body be beneath it. The latter is to be retained; the former may, without injury to the interests of truth, be discarded. Incidents recorded as historic facts, and received by the generality of men as plain, absolute history, may be dismissed as myths, so that the moral be retained. Statements may occur, apparently solemn, intentionally impressive, and received by simple and unlearned readers as "reproofs, rebukes, exhortations;" but if they be too stern and uncompromising for mortal weakness, they may be shorn of their rigidity, by being treated as poetic exuberances or exaggerations. Doctrines may reach us from the same sacred source as momentous as that of the vicarious sacrifice of our Lord for sin; but they are to be so tempered by due consideration of the equity and leniency of God, as to exonerate Deity from the charge of having laid the world's iniquities on the guiltless. Underneath all these and such like statements, there runs a vein of real substantial truth; and so that that truth be reached and retained, it matters not that the history or story or incident which encloses it, be unreal or imaginary or false. We have reached the gem, and the casket may be cast aside as worthless.

Now, against such a school of interpretation as this, we have surely a right to protest. For the distinction taken is altogether arbitrary, and the doubt cast on the incident, or the history, altogether unsupported by proof. Why should we surrender supposed fact, until it be proved to be no fact? It cannot be enough for us, that it strikes some minds as improbable, unnecessary, puerile; for to us it may appear none of these. And if, on grounds purely arbitrary, men are justified in rejecting some of the approved facts of revelation, they may, in the audacity of caprice, or the presumption of judgment, take upon them to reject more. If the whole tale of the first temptation be a myth, so may the death of Abel at the hand of his brother, the flood, the destruction of the cities of the plain, the migration to Egypt, and the exodus from the land of bondage, be reckoned mythical too. No doubt, there are great moral and spiritual truths underlying these narratives; and truths which we have not been slow to inculcate. But we are justified in demanding more than this, until the right be taken from us by demonstration irresistible, even that we may cling to historic facts as well as moral inferences. We are justified in demanding that records, which the people primarily concerned with them hold to be narratives of actual occurrences, should be left to us as veracious. We are justified in demanding that our faith in these old incidents, with which we see the whole moral, and some of the physical, history of man associated, should not be carelessly, or without large proof, taken from us. And we hold that no man is doing real service to the cause of religion, to the authority of the Bible, or to the

interests of Biblical criticism, who thus dismisses, as legendary tales or allegorical fancies, so much that bears the aspect of history. For let us never forget, that there is in these records nothing to warn us that we are passing from the regions of fact to those of fancy; no sharp line drawn, on one side of which lie stern facts, and on the other poetic fables; no trace of such absolute impossibility attaching itself to the story, as warrants us, for its sake, to discredit the whole. It appears to us little less than a reflection on the wisdom and mercy of the Spirit of God, that we should be expected to believe apparent facts to be fictions, when no rule or limit has been attached to them, calculated to guide our judgments, and save us from mistakes or error.

But, besides this, we are justified in accusing the theologians of this school, of palpable inconsistency in the treatment of their own principle, that the Bible should be expounded as any other book is. No doubt it is the case, that the interpreters of the Scriptures differ most materially from each other, as to their principles of interpretation, and that oftentimes an expounder of the Word of God is, as to these principles, at variance with himself; that at one time men cling to literal, and at others to figurative interpretation. And in so doing, they are but doing what the men of all times and all schools of exposition have done, and doing that which the different compositions of the Bible necessitate. Sections there are in the Word of God so obviously allegorical or figurative, that figurative interpretation must be used to make them intelligible. And other sections there are so soberly and strictly prosaic, that a figurative interpretation would be out of place with them. But, of all schools of theological exposition, there is not one from whom the charge comes with worse grace than this. At one time, we have the Syriac or Antiochian literality of interpretation; at another, the Origenic or Alexandrian allegorism of interpretation. We have prophecies so cut down in number, and so shorn of their figures, as to be made inapplicable to the fact or person on whom they were meant to bear; and again, we have the first temptation, with its personages and events, held to be a mere mythical sketch. It was the rule of Hooker, that "where a literal construction will stand, the furthest from the letter is commonly the worst." And that rule we labour to observe. But we know of no system of the interpretation of the Holy Word so dangerous as that which scruples not to instil doubts as to the reality of Scripture occurrences, and, under the guise of respecting the spirit of truth, to repudiate as false the substantial form in which she is clad. The way of presenting it, which seemed best to the All-wise, ought to be the best to us; and he must have read the literary history of early Christian times to little purpose, who does not see the

great peril which such a course is likely to inflict on the whole estimate of revelation. The great German ecclesiastical historian will hardly be suspected of too slight a respect for rationalism. And yet these are his views of the dangers of the Alexandrian or allegorizing school under the influence of Origen. "Such principles, it must be allowed, tended to surrender the material facts on which Christianity is grounded to all manner of subjective caprice; and Origen seems to have been aware of the threatening danger. He endeavoured to guard against it, and never failed to insist on the fact, that in most cases the letter and the spirit must both be adhered to, and that it was not right to give up the letter, except after the most careful examination. But how arbitrary and dependent on caprice were even these limits."*

Now, in examining some of these doubts, which the theology of the present day has thrown upon the Scripture, affecting its authority as a book of final appeal, and placing under suspicion as well its meaning, as the sufficiency of the original text, there are some things we are prepared to concede, some things we think it just to plead, and some things we are bound to affirm or demand. Our concessions shall be sufficiently large to show that we are not insensible to the difficulties which mingle with the question of the authority and inspiration of the Bible; while, on the other hand, our pleadings shall be directed to show that more importance has been attached to those difficulties than they are fairly entitled to.

We are prepared to admit, for instance, the existence of the various readings, which make it a matter of some difficulty to determine how much or how little of the original New Testament we have. It ought not to excite surprise in any thoughtful mind, that so many as thirty thousand different readings have been discovered in it. It is utterly impossible, in the nature of things, that it should be otherwise. For let us remember how the case stands. The autographs of those histories and treatises have long since passed away; engulfed, most probably for ever, in that stream of time and decay which sweeps into itself, and away with itself, all things created. And instead of these autographs, we have versions and copies, multiplied almost without number—not produced as typographic repetitions, but by the less certain method of transcription. How could it be but that, for many reasons, the result of such a process should be variation. Unless a manuscript-writer be infallible, and a dictator be infallible, if not errors, at least variations, are certain to creep in. Indistinctness of utterance on the part of a person dictating; misapprehension of the characters or words read; inaccuracy or dulness of hearing on the

* Neander, *Church History*, vol. ii., p. 264.

part of the amanuensis; the presumption of criticism sitting in judgment on an apparently doubtful expression, and choosing rather to find one more probably correct, than to adopt the suspected one; the thinness of the material on which the manuscript was written, allowing of characters on the reverse side to misrepresent or confuse those under the transcriber's eye; the wilful corruption of passages by men of heretical opinions (as Marcion), who hesitated not to make the Scripture express their own views,—these, and many other causes, could not fail of producing those various lections of which so much has been made by those who would fain prepare the way for a natural religion by attaching discredit to the text of Revelation. But that difficulty does not attach to the word of Inspiration alone. There is probably not any work which has come down to us from antiquity, which does not labour under the same uncertainty, and impose enormous toil on the critic and scholar. We have it on the authority of one of the foremost scholars of the last century, that after the examination of several copies, he found in a Latin author, whose works lie in very small compass, no less than 20,000 variations, and that he entertained no doubt that, had his investigations been extended to more manuscripts than those consulted, the number of different lections would have been largely increased. At the same time, then, that we affirm the impossibility that such things could be otherwise, we concede, as fully as modern theologians could desire, the variations in the copies of the Scriptures.

We make a second concession when we admit that, to a very large extent, the Scriptures of both Testaments are couched in the language of poetry. It is no new discovery that the poetic element mingles largely in their composition. Not merely from the days of Lowth, but from far beyond his days, writers of different ages made it their study to detect and classify the measures and poetic character of the sacred writings. Three of the Fathers of the Church have written on the subject. Many of the Hebrew rabbis have left behind them their elaborate disquisitions on the same subject. Men of the Romish and Lutheran Churches have spent years on its contemplation. To such an extent has the examination of the subject been carried, that we have in the pages of these writers, reduced to scales and rules, to couplet, triplet, parallel, acrostic, whole and numerous passages of Hebrew poetry. The subject, therefore, is one of no mere modern investigation. Yet it is difficult to conceive why it should be urged as a ground of modern caution or distrust, unless the conclusion be inevitable that truth cannot be truth because couched in rhythm or metre. No question is there, that poetry allows of a greater exuberance of diction, a more copious use of metaphor, and a higher degree of decoration than prose; but all this carries with it no

necessity for inaccuracy or untruth. The Psalms are not less the language of real wants and experiences, because David sang them to his harp-notes, than if they had been written without metaphor or figure, and the rhythm or cadence of poetry.

Nor have we much hesitation in making concession on a subject of infinitely greater importance—the nature and degrees of inspiration. It is altogether a mistake to imagine that it was left for the nineteenth century to discover that "God has spoken in divers manners." We are as ready as others to acknowledge that no limit can be placed to the mode or measure of the actions of the Spirit in the production of the various parts of the sacred volume, or that some of its compositions may have required more peculiar communications than others. Nay, we can afford to go a step further, and admit, though in our own sense and limitation of the term, the presence of the "human element" in the compilation or composition of certain portions of the Bible. That is an admission which Chrysostom and Jerome made many centuries back; the one insisting on the value of the differences in the Gospels, as indicative of the absence of design (Hom. i. in Matt.), and the other excusing St. Paul for the expression in Gal. v. 12, on the ground that he spake "ut homo." It may be that very much of the word of God flowed from such an inspiration as that described by Montanus, where "God alone is awake and the man asleep," as incapable of utterance, as would the lyre be when the plectrum is laid aside; when the organs of speech or writing were moved as mechanically as though they had been parts of an automaton. It may be that, in the production of Scripture, only thoughts, subjects, facts, were suggested; the investing of them with words being left in part to man. It may be that in the case of the compilation of St. Luke's Gospel, much was left to the judgment, the industry, and the collative skill of the historian, ever overlooked by the infallible mind of God. All this we may be prepared to concede, and that without fear of any damage being done to the authority or truth of the Bible.

And still more, this we may concede, that in the sacred volume there are to be found many apparent discrepancies. In saying this, we are only saying what any one who "compares spiritual things with spiritual" cannot fail to know. Discrepancies, sometimes between author and author, sometimes between an author and himself, sometimes between date and date, sometimes between quotation and quotation. No man can read his Bible and not be well aware of this. And if we find it not out for ourselves, the enemies of the Bible's historic truth would be sure to find it out for us. From Porphyry to Paine, from Bolingbroke to Voltaire, these discrepancies have been shouted into our ears. And although they

have been made the subjects of elaborate defence and explanation, they are taken up again in our own days, as limbs of an argument to show that we cannot trust to the authority of the Bible as it is.

Now, in making these concessions on the points of the recognised variations in the sacred text, especially of the New Testament; of the amount of poetry to be found in the Scriptures; of the different kinds of inspiration probably employed in their formation, and of the discrepancies which a careful examination of their several books is certain to bring to light, we have not attempted to detract from the force of insinuations, by anything of passing explanation or defence. For it is desirable that the doubts thrown on the authority of the Bible should meet us in their full force, in order that we may come to the end of what Rationalism has to say in disparagement of the Book on which we rest our faith, our hopes, and our dependence. And therefore we are in a better position to advance to the consideration of the points we plead in supplement to these concessions.

So far from being dismayed by the fact of the variations discovered in the manuscripts of the New Testament, or of the number to which they extend, we accept the first as a thing inevitable, and the second as a thing providential. The original books having been lost, and their contents being preserved to us in copies, it were little short of a miracle if these copies were not found with variations. Not that, in very many instances, those variations are of the slightest importance, (for what consequence is it that we should have *οὐδὲς* for *οὐδεὶς*, or *δραγμα* for *δραχμα*, or *Δαβὶδ* for *Δαυὶδ*;) but that, be they of importance or trivial, it is impossible but that they should exist. And assuredly it is a matter for which we have reason to be grateful, that in that affluence of manuscripts, carrying with them these inevitable inaccuracies, we have the means of reaching, with tolerable certainty, a perfectly pure text. For let us remember how the matter stands. The originals being lost, if but one copy existed, we should have had neither refuge nor remedy for its necessary inaccuracies. It would have the field to itself; comparison and collation would be impossible. Let two copies exist, each with their respective variations, and each with their respective freedom from inaccuracies, and our chances of correction are increased. Let a score of copies exist, some preserving what others have omitted, some retaining what others have perverted, some restoring what earlier ones have overlooked, and our approach to a right reading is proportionably improved. But let that small number be augmented to hundreds, and although we find variations increased, we find our means of rectification increasing with them. Thanks to the industry and love of the Bible of other

lays, that we are not left to either a few copies, or to one manuscript, which might claim to be an autograph with the same reason that relics claim to be the remains of saints, but that "in the multitude of counsellors there is safety." The truth is more likely to be reached through the testimony of twenty witnesses, than the suspicious concord of two; and yet each of these many witnesses will have his own version of the fact. What then? This:—that by comparison, collation, sifting and corroboration, we eventually reach the truth: truth, not so certain as though we witnessed the thing in dispute with our own eyes, but truth so reasonable, as that a man must be a resolute Pyrrhonist to deny it.

We conceded the existence of much, very much poetry in the sacred volume, and admitted that the language of the poet may not be so literally precise as that of the writer of prose. But then, we are justified in contending, first, that a decorated description need not be a false one; and secondly, that the reality of a fact is often brought out more intelligibly in imagery than in prosaic description. Granted that in the sacred pages there are facts told in oriental metaphor or figurative diction, are they therefore not facts? Granted that we read that "God's way is in the sea, and His path in the great waters, and His footsteps are not known," do we find any difficulty in understanding that the mysteries of His providence leave often no traces behind them? We have regular poetic stanzas in that passage of the prophet, "He is despised and rejected of men; a man of sorrows, and acquainted with grief, &c." Is it unreal, because couched in rhythm and cadence? We have glowing poetry in the fine description of the fortunes of Israel:

"How goodly are thy tents, O Jacob,
And thy tabernacles, O Israel!
As valleys are they spread forth,
As gardens by the river side,
As sandal trees which the Lord hath planted,
As cedar trees beside the waters.
There shall come forth a man of his seed,
And shall rule over many nations,
And his kingdom shall be higher than Agag,
And his kingdom shall be exalted."

But is the prediction less true, or less apparent, for that? No doubt there is much allowance to be made for the figures of poetry; and no doubt care and discretion must be used in not confounding the sign with the thing signified. But this we shall not consent to, that because a fact is poetically represented, it is therefore to be set aside as mythical or fabulous. Let a circumstance stated by one author (no matter how poetically) be recorded as fact by others, it is impiety to

declare it a myth. Let circumstances in the Old Testament be accepted as facts by Christ and His apostles in the New, and it is next to blasphemy to pronounce them myths. For that were to say, that the Author of our faith, and His inspired followers, mistook fables for reality; and that, we dare not say and will not say. We cannot hold the temptation in Eden a myth, when Paul grounds argument on it as fact. We cannot call the Deluge a myth, when our Divine Master treated it as a reality. We cannot hold the overthrow of the cities of the plain as but a figurative expression of God's retributive displeasure, when our Lord spoke of it as history. We cannot call the first recorded murder an allegory, representing merely that human passions are fierce, when Paul treats it as literal. In a word, we accept as true that Old Testament, which the New Testament endorses.

We have conceded that the motions of the Spirit of God on the mind, in the production of Scripture, may be of different kinds and degrees. But we cannot concede, let the Scripture be created by what process it may, that it is not truth. Admit that Balaam spoke mechanically by compulsion, and that Isaiah wrote from inward suggestions or bright visions passing before the mind's eye, and that Moses wrote of the dim past from recollections written on his mind by God, and that Luke carefully collected his materials and deliberately brought them into narrative; still, in all we claim the presence and approval of the Lord. If the Prophet wrote, it needed supervision to see that he wrote rightly, as it required suggestion to convey the thoughts he wrote. If Moses wrote the history of the antediluvian age, still it required the eye of the Infallible to rest on his paper and follow his pen, as it required the omniscience of the Infallible to recal the forgotten incidents. Let Luke use the human element in the completion of his Gospel, still there needed the ever-watchful observation to scan the characters of his manuscript. Sever God from any of the operations, and the Bible is not the Word of God. Admit His presence, or observation, or action, or sanction, and it matters little by what mode we have the Bible. If the Lord endorse it, it is His. If the Lord dictate it, it is His. If the Lord suggest it, it is His. But, by some of these authoritative or energetic acts, the Bible must be God's.

The last fact for which we plead is, that while on the pages of the Scriptures we meet with many apparent contradictions, it remains yet to be proved that any of them are incapable of reasonable explanation and reconciliation. There are few points on which the sceptic of past ages has rested his case against the claims of the Bible with more offensive insolence, and more seeming justice, than this of the discrepancies of statement found in the sacred volume. And yet, so completely

have their objections yielded to candid and learned defence, that we believe we are justified in saying, that in no instance has the charge been conclusively established. It follows not, that because a word may be unhappily translated, that the original Scripture is faulty. It follows not, because a version misrepresents Scripture, either through inaccuracy, misconception, or wilful corruption of a passage, that therefore the statement made by the writer is erroneous. It follows not, because two passages appear, at first view, to be in opposition, that a third passage may not prove a peacemaker between them. It follows not, because we misconstrue God's Word, that therefore the Word itself is inaccurate. The labours of learned collators have already done much, by the process of the restoration of the right text, and the discovery of fresh versions, to put passages in harmony which rashness affirmed to be discordant. And this process is still going on, narrowing the ground on which the sceptic stands, and widening the platform of truth. On a point, therefore, of philological consideration, as yet open to much investigation, and receiving every day fresh light from the industry and penetration of learning, it is at least premature to assert the mendacity of Scripture. "The believer will not make haste." He will recollect that already every objection of this nature has been weighed calmly and learnedly, and that the victory has been on the side of Inspiration. And from the recollection of past triumphs, he will gather his auguries and expectations of more to come. He will recollect that men have paraded the texts, "It is appointed unto men once to die," "If a man keep my saying, he shall never see death," and shouted "Victory!" over a supposed contradiction. But he will also recollect, that in the different senses of death natural and death eternal, the contradiction becomes reconciled. He will remember that one text says, "God is not a man, that He should repent;" and yet that another affirms, "It repented the Lord that He had made man;" and remember also that the scornful finger of objection has been pointed to them both, as containing antagonistic assertions. But the thoughtful and candid man will also remember, that the same word denotes a change of feeling and a change of purpose. He will recollect that the scornful accuser has indicted the Scriptures of falsehood, in one or two of the three enumerations of the members of Jacob's family who went down to and resided in Egypt; and dared the Christian to acquit the enumerators of error. But he will also recollect, that to all, except those who will not be taught, Dr. Hales has conclusively reconciled them all. He will recollect that, by malignant inquisitors, two Evangelists have been put in opposition as to the hour of the crucifixion; but he will also recollect, that a positive chorus of the most eminent critics

have shown how possible it was for a transcriber to mistake a Γ for a ε'. Irritating, no doubt, it is for the scholar to have to follow the sciolist into all the paltry details of his miserable positions, and to spend his strength in breaking mice upon racks; but if the result has been this, that no alleged contradiction has been submitted which has not been met by a reasonable solution, his labour has not been in vain. Every day is adding to the means of defence, and repeating its unchanging testimony, "The Scripture cannot be broken." Classical literature is lending the help of the use of language; the habits and customs of remote nations are casting light on scriptural allusions; eastern marbles, long buried, have gone through a resurrection to entitle them to be witnesses for God; inscriptions wait for interpretation, to add their corroborative testimony; and the assailed Bible, the scoff and scorn of other days, maintains its dignified position, untouched by the "solemn sneer" of the sceptic, and the undisguised enmity of the infidel. "The rain descends, and the floods come and beat upon it, and it falls not, because it is founded on a rock."

We have stated, that in addition to concessions we are prepared to make, and pleas we are justified in urging, there are some things on which we are determined to insist. The foremost of them is, that, notwithstanding all that has been written against the authority of the Bible and the integrity of its text, we are not likely to see much improvement made in those restored texts by the boasted scholarship of the nineteenth century. There are few things easier than to throw suspicion or discredit on what we have, and few things more difficult than to amend them. And, with all its pride of learning, and all its vaunted acuteness of criticism, we hold it open to a doubt whether the men exist likely to surpass the powers and erudition of those to whom we owe our present received text. To criticise the grand monuments of antiquity, is one thing; to excel them, is another. To discover defects in the works of the great artists of other days, is one thing; to equal even the "Transfiguration" or the "Apollo," is another. And if the labours of former scholarship, and the results of patient and painful criticism, are not likely to be repeated or surpassed, it seems cruel to torture and unsettle the minds of the masses by the insinuation of doubts, and the suggestion of defects, which, after all, affect not the essentials of truth.

And that there is little probability of any such greater effort being made, we might reasonably surmise from the recollection of that which has been done. It is now nearly a century since two of the foremost scholars of the age, aware of the unsatisfactory condition of the original text, entered on the enterprise of amending it. And to that work Kennicott and De Rossi brought not only transcendent critical powers and unbounded

industry, but such means and facilities for the undertaking as are scarcely likely to appear again. Large funds were placed at their command, the patronage of kings and emperors encouraged them, and the literary world stood prepared to bid them God-speed in their adventure. For nine years the work of searching for manuscripts and versions alone was carried on. Men of competent ability travelled far in their tours of investigation. Months and years were spent over the sacred treasures of libraries, monasteries, and convents. As many as 600 Hebrew MSS. were consulted and collated, sixteen of the Samaritan Pentateuchs were compared; and when the vast, unclassified, undigested mass of notes and observations were brought together, there were found to be no less than 700 bundles of papers waiting for arrangement and comparison, before the work could be even commenced. The magnitude and difficulty of the operation may be inferred from this, that when these papers became duly classified they were found to fill thirty folio volumes of transcription. And when all this was prepared for publication, every care was taken to make the result as available as possible for the students, for whom this version was intended. The various readings were appended to each page, the deviations of the Samaritan texts (in the Pentateuch) were paralleled with the Hebrew; and to the collation of MSS. was added a collation of the best editions of the Hebrew Bible. Nay more, to throw as much light as possible on the result, the best Rabbinical writings were examined, that quotations from the Old Testament contained in them might be compared with the text. And, as though all this was not enough, the Supplement of De Rossi, in four quarto volumes, made its appearance six years afterwards, the result of the collation of 479 MSS. and 288 printed editions, many of them unknown before, and the result also of an industrious collation of several Chaldean and Syriac MSS. and a large number of Rabbinic commentators. Do we ask, what discovery was made by those really competent critics, as bearing on the great question of the satisfactory condition of the Bible? It is this, that, according to De Rossi's view, "all those MSS., notwithstanding the diversity of their dates and the places where transcribed, agree with that which constitutes the proper essence and substance of Divine Revelation—viz., its doctrines, moral principles, and historical relations." And according to Dr. Kennicott, his experience was this (in reply to a question put to him by George III. as to the result of his labours), "that he had found some grammatical errors, and many variations, in the different texts; but not one which in the smallest degree affected any article of faith or practice."*

* Life of Mrs. H. More. Letter on the burial of Dr. Kennicott.

We might carry the same line of statement out with regard to the pains bestowed on the examination of the texts of the New Testament by such critics as Griesbach, Mill, Wetstein, &c., the first of these bestowing on his work such extraordinary care, that in some instances the disquisition as to the claims of a disputed passage extends over several pages; the second dedicating to the work no less than thirty years of his life, and pursuing his task with such wonderful accuracy and patience as to bring to light in the several versions the 30,000 variations to which we have alluded; and the third, the subject of the praise of Michaelis and the vindication of Bishop Marsh. And these are but three out of the thirty or forty editors of the Greek Testament, all of whom are included, with more or less eulogy, in the commendations of the learned.

We may be wrong in the inference we draw from all this, that the nineteenth century is not likely to produce critical labours and critical results of sufficient quality and magnitude to cast into the shade these Herculean works. The age may be more daring, more unscrupulous, and less modest than former ones; but until the erudition of Germany and England demonstrates that these great scholars were incompetent for the task they undertook, we shall repose on the confession that, after deep scrutiny of the different texts, "not one variation has been found affecting in the smallest degree any article of faith and practice."

One thing more we must insist on, that whatever objections there may be to the Sacred Volume, whatever apparent contradictions, whatever incidents in it supposed to be below the dignity of Inspiration to record, certain great truths there are, which so run through, pervade, intermingle, and intertwine themselves with every department of the Bible, that without the destruction of the whole book we cannot escape from them. Doctrines of more or less importance may rise up here and there on its pages, perhaps revealed with sufficient distinctness, but not repeated and re-enforced as these are. For the great and solemn truth of man's total ruin and depravity, of his incapacity to restore himself to lost favour and lost purity, of the true vicarious sacrifice of Christ—not as a martyr or an example, but as a propitiation and a satisfaction,—the apprehensive and appropriative power of faith, of peace resting on acceptance with God through His Son, of the intervention of the sovereign as well as the moral attributes of Deity in man's destinies, and of the supreme authority of the Bible itself,—these are truths which, if eliminated from the Sacred Volume, would leave a book scarcely worth retaining. Venerable it might be from its antiquity, attractive from its eloquence, interesting from its histories, and useful for the moral lessons it conveys; but as a revelation which I ask to tell me how the guilty can

be pardoned, the sinful purified, the troubled comforted, and God, throughout all, magnified,—without these truths, no revelation to me. And so sacred seem these truths in the eyes of God, so worthy of being enshrined in the very sanctuaries of religion, that no matter whether we look to the Law or the Prophets, the histories or the books purely devotional, the Gospels or the Epistles, there we find them all; the Bible opening with the Fall and ending with the Glory; the Bible opening with the law of sacrifice, and displacing all sacrifice to make way for Christ; the Bible breathing out threatenings and yet whispering peace; the Bible making salvation depend (whether under the ages patriarchal, Jewish, or Christian) on a veritable atonement, and bringing that salvation near to man through the agency of faith. This to the last we must insist on, that these great, essential, necessary truths shall not be explained away because philosophy upholds the innate dignity of man, and rationalism seeks to invent an universal religion shorn of distinctive Christianity. Variations there may be in versions, errors in translation, figurative diction, the words of man—yet outbreathing the mind of God—chronologic statements waiting for adjustments which will surely come, missing letters which are sure to be restored; but throughout all, like mountains which uplift their everlasting and indestructible heads, when storm and tempest change, and attempted improvements have altered the position of rivulets and plains below,—these great truths live on, only to be obliterated when the Word of God itself passes away. But, while it lasts, its silent, clear, distinct testimony—repeated in many a varied form of speech, but still enunciating the same facts—tells us that man is lost, fallen, impotent, and condemned, but still recoverable to happiness, to holiness, to God, by faith in the Propitiation.

PREACHERS AND HEARERS.

MANY and grievous are the complaints made now-a-days by the Pew against the Pulpit. It is represented, that in most cases sermons are dull, vapid, and monotonous beyond all bearing. That nothing new is learnt, and nothing old or new is remembered on the Monday morning. One writer went so far as to suggest, that unless the occupant of the pulpit curtailed his discourse, the occupants of the pews should walk out of church in decorous and orderly procession when prayers were over. In summer it is said to be too warm, and in winter too cold, to listen patiently to platitudes already known, and commonplaces never disputed. The writer goes to church

Sunday by Sunday as an 'Ovis esuriens,' and comes back as one 'Habitans in sicco.' Such in substance are the complaints made, often alas not without reason, on the ordinary sermons of the present day. They may be orthodox, but they are very uninteresting; they may be sound, but they are very unedifying. And by all means let the clergy lay well to heart the dissatisfaction of their hearers. The Pew, unless it adopts the somewhat extreme course mentioned above, is forced to listen to the Pulpit; let the Pulpit in its turn pay due regard to the voice of the Pew. Let the preparation of the Sunday's sermon be made the first and not the last thing to be considered during the week. Surely it is a mistake, for ordinary men at least, to think they can write better *under pressure*; and so to postpone their labours till the house is quiet on Saturday evening. "Procrastination" has been for them not merely "the thief of time," but the thief also of thought, and therefore the thief for others of profit and edification. It is such practices as these, far more than any inherent unfitness in the men themselves, that make their sermons so powerless, and their hearers so dissatisfied. But putting out of sight these and such-like preachers, the Pulpit may fairly reply that the Pew has seldom any definite idea what it is that it wants; or why it is that sermons must necessarily have to do with the same topics. It is generally from a mistaken idea of the true object of a sermon that the congregation complain of its wearisome repetition, and its want of novelty.

What, then, ought a sermon to contain? Surely it ought to consist of two main parts, *instruction* and *exhortation*. "Till I come," says the Apostle to Timothy, "for attendance to reading," (i. e., probably public reading,) "to exhortation, to doctrine"—*πρόσχε . . . τῇ παρακλήσει, τῇ διδασκαλίᾳ*. These were to be the chief points of a minister's preaching then, and they ought to be no less so now.

But the *proportion* between teaching and exhortation must of necessity vary. In early days, when the religion of Christ had to be explained as much as it had to be enforced, we may well imagine that the first of these two occupied the larger portion of every sermon. Men had to be taught things which they knew not before; the fact of the Incarnation, the fact of the Crucifixion, the fact of the Resurrection, had to be presented to them again and again, before they lost anything of their wonder and newness. St. Paul's sermon on Mars Hill was the result of Athenian interest in "any new thing." The first Christian sermon ever preached, that on the day of Pentecost, is almost entirely a record of facts, and of deductions from those facts. In those days (however it may be now) there was no lack of "instruction," there was no lack of simple, plain, wholesome "teaching." But now, in the providence of God, times

have changed. In this country at least the people have been, for the most part, trained up in the knowledge of those facts which were so new, and so spirit-stirring, to Jewish and Athenian congregations. An educated and devout layman knows probably as much about his Bible and about Theology as the clergyman in his pulpit. For him there is little or no need of teaching; a mere record of the Gospel doctrines would be only a statement in other words of what he already knows, and already believes. Such a hearer ought not to feel surprised or disappointed if he does not hear anything new; it would probably be heretical if he did. Has then the ministry of the word nothing to offer him for his soul's health? Surely, when "teaching" is done, "*exhortation*" may begin: what he needs is not so much the reiteration, as the application of what he knows. Timothy, in preaching to a congregation well established in the faith, was to "put them in remembrance of these things"—was to suggest (*ὑπομνησθαι*) to them something which perhaps they knew already, but the remembrance of which had possibly grown dull, and needed to be revived. Such we believe to be the main object which ought to be aimed at in sermons to educated congregations in these fastidious days. "Teaching" and "exhortation" have in fact changed places; the former was more necessary at first, the latter is more necessary now. And we believe, too, that every conscientious worshipper, be he ever so intellectual, will be glad to have his heart attacked by the shaft of Divine truth; will take to himself every word of exhortation, even when he does not need the word of teaching. Only let the exhortation be one which flows naturally and easily from the doctrine; only let the God-given instincts of common-sense and sober judgment be respected by the pulpit, and the sermon will be received with contentment, probably with thankfulness, by those in whose hearts the seed of life has been already sown, but where it is in danger of being choked by the cares of this world, the deceitfulness of riches, or the conceits of knowledge.

But then, let the Pew remember the free seats. There we have much the same class of hearers as apostles and teachers had in early days. There the very facts of Christianity are too often unknown, or sadly confused. And *there*, therefore, it is imperative to preach not only the word of exhortation, but also the word of instruction; not only to deduce lessons from what is known, but firstly to lay a solid basis of revealed truth. Is it too much to ask the rich and educated "to remember the poor" in this as in other ways? The Sunday's sermon is the main channel of religious information for those who cannot read at all, and even for those who cannot read fluently. They must be fed as much as the rich; and every clergyman

is therefore entitled to claim for his poorer brethren a larger portion of his sermons for simple elementary teaching. If the educated know it all, they must remember that the uneducated do not; and that what seems to them tiresome and monotonous, may, by God's blessing, be the very word of life to others, "for whom," as for themselves, "Christ died." Complaints of sermons may be true, and ought to be deeply weighed by the clergy, but they often fail in charity for others; they often unwarrantably assume that what is not needed by the writer is needless also for all the congregation. These observations are humbly offered, with a view of suggesting wisdom in the pulpit, and charity in the pew, by

A HERTFORDSHIRE CURATE.

ON CLERICAL SUBSCRIPTION.

On Clerical Subscription: an Inquiry into the Real Position of the Church and Clergy, in reference to the Articles, the Liturgy, the Canons, and Statutes. By the Rev. Charles Hebert, M.A., F.R.S.L. Macmillan & Co., London and Cambridge. 1862.

THE interest which is increasingly manifested in subjects relating to the future of the Church of the nation, is to be regarded as a token for good, inasmuch as it promises to place the Church eventually on a firmer basis—the minds of conscientious and thoughtful men being drawn to points which have from time to time been brought before the notice of the public; attended, in many cases, with strong feeling, and the demand of such an inquiry as might possibly lead to a revision and re-adjustment of the matters in debate. Among these topics, the Subscription which is required of the clergy holds a prominent place, to ascertain what should be exacted of a clergyman called upon to subscribe; the manifest discrepancy between, if not the practice, yet at all events the inward belief, of very many of them, and the Forms to which they are required to declare their adhesion, making it imperatively necessary that there should be a re-consideration, by authority, of engagements which are either loosely held or reluctantly obeyed.

Mr. Hebert has girded himself to the task of such an investigation, rendered the more interesting, though to the writer not more easy, from the fact that his book coincides, in time of its publication, with the appointment (not then actual, but resolved upon) of a Commission to inquire into the whole subject which we have indicated; the labours of which Commission are now brought to a close, and have issued, very recently, in

the recommendation of certain alterations in the existing Formulæ of Subscription. It may here be mentioned as an undoubted fact, that Mr. Hebert's book was used (of God, as its pious author would be the first to acknowledge) towards bringing about the Commission, for that it set the Dean of Westminster on writing; and that Dr. Stanley's pamphlet raised the question of the hardships of present Subscriptions, and led to the Commission. It is pretty plain, too, that the mover of the debate in the House of Commons had studied Mr. Hebert's book; while it is unquestionable that the Dean of the Arches* Court read it, and expressed the opinion that it would prove of great service to the Commissioners in their discussions.

The object of the work may be stated to be, generally, to determine the present position of the Church of England, and its clergy, in respect to Subscription. "What are the exact limits to liberty of thought within the Church?" is the fundamental question;" and Dr. Lushington's Judgments settle to what utterances of it clergymen subscribe. All his principles and general decisions were confirmed, on "Appeals," though, individually, Dr. Williams and Mr. Wilson (writers in the "Essays and Reviews") were acquitted; the great and decisive enunciation in that trial (printed in full in the work before us) being that the "Articles," and not the Liturgy (though the latter be in some cases called in as supplementary to the former) are the standard. There does seem to be strong reason for such a view, though it directly reverses the requirement of one school or section in the ecclesiastical community. Those who have a leaning towards mediæval doctrine will naturally turn to those forms which are more or less constructed out of the Liturgies of that period, in the phraseology of which will be found elements that seem to countenance their own tastes and predilections; on these they will steadily, and almost exclusively, fix their eye, turning away from the "Articles," which, by their date and contents, are known to belong to the period which was marked by its protestation against Middle-age or Romish errors. But the fact, historically certain, that these "Articles" were framed to be safeguards against errors into which the Church was liable to fall, would confer upon them an authority which never could attach to any Liturgy designed for devotional purposes, however it might include, as our own does, certain passages of a dogmatic

* A remark made by the Author, on the origin of the term "Arches Court," was strongly "butted at" by a critic in a Church journal. Mr. H. had adopted the opinion put forth in an excellent article on Philology in a leading Review, that the "Court of Arches" is an abbreviation of the

"Arch's Court of Canterbury;" but the critic decided that he was ignorant of the common derivation (S. M. de Arcubus), and did not think it possible that the story might be told in the way which, following the learned philologist, he had preferred.

character. Such distinctly doctrinal features we should expect to find in the Services for the commemorative Seasons of the Church; and, accordingly, we do find them in those places. But still precision of statement was not to be expected in forms of prayer and praise which must always give scope to, and invite the utterance of, the feelings. This utterance we believe to have been so chastened in our English Liturgy, that no incorrect type of doctrinal words is to be found in any of its prayers. Still the door was opened to greater freedom of words than a company of divines, met in conclave to draw up a Declaration of the Church's belief upon this and that head of Scriptural doctrine, would regard as permissible to them.

While, on these grounds, we regard Dr. Lushington's decision as founded in reason, we see in it a clearing up of the difficulties under which the clergy have long laboured. Subscription now becomes precise; and each particular is binding. But the greater the stringency, the greater the importance that the Forms to which Subscription is enforced be irreproachable, in order that nothing wrongly or imperfectly expressed may become a burden to the consciences of persons desirous to subscribe.

"If, however," says the author, "we are driven to more exact conformity with the received standard, are we not also forced forwards upon the inquiry, whether this standard is sufficiently perfect to bear this greater exactness of reference?"

"Admit that it has worked well, on the whole, in the long days of comparative laxity. But will it serve equally well in the new era of comparative exactitude?"

"We may be greatly inclined to shrink from this inquiry; but it seems that it must be made. For have we not just to choose between the alternatives? Shall the Church wait until the spreading acknowledgment of some proved defects in the Articles has so far damaged the consciences of her clergy, that they, and the laity with them, will rise up, and shake the land with most painful and perilous agitation?—or will those, whose united power and wisdom direct the course of the ecclesiastical vessel, take warning from the history of councils and conferences; and, wise in time, themselves initiate a movement of constitutional authorities to consider alleged defects; and, by amending them, if admitted, relieve the consciences of the clergy, and dissipate a large portion of the objections that now operate to alienate half the nation from her otherwise very attractive fold?"

This is certainly our duty: for, as we may not put, so neither may we leave, "a stumbling-block in our brother's way." Having done this, we shall not only enjoy the satisfaction, the purest allotted to man, of having "done our part" towards those who would be in communion with us, but we may predict the consequences; for if, while careful not to "sacrifice truth" for what will, at last, only amount to "an appearance of unity," we labour to "persuade each other to unity

of doctrinal and practical truth," we shall do much towards putting an end to the unseemly and disastrous "separation of divers regiments in the great army of" the Lord. It was once said, by an eloquent writer, in reference to the conduct to be pursued towards those who differ from us,—*"Augment their light, conciliate their affection, and they will follow of their own accord:"* to which may be added, that a step towards that very conciliation will have been gained, when it is discovered, by those whom we would bring over to our ranks, that we regard *"all attempts to urge men forward,"* even in the path which we judge to be right, *"beyond the measure of their light, to be unlawful, even if they were practicable."*

Only four points on which revision is needed are particularly named by the author, who remarks how well, regarded as a whole, the *"Articles stand the test"* he has laid down, of being free from what would oppress the conscience, since, of these four points which he would see modified, *"two are only inaccuracies of language."* As respects the remaining two, however, he does very *"earnestly contend for"* relief. The Athanasian Creed (to which, along with the other two creeds, the eighth Article binds assent and consent), as touching the so-called *"damnatory clauses,"* and the desert of *"God's wrath and damnation"* by infants, are dwelt upon as demanding alteration; and this with the view of relieving *"clergymen of exact and upright minds"* from the pain which is occasioned when they feel that, in signing, they must reserve to themselves the right of *"keeping secret, every man in the deep of his heart,"* a demur to some particular statement in the Form subscribed, according to the obvious meaning of the terms in which it is couched. Doubtless it is most distressing to *"high-minded men,"* who should be examples of the *"simplicity and godly sincerity"* which their office binds them to inculcate upon others, to *"subscribe with their hand"* unto an entire Form, while *"their heart goeth after"* a limited interpretation of it. The special pleading with his own conscience, which is necessary before an honest Christian man can bring himself to give his *"sign manual"* to what he does not entirely approve of, shows that it is wrong, and loudly calls for the removal of the causes of it. It may, perhaps, be a matter of doubt how far the two cases adduced will find equal sympathy with all readers: the one being a terrible anathema which has formed the burden of the complaint uttered by different descriptions of persons in our Church; alike by the strict and lax among the clergy, and by the orthodox and liberal of the laity; the sounds of which have been heard, more or less piercingly, from the period of the construction of our Prayer Book, to the present hour: the other, an opinion of *"Three Divines,"* adopted by our Reform-

ers ; the opinion, it may be, " an extravagance ;" and if so, the adoption of it an incautious act ; but still not put forth in such alarming terms as those which form the prefix and the conclusion of the Athanasian Creed. But, whatever may be thought about the relative moment of the two cases alleged by Mr. Hebert as demanding revision, we join with him in asking,—
" Is it not time that Churches were content to declare their doctrines, and have them subscribed, letting go anathemas and assumptions of high functions, for which the Judge alone is competent ?"

We may wisely receive, in such cases, the sarcastic caution of Pope—

" Let not this weak and erring hand
 Presume thy bolts to throw,
 And deal damnation round the land
 On each I judge Thy foe."

And we may more willingly submit to a higher voice, not thus to judge one another any more, but to judge this rather, that no man put a stumbling or occasion to fall in his brother's way. The Royal Commissioners can easily initiate the omission of these clauses, if it would seem to them an emendation." They will find a precedent in the fact that the Nicæan Creed, as put forth at Constantinople, ended with an anathema, and that the Second (Ephesus) removed that anathema ; a Patristic example of the highest order for us to remove the damnatory clauses from the Athanasian Creed ; which clauses, to the extent intended by the writers, and carried by the terms, scarcely any one believes.

The work consists of three Parts. The first, to which the foregoing remarks belong, is " On Subscription to the Articles ;" towards the end of which, the " alleged defects" having been dealt with, the author asks, " what is the first step towards the remedy ?" which he decides to be " the appointment of a Royal Commission." That Commission we have said, has, since the publication (in 1862) of Mr. Hebert's book, not only been appointed, but has fulfilled its task, and made its Report.

With much interest, therefore, as conducting us to this very moment of time, do we go on to the author's anticipation of " results to be expected when these things have been amended." The chapter (xxxii.) which embraces this point is especially deserving of notice, as exhibiting the characteristic which shines through this, and, we may add, preceding works from this author's pen—a genuine love of and search after truth.

" The nearer the approach of the Church to exact truth, the more hearty will be the support of the lovers of truth ; and the greater will be their influence in carrying on the holy war of religion. For they will no more stand, in part on a false position, but wholly on the firm rock of truth. They must needs then have more confidence in their

position, and less distraction by uneasy questionings. Their step even in doctrine will be firmer.

"In proportion, too, as defects in language and tone are removed from the Church's voice, there will be less reason for laying at the door of the Church the heavy charge, which has been laid, of giving a wrong bias to the minds of her members, and ministers, and so 'destroying souls' (such has been the charge) whom she would fain save.

"Shall it not be added, that in proportion as her authoritative utterances are strictly confined to those truths to which a Church may legitimately require assent, the number of those who will be able conscientiously to conform, will proportionably be multiplied?

"This truth has not been brought sooner to the front, because all that has been urged is independent of it. Nor is it certain that it is quite safe to undertake a revision of the Articles, and other parts of the Church's writings, ostensibly with a view of bringing Nonconformists over.

"It may be necessary, it may be right, at certain times, to do even this, for our common Master wishes unity; yet this present may not be the time for safely working with this motive.

"But it is clear that to stand on the ground of truth-seekers is always safe, and has in it more of conscious dignity, and of pure regard for truth.

"A Church should surely get as near to truth as possible, simply to be at the same time nearer to God; although no visible benefit were to be derived from such a course. To be more in conformity with truth is sufficient reward, for it is to be more in conformity with the mind of God."

The "end and aim" of the reforms which this book advocates, and the movement which the author has had the satisfaction to see actually initiated, is not, properly, to conciliate "those that are without," except by the way; but to assert the principle, that "whatsoever things are true," we should "think on," and "strive together for" the ascendancy of "these things." And, surely, to work for aught lower, or beside, is now "woe worth the strife."

The author thinks he discerns signs of good in the aspect of the times; a disposition to unity among those, of all parties, who prize the Gospel of Christ; and pleads that, on this consideration also, all reasonable grounds of separation should be removed.

The second Part of Mr. Hebert's book is on "Subscription to the Liturgy." The research in the preceding portion of the work is doctrinal, from the ancient Fathers downwards: that in the following division is historical, and may be called a concise documentary history of the Church of England. Beginning with the Formularies which became the authoritative documents of the Reformed Religion at the period of Melancthon, Calvin, and Cranmer, the writer travels through the events connected with the appearance of the several Liturgies, and coextensive with the reigns of seven sovereigns, from

Henry VIII. to William III. (1609), the year of the fruitless Royal Commission. This department of Mr. Hebert's book, irrespectively of its place in the whole argument, would be studied with great benefit by academical students, and candidates for Ordination, being replete with valuable remarks upon the several proposed Liturgies, and, incidentally, upon the political spirit of the times as affecting the attempted changes. Apart from its relation to the purpose of the work, this "Part," regarded alone, would be found very useful to students of Church history generally.

The subject of "Canon and Statute Law" occupies the third portion of the work. In particular we would draw attention to the views contained in the seventh and eighth chapters, in which it is contended that "the clergy are bound to every part of every 'Article,'" and that they declare their belief in the consonancy of the Liturgy throughout with God's Word; though he significantly hints that "the ascendant hierarchy of the day of Charles II. did, after their victory over the Puritans in the Savoy campaign, draw the strings of conformity needlessly tight, as in relation to the language of devotion, which does not admit or intend to use precision and exactness of statement."

Some observations are made (in a chapter upon "the Supremacy of the Crown") upon the value of a "Court of Appeal for religious as well as for secular questions:" we would commend these to Nonconformists, with a promise that they will meet with nothing in it to offend them, but the same mild tone, friendly spirit, and fair reasoning, which run throughout the volume, and render it a very agreeable (as we think it, also, a very safe) guide over a somewhat rough tract of country.

The author expects important results to the country, if the principles he has indicated in his book shall be carried into effect. His words here might well have found a place in the title-page as the key-sentiments to the whole work; they shall form the last quotation which we give, though their order differs from that in which they stand in the book itself:—

"What peril can be greater, in such an age, than to leave room for the denier of the plain sense of Scripture to taunt his opponents with untruthfulness in Subscription? Misty obligations tend to create unbelief; but they are its protection when it is created.

"Truth in Subscription is at once a church's sword and shield—the sword to remove them that renounce, and the shield to conserve them that hold fast, the whole authentic Scriptures. . . .

"Consider in what a position will this nation, with all its magnificent dependencies, stand, when the proposed work has been accomplished, when the Articles and the Liturgy stand forth in a great degree freed from existing and acknowledged defects, and when even over the Canons and Statutes reforming and beautifying hands have passed; when no unjustifiable burden is left on the consciences of her

clergy; and when all facilities for adapting herself, in her most plastic manner, to the real wants and reasonable demands of the time, have been supplied! What a blessing would the Church be!"

The desired Commission has now performed its assigned task. Some who have "profounded" in the subject of Clerical Subscription, tell us that it is plain to their eye that the now proposed alteration of the requirements to be made of our future clergy amounts to nothing short of a peaceful revolution; and that they believe they see the hand of God in it the more, in that it has introduced one principle more of essential truth into the Church system, than had found its way into their conception. For, by dropping the words "in their literal and grammatical sense" (which is the recommendation of the Commissioners), we shall have stumbled upon, or rather, we would believe, have been Divinely directed to, the establishment of a new most manifest distinction, and shall have dug a most broad chasm between the Scripture and our own forms—between the Word of God and the word of the Church. For, while the future "Declaration" must not, on any account, be so framed as to release clergymen from professing an agreement, that is, a belief, in the formulas of service and doctrine which they publicly utter (for that would be an intolerable moral enormity), it is necessary that the terms of professed belief in formularies be somewhat less absolute than those of our professed belief in the Holy Scriptures. "Inspired" and "uninspired" can never be lifted to the same platform; then neither ought the language in which we profess our belief in the binding authority of each to be one and the same in point of strength. In the change which will be effected by the omission of those words from the Form which clergymen will hereafter have to sign, some ardent advocates of change think they see "a great gulf" hereafter "fixed," that cannot be passed over, and rejoice in the prospect as a most glorious issue.

We have now only to hope that the processes for giving effect to the recommendations of the Commissioners will be wisely conducted; and that thus the nation may have reason to devise those other and further reforms, of which the measure in prospect can only be regarded as the first in a series. For, though the formulæ of Subscription may, and we trust will, have been finally settled, the question is not finished, but only begun. It was necessary to have begun with this; but other changes must come on, and there is good reason for expecting they will follow not tardily.

OBITUARY OF THE REV. THOMAS BEST, M.A.,

INCUMBENT OF ST. JAMES', SHEFFIELD.

ON Wednesday, March 15th ult., in the suburban churchyard of Ecclesall, the mortal remains of the Rev. Thomas Best, M.A., Incumbent of St. James', Sheffield, were committed to the grave already tenanted by his beloved wife (who died March 17, 1851), amid many tears, and the deep regret of all present. Forty clergymen of the Established Church, and ten Dissenting ministers, and a large concourse of the influential laity and sorrowing poor, were present to testify their esteem for the character of the deceased. The Rev. Edward Newman, Incumbent of Ecclesall, and the Rev. Canon Sale, D.D., Vicar of Sheffield, read the Burial service. The departed minister, though retiring and singularly modest, was no common man, and the mourning for his loss was of no common order. All classes of his townsmen united to offer the last memorial of respect to one whose life had been above reproach, whose eminent talents had been always employed in the best of causes, and whose public ministrations had been signally blessed of God to the spiritual welfare of his charge. Even unbelievers readily acknowledged that he had been true to his principles, and admitted his unvarying consistency of doctrine and conduct.

The Rev. Thomas Best was the eldest son of the Rev. Thomas Best, Incumbent of Cradley, Worcestershire, the second of ten children, and born June 23rd, 1787, at Cradley. He had the good fortune to be educated at the Royal Free Grammar School of King Edward VI., Birmingham, from which admirable foundation he passed to Worcester College, Oxford, where he completed his academic course with some distinction; and while senior scholar, with every prospect of a fellowship, was offered the curacy of Uttoxeter, in Staffordshire, by the Vicar, Dr. Landon, who was also Provost of Worcester College. He was afterwards curate to Archdeacon Spooner, at Chipping Campden, Gloucestershire. In January, 1817, subsequently to his marriage with Miss Sarah Woolrich, he was preferred by the then Vicar of Sheffield, the Rev. Canon Sutton, D.D., to the incumbency of St. James', Sheffield, where, perfectly contented, notwithstanding the small pecuniary value of his benefice (it was only £120 per annum) he remained for the long term of 48 years, in spite of two more lucrative overtures elsewhere, desiring no change, and abundantly satisfied with his opportunities of usefulness, and the affection and confidence of his congregation.

His wants were few and simple. He had no taste for ostentation or profusion. He took an evident pleasure in his Christian simplicity, and in devoting all he could spare to purposes of charity. When he had won golden opinions by his faithfulness and ability in the pulpit, he was indirectly informed that a complimentary present was intended for him by some opulent members of his charge. He was not at all sorry to hear of their benevolent design; for his income was small, and

his liberality diverted a good portion of it from the uses of himself and his family. In due time a deputation arrived at his abode, and inquired if he had any objection to receive a substantial token of gratitude and esteem for his work's sake. "Not the least in the world," he replied; "I have never coveted wealth, and my possessions have been always few; but so long as I am in the body, I need an ordinary supply of my wants, and I can find a warrant for accepting such liberality as yours from St. Luke x. 8, 'Into whatsoever city ye enter, and they receive you, eat such things as are set before you.'" The gentlemen forming the deputation then inquired whether it would be acceptable to his feelings to receive an elegant service of plate? Mr. Best looked disappointed, for he desired something congenial with his plain habits and self-denying life. He candidly told them that their choice of a present was not in unison with his economical ideas; but he added with a smile, "I will receive it with pleasure on a single condition—that after showing your handsome gift, as a mark of your Christian good-will, to my acquaintance on the day of presentation, I may be allowed to melt it down next morning." His ingenuous declaration was fully appreciated by his kind-hearted friends, and, after a short interval, elicited a more simple but more welcome testimonial of their esteem.

Although pre-eminently a Bible Christian, and deriving all his principles and tenets from the inspired volume, with which he was wonderfully well acquainted, he entertained, for the most part, the views previously embraced by the Revs. Thomas Scott, Cecil, John Newton, and the Milners, and belonged to what is called the Evangelical School of the Church of England. In the pulpit of his own church, and his exposition on Thursday mornings at Weston, he appeared "mighty in the Scriptures." His extensive research was equally conspicuous with his natural acuteness. His arguments were invariably comprehensive and clear, and could not be listened to without deep admiration for his powers of persuasion. He seemed to have made up his mind fully and deliberately on every portion of the Sacred Word. Never dismayed by difficulties or exhausted by application, he was in the habit of comparing scripture with scripture, and referring to the original Hebrew or Greek, until the desired light dawned on his continuous efforts, and he had reason to conclude that he had rightly discovered the true meaning of the obscure passage. As an interpreter, he was verily "a master of Israel," and "one among a thousand." His preaching was sound, able, and impressive, and proved useful to great numbers, many of whom live to bear their testimony to its excellence. He had no sympathy with "doctrines fashioned to the varying hour," and eschewed novelties; but repentance and faith were subjects of which he never wearied, and a hundred and thirteen sermons on texts selected from the Epistle to the Romans remain to indicate his delight in the writings of the great Apostle of the Gentiles, and his earnest advocacy of the all-important doctrine of justification by faith. Dr. Sale, in a sermon preached on the occasion of his death, pays a merited tribute to his faithfulness and discretion. "Having, by careful meditation and study of God's Word, ascertained the path of life, he was not to be fascinated by the false lights which the craft and subtlety of man's wisdom held forth. His motto was

that text of the prophet Jeremiah, 'Thus saith the Lord, Stand ye in the ways, and see, and ask for the old paths, where is the good way, and walk therein, and ye shall find rest for your souls.' Whether the doctrines of the Trinity and the Atonement were disparaged in the early days of his ministry, or the extravagant exaggerations of spiritual influence, as in the days of the late Edward Irving, or in later days Romanizing doctrines and practices sprung up tending to lead back to the bondage of Popery, or latitudinarian error arising out of the pride of human science (falsely so called), would disparage the truth and inspiration of the holy Scriptures, he was ever ready to step forward valiant for the truth, and, firmly rooted and grounded in the faith, set his face like a flint against every feature of error, however specious, that interfered with the simplicity of Christian truth, and contended earnestly for the faith once delivered to the saints." But though error in all its forms was distasteful to Mr. Best, and though he anxiously laboured to fortify the minds of his hearers against the special delusions of the times, he cautiously refrained from sensational declamation, carefully looked for antidotes for spiritual maladies in the pages of Inspiration, and was more intent on proclaiming genuine and forcible truth than on unmasking and assailing error. For a long term of years he was in the habit of preaching an annual sermon against theatrical amusements to overflowing congregations; and many were the instances in which he was gratefully assured how timely was his advice and how impressive were his warnings. It was often remarked by those who knew him best, how scrupulously he regarded in their order the evidences of "the wisdom that cometh down from above." It was first *pure*, then *peaceable*. He always contended for principle before peace. Though a lover of peace by his Christian office and inclination, he was in a greater degree a lover of purity of doctrine and righteousness of life. He was indisposed to make sacrifices of duty for the sake of tranquillity. Acquaintances sank quickly in the scale of his regard, as soon as he discovered in them any laxity of conduct, or an undervaluing of any portion of the Inspired Word; and when with increasing years he had become, if possible, more bland in his demeanour and more obliging in his courtesy, if the great points of revealed truth were assailed, the fervour of his youth revived. His dearest interests were evidently at stake, and he spoke boldly and energetically, because he felt strongly. His friendly counsel was often solicited, and it was freely given from the high authority of Scripture. He never hesitated to point out the plain path of duty, however rugged it might be. When any one spoke of "having adhered to truth so far as circumstances would allow," he would protest against such language as affording an outlet for all kinds of evasion, and plead the obligations of strict, undeviating veracity. The Rev. C. G. Coombe, in his memorial sermon, states,— "How vividly impressed on my memory are his solemn words—words which I have heard him utter more than once—when, defending any particular act or course of conduct which concerned the truth of the Gospel, he said, 'I could not, I dared not, act otherwise, remembering how soon I might have to stand face to face with my Saviour.'" There was no one to whom his long-attached friend, the late Vicar of Sheffield, more frequently resorted for sympathy in trials, or counsel in

perplexity; and the present Vicar adopted the same expedient with similar success, for he thus expresses his gratitude:—"To me he was a valuable and a faithful friend on occasions of difficulty and trial, especially when I entered on my ministry in this town. He was ever ready to afford me counsel and support; and what is more difficult to find in a friend, he hesitated not, when he thought I was erring, to administer warning and remonstrance, and that with a delicacy and gentleness that gave tenfold force to his faithfulness. I pray that, now he is gone, I may treasure up his fatherly counsel against future temptations to which I may be exposed."

Although never possessed of robust health, he was conspicuous for his industry in the discharge of his clerical functions; being accustomed at Uttoxeter, for five years, to take three full services on the Sabbath, and, in the earlier portion of his career in Sheffield, to minister in two services in his own church, and to preach in rotation on the Sunday and Wednesday evening services of the Old Parish Church, and deliver elsewhere three weekly lectures; but in the severe winter of 1837, a season of scarcity and distress, being actively engaged in the operations of a charitable Relief Committee, he suffered from congestion of the lungs, and was compelled to be mindful of his impaired health. From that period to the end of his life, he was assisted in the discharge of his arduous duties by successive curates, between whom and himself there existed the utmost cordiality. The Rev. R. E. Roberts, the respected Rector of Richmond, Yorkshire, who was once known to him in that relation, has recorded in strong language his admiration for his attainments and conduct. "I have read with much interest," he writes, "everything in the papers respecting our beloved friend, and Dr. Sale's funeral sermon. But everything seems to me to come far short of what he was, and one can scarcely help feeling depressed at the thought that we shall see and hear him no more. . . . Never, I believe, did any minister seek more prayerfully and perseveringly to ascertain the mind of the Spirit in the written and inspired Word. Never did any minister seek more simply to commend himself to every man's conscience in the sight of God. Never did any minister labour more disinterestedly, or with a more single eye to his Master's glory, and the everlasting interests of his beloved flock; and never did any man live more consistently with the holy truths which it was the business and delight of his life to unfold. Oh, what a privilege to have enjoyed the ministry of such a man for such a lengthened period! And what an awful responsibility does the possession of such a privilege involve!"

Even on the verge of the grave he did what he could, and took no furlough beyond the claims of absolute necessity. He wished to die in harness; though faint, he was still pursuing; and conscious that his work was well-nigh done, he devoted his last thoughts to the diligent completion of it. In much weakness of body he continued to the last to hold forth the Word of Life, and was engaged on the very last day which he spent on earth, in preparing a sermon for the following Sunday. His peculiar interest in the writings of St. Paul appears from the 113 extant sermons on the Epistle to the Romans, 96 on that to the Hebrews, and 50 on that to the Galatians.

In his latter years he suffered much from bodily infirmity, and was frequently deprived of sleep by an increasing malady; but he was

never heard to murmur, or known to lose his cheerfulness; and when a friend once expressed a wish that he could enjoy such a happy and buoyant frame of mind as he observed in him, he pointed to the passage in 2 Tim. i. 12, "I know in whom I have believed, and am persuaded that He is able to keep that which I have committed unto Him against that day;" and added, "There is the true foundation on which cheerfulness is to be built."

Although ever sensible of the obligations of his ministerial responsibility, he knew well how to unbend and enliven his associates in befitting times. He had a rich vein of humour and anecdote; his retentive memory embraced the incidents of past generations; his observation of circumstances was keen and minute; his genial spirit rejoiced in acts of kindness and hospitality, and eagerly seized opportunities of imparting gratification to others, and numbers loved him as heartily as a friend as they respected him in the zealous discharge of his public avocations.

He took a lively interest in various institutions of a charitable and religious nature, and was for many years chairman of the weekly board of the Dispensary and Public Hospital, and local secretary of the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge, and of the British and Foreign Bible Society, which latter appointment threw him into the company of advanced Christians of other communions, by whom he was regarded with sincere affection and respect.

He was an able advocate of the Church Missionary Society on the platform, where his speeches were short, but racy, effective, and very acceptable.

A peculiar charm of consistency marked his whole deportment. Such as he was in his doctrines at the outset of his ministerial course, he was to the last. From the starting-post to the goal he never varied. The trumpet at his lips gave no uncertain sound, but the true, clear, animating notes of the Gospel. He preached Christ crucified, the power of God, and the wisdom of God, to everyone that believed.

This venerable man's name will not soon be forgotten. It will be treasured in the affectionate remembrance of his acquaintance. They will glorify the grace of God in him, and reflect on his solemn exhortations, ever in agreement with the Scriptures, and recollect how accurately, as in a mirror, his preaching was represented in his practice, and how pointedly his recommendations to industry, disinterestedness of conduct, heavenly-mindedness, faith, kindness, cheerfulness in trials, and to every other Christian grace, were illustrated by his own excellent example.

"His preaching much, but more his practice wrought—
His life a pattern of the truths he taught."

He was verily "an example of the believers in word, in conversation, in charity, in spirit, in faith, in purity."

On Friday, the 10th of March, after a very short illness, he fell asleep in Jesus, and was withdrawn from his Master's work on earth to his Master's presence in heaven. "Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord from henceforth. Yea, saith the Spirit, that they may rest from their labours, and their works do follow them."

It is intended to publish *two* volumes of his miscellaneous sermons, and a *third* comprising a few of forty-seven annual sermons against "theatrical amusements."

CORRESPONDENCE.

CONFIRMATION IN THE DIOCESE OF EXETER.—BAPTISTS
AND BAPTISMAL REGENERATION.*To the Editor of the Christian Observer.*

MY DEAR SIR,—I think that the Christian Observer should know what is going on in our diocese of Exeter. The late Bishop of Columbo is holding confirmations throughout the diocese in the place of our diocesan; and just before the ceremony takes place in each parish, a parcel of tracts is sent by *Masters*, publisher, of London, with a printed notice, requesting the officiating clergyman to give one to each of the candidates for Confirmation. On reading the tract, you will understand why some of us have withheld, and some of us have burnt them.

It seems quite a step in advance for a bishop thus to circulate his own private opinions in his diocese, and it seems much beneath the dignity of one of the rulers of our Church to allow what he has not himself written, but what has been taken down as his address, thus to be sent forth on such an occasion.

You are quite borne out by facts occurring not unfrequently in even Spurgeon's chapel, in saying that the most objectionable form of baptismal regeneration is taught by Spurgeon and those officiating for him. I have myself heard a celebrated London preacher say, in Spurgeon's *former* tabernacle, that baptism was the "king's highway to heaven;" and Mrs. — remarked to me once, on returning from hearing Spurgeon previous to a baptism, that if she had not known who was preaching, she should have thought him a High Churchman.—Your's faithfully,

CLERICUS DEVONENSIS.

[The tract distributed at the Confirmation, and dated from Bishopstowe, contains the following statements—

"As descendants of Adam you are all born children of wrath, steeped in sin; but by Holy Baptism original sin was washed away: and if any of you before they were baptized were guilty of actual sins, those sins were also in their Baptism forgiven, and you were made members of CHRIST, children of God, and inheritors of the Kingdom of Heaven. By some great and mysterious means unknown to us you were made part of the very Body of CHRIST your SAVIOUR, members incorporate of that Body of which He is the Head. This you could not be unless by communication to you of the very Spirit of CHRIST, who is the Second Adam, of that HOLY SPIRIT who is one with CHRIST and with the FATHER. By that wonderful gift you were born anew, made to partake of an altogether new nature, of that breath of life which God breathed from His own SPIRIT into the first Adam at his first creation, but which was lost to himself and all his natural progeny by his sin. We know not how this is brought to pass, but we know that in Baptism it is brought to pass, because He has assured us of it Whose word is truth."

"In holy Baptism you undertook to do your duty; in Confirmation you will receive grace to enable you to perform it; and if you pray from the heart for strength to do your duty, it will be given you."

The reader will judge of the doctrine from these specimens, otherwise the tract is written in a solemn, and even affectionate spirit, and

we cannot but hope the venerable bishop may yet live to see that the law of such commandments contained in ordinances is quite at variance with the law of Christ. In particular, we would ask his lordship, if we enter the Church by baptism, and then have remission of sins, how it comes to pass that we do not receive grace till fourteen years afterwards at our Confirmation? Is this the love which Christ has for the lambs of his flock?—ED.]

ON THE REVELATION OF THE LAWLESS ONE.

To the Rev. C. D.

REV. SIR,—I am not a resident in your neighbourhood, and have not often had an opportunity of benefitting by your greatly-valued ministrations. But circumstances placed me, not long since, in the vicinity of your church on a Sunday morning, and I gladly availed myself of the privilege so afforded. I am sorry to say that your sermon gave me, instead of pleasure and edification, much pain and trouble of mind; and it seems almost a duty to make you acquainted with my feelings concerning it; seeing that they are not feelings peculiar to myself; but would be shared by thousands of others much more entitled to your attention than I can claim to be.

Prophecy is an important part of the Word of God, not merely as a guide;—a light to our path, but also as furnishing proof of the Divine authority of that word. It is so represented in the 40th to the 46th chapters of Isaiah: “I am God, and there is none like me, declaring the end from the beginning, and from ancient times the things that are not yet done:”—“Let them show the things that are to come hereafter, that we may know that ye are gods.” It is very natural, therefore, and very intelligible, that those who are labouring to overthrow the authority of God’s word should direct some of their chief efforts to show that there are no predictions of future events in the Old or New Testaments; or none, at least, which can be appealed to as evidences; none which, by their fulfilment, establish the Divine origin and authorship of the books in which they are found. But, surely, we should learn from these efforts the importance of resisting all temptations to obscure or explain away the historical proofs of such fulfilment.

I have been accustomed to refer inquirers and young students of the Scriptures, to several well-known predictions, as furnishing clear and irrefragable proofs of the Divine authorship of the canonical books. Among these are the prophecies concerning the Messiah; concerning the Jews; concerning Babylon, Egypt, Assyria, &c.; and the outlines given of the Four Empires, the Little Horn, the Papal Apostasy, and the Revelation of the Lawless One. Now it may be said, that among so many it is no great loss to be deprived of one. But I cannot help feeling that the fulfilment of the prophecy of the Lawless One is one of the clearest and strongest facts in the whole array; and hence that, if the supposed fulfilment of that prophecy can be shown to be altogether a mistake, a cloud of doubt and suspicion must rest upon the interpretation of prophecy in general. There is nothing in the Bible which I can assert to be clearer than this fulfilment. If, therefore, you had convinced me, by the sermon to which I am alluding, that St. Paul’s prophecy in 2 Thess. ii. 8, had never been fulfilled, you would have gone near to blot the item of “Prophecy” altogether out of my list of the evidences of Christianity.

For what is there, in the whole Bible, which can pretend to greater clearness, explicitness, or certainty, than this prediction and its fulfilment? It has been well described as "a lock with many wards, which, with its answering key, could never have been fabricated, long centuries before the event, by any human hand."

The hope of the Christian Church, as expressed in all creeds, is, that the words of the angel shall one day be fulfilled: "This same Jesus, which is taken up from you into heaven, shall so come in like manner as ye have seen him go." The Thessalonians had been persuaded by some one that this Second Advent of the Saviour was to be immediately expected; and the consequence of this belief was, that they were unable to attend to their usual avocations. St. Paul writes to them to rectify this mistake. And his first word, written, be it observed, about the year A.D. 56, is—"That day shall not come until there has first been seen a falling away, an Apostasy."

The Apostle then goes on to describe this Apostasy, not as a false doctrine merely, like Arianism or Pelagianism, but as a visible, ruling, dominant system, taking Christ's place, and tyrannizing over the Church. Such a system, we all know, did arise, but not until three hundred years after. No one but a prophet, divinely inspired, could have thus foretold, in A.D. 56, what only began to be fulfilled in the fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries.

This leading feature, however, is only one out of several. The peculiar character of this Apostasy is next described, in several remarkable particulars or outlines. A "man of sin, a son of perdition, a lawless one," was to be "revealed." He was to be revealed as soon as something which then existed, and which was known to the Thessalonians, was taken out of the way; and yet he was not to be destroyed until the Lord Himself came. His continuance or duration would thus be spread over many centuries. He must be, therefore, like the "head of gold," that symbolized the empire of Babylon, "a perpetual person," sitting on a throne, and seen with eyes, and yet continuing for hundreds of years.

Next, he "opposeth and exalteth himself above all that is called God, or that is worshipped." Daniel had told us, six hundred years before, of such a power, which should appear in the latter days of Rome, and should "speak great words against the Most High, and think to change times and laws." The power foreshown by Daniel was to be "given to the burning flame," was to be "consumed and destroyed," at the coming of the Son of Man. The power foreshown by St. Paul was to be "consumed by the Lord with the spirit of His mouth, and destroyed with the brightness of His coming." Identity could hardly be more clearly exhibited, than it is in these two descriptions.

Fourthly; this Lawless One would be guilty of the utmost act of impious audacity; for "he, as God, would sit in the temple of God, showing himself that he is God."

Fifthly; for the present, at the time when the apostle wrote, the revelation or appearing of this Lawless One was hindered or withheld by a power which the apostle judged it best not to describe in writing. But he adds, "When I was with you, I told you these things." All the ancient writers agree, that this withholding power, whom the apostle avoided distinctly naming, was the imperial power of Rome.

Sixthly; after a time, this withholding power should be "taken

out of the way," and then should "that Lawless One be revealed," who was destined only to be finally "consumed and destroyed" when the Lord Himself came.

These things appear to me to have been visibly fulfilled in history;—so visibly and palpably fulfilled, that, as I have said, I should despair of ever beholding any proofs of a more conclusive kind. Hence, to strike out the prediction of "the Lawless One" from the list of fulfilled prophecies of Holy Scripture, would be tantamount, in my view, to the abandonment of this branch of evidence altogether.

I have enumerated six distinct features or particulars which are seen in this prediction. Let me now briefly glance at the mode and manner of their fulfilment.

1. That an Apostasy, a falling away, did take place in the earlier periods of the Christian Church, is firmly believed by all Protestants. That it was "already working," though not openly manifested, in the apostle's time, is shown by many circumstances,—such as the lofty assumptions of Victor of Rome, only about eighty years after the removal of the last of the apostles.

2. This Apostasy, although "already working," was not to be destroyed until the Lord Himself came for the second time. Thus the Lawless One was to endure for many centuries—for more than a thousand years. All Protestants recognize in the Papacy just such an Apostasy, of great antiquity and of long duration.

3. It is a system, too, of vast and lofty pretensions. Accordingly, we find the Roman Decretals asserting, that "Emperors ought to obey, not to rule over, the Pontiffs;" that "the Pope is to judge all men, and to be judged of none;" that "the Pope is styled God, and it is manifest that God cannot be judged by man." Bellarmine boldly asserts, that "if the Pope were to enjoin vices, or forbid virtues, the Church would be bound to believe that vices are good and virtues evil." And again, that "the Pope is above Scripture, councils, princes, and all powers on earth, on account of his divinity." Thus has this "Lawless One" "exalted himself above all that is called God, or that is worshipped."

4. Another remarkable feature or trait is added; written, be it remembered, whole centuries before there was any Pope. "He, as God, sitteth in the temple of God, showing himself that he is God." A strange thing to do; yet has it been systematically done by the Pope. For centuries has it been the practice, on the election of a new Pope, to carry him forth in his pontifical chair and to place him on the high altar in St. Peter's, there to receive the "adoration" of the cardinals! So precisely has the prediction been fulfilled, that "He, as God, sitteth in the temple of God, showing himself that he is God."

5. A further and a very singular circumstance is next named. Although the Mystery of Iniquity was already working, it was, in the apostle's day, withheld, kept down, and hindered by some repressive power. That power, all the old writers tell us, was understood to be the imperial authority of Rome, which, while it remained, allowed no Pope to assume the powers of government.

6. But, lastly, it was added, that when this withholding power was removed, then should "the Lawless One" be revealed. And exactly so did it occur. As the empire faded away, the Papacy arose in its room; and when the Emperors were no more, the Popes, "exalting

themselves above all that is called God, or that is worshipped," were manifestly "revealed" to the whole Christian world.*

Thus, in all six particulars, the prediction stands forth accomplished; and in no other way can such accomplishment take place. For let any one ask himself, How can a withholding or hindering power, which existed in the apostle's day, and which was known to the Thessalonians in the year A.D. 56—how can that power be *now* "taken out of the way"? What power can be pointed out as now existing, and as still hindering the revelation of "the Lawless One," which was known to the Thessalonians in the days of St. Paul? Evidently there is none; and if the removal of the Imperial power, and immediate uprising of the Lawless One, has not taken place more than a thousand years ago, it never will, never can, take place at all. Prophecy, in such a case, instead of proving Scripture to be Divine, would rather prove it to be human, fallible, and actually in error! I deprecate, with all the earnestness of a believer in God's Word, such a conclusion.

One other reason for shrinking from your interpretation of this prophecy, is this:—Our Lord has left us the plainest, clearest, and most emphatic injunctions, to expect His second coming, and to watch for it. He has solemnly warned us, that it is a characteristic of an evil or bad servant to say, "My Lord delayeth his coming." He has assured his people, that they "know neither the day nor the hour, in which the Son of Man shall come."

Yet the general tendency of the sermon which I heard with so much pain was, to convince all who accepted its reasonings, that they did know with certainty that the Son of Man would not, could not come, until several more years had passed away.

The Apostle was especially inspired to teach the Thessalonians, and, through them, the whole Church, that the coming of Christ would not take place until an Apostasy had shown itself, and a power justly termed "Lawless" had appeared. So far as this, but no further, was our Lord's own injunction qualified and restricted.

A great Apostasy has taken place;—a Lawless power has appeared; and we are now looking for "the brightness of that coming" which shall destroy this usurper. Whoever, therefore, can now succeed in glossing over these facts, and in persuading us that the predicted Apostasy is yet future, and that "the Lawless One" has not yet been seen, does, in effect, tell us not to look for our Lord at present; inasmuch as great events, which must precede His Advent, have not yet begun to appear. The rise of the Papacy occupied whole centuries;—the impostor of Mecca spent above twenty years in the propagation of his new faith, before his system could be deemed to be established. Hence, to represent the coming of the Lawless One to be an event

* I have heard one objection taken to this view, of the following kind: It is asked, How can the Pope's enthronement on the altar of St. Peter's be deemed a "sitting in the temple of God"? I answer, that it is clearly such a sitting in the common apprehension of mankind; and those who expect some other sitting should explain their meaning. "Your body is the temple of the Holy Ghost," says

St. Paul: would the objector expect the Lawless One to sit in that temple? There is a spiritual and invisible Church: can the Lawless One sit in that temple, "showing himself as God"? In a word, the prediction speaks of a visible fact. Such a visible fact has long existed in Rome. Those who reject this interpretation should show, if they can, the possibility of any other.

still future, and yet an event which must precede the Second Advent of our Lord, is tantamount to a declaration, that this latter event, the great hope of the Church, cannot be looked for until after the expiration of some long but indefinite period. To all, therefore, who regard the Apostasy as a fact still unaccomplished, the expectation of their Lord's return must be held to be an event still far distant;—so distant, that death, in most cases, must seem much more near.

On both these grounds—that your denial of the fulfilment of St. Paul's prophecy threw doubt upon all the other predictions of Holy Writ; while it rendered all expectations of a speedy return of the Lord unreasonable and untenable—I deprecate, with all the earnestness which the occasion seems to justify, the view which you then presented of this important passage in the apostle's writings. S.

NOTICES OF NEW BOOKS.

*Lost Friends Found Again; or, Heavenly Solace for Christian Mourners. Edited by Edward Shepherd Smedley, and Dedicated, by permission, to the Right Hon. the Earl of Shaftesbury, K.G. London: Hamilton, Adams, and Co:—*The theme of this goodly octavo is sufficiently indicated by the title page. While confined to the state of the departed, during the period which elapses between death and the resurrection, and the re-union and recognition of Christian friends in the realm of everlasting blessedness, it discusses every point involved in these two grand subjects with power and eloquence. This is owing partly to the judicious selection made by Mr. Smedley from the works of celebrated authors, who have consecrated their hallowed talents to a theme as comforting as it is lofty. Suffice it that we mention the names of Drs. Price, Hunter, and Sherlock, and of Meek, Davies, Traill, and Bruce. Although they were, or are, ministers of different religious communities, there is a oneness of sentiment among them, both surprising and delightful. There is no clashing, no discord. The melody is perfectly harmonious; the river rolls onward toward the great ocean, without a ripple on its surface. We therefore tender our sincere thanks to the editor, and earnestly commend his neatly printed and elegantly bound volume to all those who yearn for re-association and enjoyment with their sainted friends, where "there shall be no more death, neither sorrow, nor crying; neither any more pain."

PUBLIC AFFAIRS.

WE had scarcely closed our last number, when the nation was shocked with the tidings of the assassination of President Lincoln, while sitting in his box at the theatre. We could have wished that death had overtaken the ruler of a great nation amidst less worldly and frivolous scenes. The assassin fired a pistol from behind the President into the brain; he spoke no more, and soon afterwards

expired. Strange to say, the murderer was permitted to escape, though it is said that he broke his leg in leaping from the President's box, and rode for miles before he had surgical assistance. Almost at the same minute, another assassin rushed into the house of Secretary Seward, whom he found in bed severely suffering from a broken jaw, caused by an accident when thrown from his carriage a few days before. He aimed several stabs at him, but happily none of them were mortal. His son hastening into the room, the miscreant stabbed him too, but again without inflicting a mortal wound. He then turned upon and murdered an attendant. He too was permitted to escape, and it is not certain that he has yet been discovered. Wilkes Booth, the murderer of the President, was an actor. He was pursued into Maryland, and at length discovered in a barn. When driven to bay, he refused to surrender; fire was set to the barn, and he turned upon his pursuers, and was shot down, leaning upon crutches and in the act of discharging a gun or pistol. He died cursing the Federals, and the only sign of human feeling he displayed was a parting message to his mother. A few days afterwards, General Johnston surrendered to Sherman, on the same generous terms which Lee had previously received. President Davis fled for his life, and left no provision for a dictatorship or other form of government in his absence. At present, therefore, the cause of the Confederates is lost. We confess we are surprised that they should have shown so little firmness in adversity, after the patient heroism of the last four years. Whether peace will be restored, or state by state will still resist, or, without armed resistance, refuse to acknowledge the Union, remains to be seen. President Johnson has issued a proclamation equally foolish and wicked. He declares treason to be the greatest of crimes, and avows his intention to inflict condign punishment on the leaders of the rebellion. It would be well if, at such a moment, the Federals remembered their own crimes against justice and humanity—the atrocities of General Butler at New Orleans, and the execution of the twelve unoffending citizens, drawn out and hanged because a Federal citizen was missing, who soon afterwards returned, having merely been upon a visit among his friends. We remember the righteous indignation with which the late Mr. Elliott of Brighton denounced these murders, and bid his congregation be assured that the vengeance of God would surely follow. Our readers will see this in our number for December, 1862. We may now add, that having mentioned our intention of referring to it to Mr. Elliott, he requested that we would do so, for he wished the world to know, he said, his abhorrence of the crime. A proclamation has just appeared, signed by President Johnston, in which he charges President Davis with being an accomplice to the death of President Lincoln, and offers 100,000 dollars for his capture. Without further evidence, we do not believe the charge. The proclamation includes the names of four or five others, with different sums as a reward for their apprehension. These gentlemen do not hesitate to give the lie to President Johnson. They tell him that the charge of complicity he brings against President Davis is false, and meant only as a plea for his assassination; and that as to themselves, who are now safe in Canada, that if he will pay their expenses, and guarantee them a safe-conduct, they will present themselves before an American court of justice, and there dare him to the

proof of the foul charge he has brought against them. Several of the Southern Generals have also written to the Washington Government to protest against the imputation. The assassination of President Lincoln was heard of with horror at Richmond, and has met with no approval from any class in the Confederate States. The Confederates still threaten to collect their few forces in Texas, beyond the Mississippi, and there to prolong their resistance. But active warfare is at an end; and now new difficulties begin to confront the Federals, which will require more temper, caution, and forbearance than they have hitherto displayed, or the consequences may be very serious to themselves. However, slavery is at an end. We owe this neither to North nor South, but to that wonder-working God who makes the wrath of man to praise Him, and brings good out of evil. Meantime the North is full of the wildest rumours. At one time, Canada has done it all; the next day, there are five hundred conspirators banded together to assassinate all they meet with who are obnoxious to their principles; then there is a plot for burning down all the great towns and cities in the Federal States. In fact, it is the reign of uproar and confusion, and panic sits at the helm, and, in the midst of her triumphs, guides the vessel of the State.

At home, we have, on a small scale, our own domestic horrors. Constance Kent has appeared before the magistrates to charge herself with the guilt of the Road murder four years ago. She declares that it was done from no other motive but to spite her step-mother. On the truth of this, till she has stood her trial, for which she is committed to the next Salisbury Assizes, we shall not say a word; though many strange thoughts suggest themselves. She stood before the magistrates between Mr. Wagner, jun., of Brighton, her Father Confessor, and Mrs. Graem, the Mother Superiress and spiritual mother to Constance Kent. Both Mr. Wagner and the Lady Superior volunteered to inform the magistrates that they should reveal nothing that had been repeated to them under the seal of the confessional. The magistrate reminded them that they were sworn to tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth; but they still persisted. We are glad they have brought this question to an issue; for, if once allowed in our criminal courts, there is an end of all justice, and the sooner this is known the better. One of the articles of Magna Charta is that justice shall be denied to no man, neither delayed to any man; but if a juggling priest, whether of Rome or of Romanizing Anglicans, may thus manufacture his evidence, a court of justice will become nothing better than a solemn farce.

The apathy of England to the growth of Popery and of Romish principles, is indeed amazing. Yet we are not without hope. At several of the great meetings in May, the bold advances of Rome, and her insolent demand of fresh concessions, were spoken of with a degree of indignation, and with expressions of a determination to resist, which show that the heart of England is beginning to rouse itself. Dr. McNeile, at the Church Missionary Society's great meeting, addressed himself exclusively to the subject; showing how popery undermined all missionary principles at home, and thwarted all missionary efforts abroad. We never heard him speak with greater effect. The House of Commons may treat the subject as they do with contemptuous laughter, and the *Times* with an air of easy

contempt and ridicule. But the disclosures already made by Mr. Newdegate have excited a feeling of deep uneasiness in the country ; and we are not without hope, that at the next Elections the voice of Protestant England may again be heard.

The Report of the Royal Commission for considering the terms of Clerical Subscription has been made and discussed in Convocation. There is an end of the "unfeigned assent and consent," and there are a few other changes. As remarked by a member of Convocation, they do not amount to much at present, but they are in the right direction. A few canons are to be altered, so as to bring them into harmony with the new form of subscription. But here the old difficulty returns. Without the consent of the Irish Church it seems doubtful whether, even with the consent of the Crown and Parliament, such changes can be made, regard being had to the Act of Union which incorporated the Irish Church with our own.

A discussion arose on the laws of Simony, and the Dean of Ely remarked "that the most acute lawyer was not able to tell what was a simoniacal contract." As to the laws against simoniacal contracts, while they are on the statute book, they must of course be obeyed. But we have no respect for them. They are full of the most absurd inconsistencies. We regard them as Paley did, as "a trap for the consciences of the clergy," and wish them swept away. The Bishop of Oxford said, that in the changes contemplated "there was not the slightest idea of taking away from the Church's testimony against the grave and execrable sin of simony." We ask what is the sin of simony, or how in these days can it be committed ? It certainly has no connection with the buying or selling of presentations and advowsons. There may be a wicked and shameless traffic in these dealings ; but it is not simony, and it appears to us to have nothing in common with it. The sin of Simon Magus was that he wished to buy the gifts of the Holy Ghost for money ; a very different thing surely from wishing to buy the opportunity of preaching the Gospel for money. If such a sin can be committed now, it would seem rather to consist in offering money for admission to holy orders ; a crime, we suppose, which few would have the audacity to perpetrate.

As we close, the mail arrives bringing the tidings of the capture of President Davis and his staff. Threats of vengeance upon them disgrace the New York press. If carried out, all Europe will stand aghast. But the new President is stern and moody, and will probably defy the remonstrances, should they be offered, of the whole civilized world.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

Our correspondent HISTORICUS, with reference to the expression, "God himself died for the sin of man," refers us to the following passage from Hooker's *Sermon on Justification*, vol. 4, Keeble's edition, p. 610 :—"Let it be accounted folly, or phrensy, or fury, or whatsoever, it is our comfort and our wisdom ; we care for no knowledge in the world but this, that *man hath sinned and God hath suffered ; that God hath made himself the sin of man, and that men are made the righteousness of God.*"

Just received, D. C. on Kingsley's *Four Sermons*, &c., also two pamphlets which refer to a controversy hitherto carried on in other channels. We must decline to re-open the important questions they raise.

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[1865.]

CANON BOYD ON BAPTISM AND BAPTISMAL
REGENERATION.

Baptism and Baptismal Regeneration. By the Rev. Archibald Boyd, A.M., Incumbent of Paddington, and Hon. Canon of Gloucester. London: Seeley, Jackson, & Halliday. 1865.

THE little work before us contains the substance of lectures delivered by Canon Boyd during last Advent. The reasons which led him to the discussion of the subject cannot be better stated than in the words of the Preface.

“In a time of good understanding and attempted fellowship with those who dissent from our Church—a time marked by great concession and almost extreme forbearance on the part of the Church of England—it has pleased some of more zeal for party than for Christ, to lay lance in rest, and make a furious charge on the lines of our Zion; to indulge in not simply insinuations of our unsoundness, and temperate doubts as to the unscripturality of our usages, but in charges affecting the character of the ministers of that very section of the Church which has taken them and their brethren into confidence and fellowship. In language which disdains to be guarded, and glories in being unequivocal, nine or ten thousand ministers of the Church have been branded with meanness, sordidness, dishonesty, immorality, and falsehood. Hard terms these—so hard, that, unless proof were adduced of their actual use, men would be disposed to doubt the possibility of their utterance. But, unhappily, we can put incredulity to rest for ever by citation of some of the language used.

“That crafty kindness which inveigles men to sacrifice principle is the serpent in the grass—deadly to the incautious wayfarer. . . . It is time there should be an end put to the flirtations of honest men with those who believe one way and swear another. If men believe Baptism works regeneration, let them say so; but if they do not believe it in their hearts, and yet subscribe—and yet more, get their living by

subscribing to words asserting it,—let them find congenial associates among men who can equivocate and shuffle, for honest men will neither ask nor accept their friendship.’”

And still further, in a like strain, and language equally strong, Mr. Spurgeon proceeds to vilify Evangelical clergymen.

After regret that only in a very few honourable instances these sentiments have been disavowed by the ministers and members of that denomination to which the slanderer belongs,—that they have been rather endorsed by approval than repudiated by generous indignation,—Mr. Boyd says:—

“This it does seem to me to lie upon ministers of the Church to do—to go into the consideration of the whole subject thus dragged forward for controversy; to offer to our flocks such instruction on it as may tranquillize their minds if disturbed, and confirm allegiance to the Church if shaken; and to prove that those who have indulged in such invectives have not only assumed most rashly the position of the ‘accusers of the brethren,’ but displayed, in the whole management of the argument and the entire current of the statements made, the most astounding, and—for men undertaking the education of congregations—the most unpardonable ignorance.”

Canon Boyd has done his work well. Perhaps there are not many men among the clergy of the Church of England with better qualifications for handling such a subject. We need only refer our readers to his noble sermon before the Church Missionary Society last year, for an abundant proof of this. And he writes in a style perfectly simple, lucid, and vigorous, never meagre, never redundant. The spirit is that of one perfectly calm and collected, never injuring his cause by exaggeration, yet at times betraying signs of what we must call a manly and righteous indignation.

It is much to be regretted that the Evangelical clergy have for many years acted only on the defensive. They have been satisfied to repel the assaults made upon our offices of Baptism, rather than to maintain the true doctrines contained in them. Explanations they do require; for few of our people are acquainted with that grand old theology of which they form a part, or even with the real meaning of the theological terms employed. It is too common to hear pious persons, in other respects by no means ill-informed, speaking of our doctrine of Baptism contained in the Prayer-book as peculiar to the Church of England. We have again and again protested that the Church of England has no peculiar views on this subject. We have said, till we were ashamed of repeating it, that her doctrines are the doctrines of every orthodox church of the Reformation; and we have referred to their Confessions to prove the truth of our assertions. Canon Boyd brings a number of these quotations together. We will, once for all, avail ourselves of his labours, adding some quotations of our own.

We pass over the testimonies of Peter Martyr, Beza, Calvin, and Baxter, who are all unanimous in maintaining the grace promised to the children of believers in baptism, with only one quotation (for the four are all alike), and come at once to the Confessions of Churches.

"The Fathers made a league with God, not only for themselves, but also for their posterity; as God again, for His part, promised them that He would be the God, not only of them, but also of their seed and posterity. Wherefore it be lawful for them to circumcise their children, being yet infants. And, in like manner, it is lawful for us to baptize our little ones, being yet infants, forasmuch also as they are comprehended in the league." (Peter Martyr on Judges.)

"We condemn the Anabaptists, who deny that young infants, born of faithful persons, are to be baptized; for, according to the doctrines of the Gospel, 'theirs is the kingdom of God.' And they are written in the covenant of God; and why, then, should not this sign of the covenant be given them?" (Second Helvetic Confession.)

"Baptism, according to the institution of our Lord, is the font of Regeneration, the which the Lord doth give to His chosen a visible sign, by the ministry of the Church, in such sort as He hath declared before. In which holy font we do, therefore, dip our infants, because that it is not lawful for us to reject them from the company of the people of God." (First Helvetic Confession.)

"Although baptism, in the primitive Church, for the most part, ministered to those who were well grown and of discretion, after a confession of faith made by them according to Christ's commandment; yet this is taught, that young children also, who are reckoned in the number of God's people in like sort, are by this ministry to be benefitted towards the attainment of salvation, that they may likewise be consecrated and dedicated to Christ." (Confession of Bohemia.)

"Furthermore, though baptism be a sacrament of faith and repentance, yet seeing that God doth, together with the parents, account their posterity also to be of the Church, we affirm that infants being born of holy parents are, by the authority of Christ, to be baptized." (Confession of France.)

"Neither doth baptism profit us only at that moment when the water resteth upon us, and when we are sprinkled with it, but it is available throughout the whole time of our life. Therefore, here do we detest the error of the Anabaptists, who are not only content with one only baptism, and that once received, but do also condemn the baptism of infants, yea of them who be born of faithful parents; but we, by the same reason, do believe that they ought to be baptized and sealed with the sign of the covenant; for the which, in times past, the infants among the Israelites were circumcised—that is, by reason of the same promises made unto our infants that were made unto others." (Confession of Belgia.)

"And that young infants are to be baptized, and that they, being by baptism commended unto God, *are received into God's family, and are made the sons of God*, as Christ witnesseth, speaking of little children in the Church, Matt. xviii., 'It is not the will of your Father which is in heaven that one of these little ones should perish.'" (Confession of Augsburg.)

"We do also baptize infants, because it is most certain that the *promise of Grace doth pertain* to infants, and to them only who are engrafted into the Church, because of them it is said, 'Suffer little ones to come unto me, because that unto such appertaineth the kingdom of heaven.'" (Confession of Saxony.)

"We acknowledge that baptism is to be administered as well to infants as to them that are grown of full age, and that it is to be used in the Church even to the end of the world, . . . according to Christ's institution." (Confession of Wirtemberg.)

"And seeing that baptism is a sacrament of that covenant which God hath made with them that are His, that He will be *their God and the God of their seed*, therefore our preachers do teach that it is to be given to infants also, as well as that in times past, under Moses, they were circumcised; for we are indeed the children of Abraham, and therefore that *promise*, 'I will be thy God and the God of thy seed,' doth no less pertain unto us than it did to the ancient people.'" (Confession of Sweveland.)

"I believe, therefore, and confess one holy only Church, which (as members of Jesus Christ, the only Head thereof) consent in faith, hope, and charity, using the gifts of God, whether they be temporal or spiritual, to the profit and furtherance of the same. Which Church is not seen to man's eye, but only known to God, who of the lost sons of Adam hath ordained some as vessels of wrath to damnation, and has chosen others as vessels of His mercy to be saved; the which also, in due time, He calleth to integrity of life and godly conversation, to make them a glorious Church to Himself." (Confession of Faith used in the English Congregation at Geneva, received and approved by the Church of Scotland.)

"We assuredly believe that by baptism we are engrafted in Christ Jesus, to be made partakers of His justice, whereby our sins are covered and remitted." (Conf., Art. xxi.)

To this array of foreign Confessions, every one of which teaches, either expressly or by implication, the same doctrine which our own Church holds and teaches, we must add the Confession of Westminster. It is, in several respects, worthy of especial notice. It was drawn up nearly a hundred years after the latest of the foreign Confessions. It was drawn up after Laud had endeavoured to impress his Romish interpretation upon the Prayer-book. It was drawn up, too, by Presbyterians and Independents, after the downfall of the Church of England during the Commonwealth; and it continues to this day the doctrinal standard of the Scotch national church, and indeed, we believe, of all the Scotch secession churches. Now, what saith the Confession of Westminster:—

"Baptism is a sacrament of the New Testament, ordained by Jesus Christ, not only for the solemn admission of the party baptized into the visible Church, but also to be unto him a sign and seal of the covenant of grace, of his engrafting into Christ, of regeneration, of remission of sins, and of his giving himself up unto God, through Jesus Christ, to walk in newness of life. Which sacrament is, by Christ's

own appointment, to be continued in His Church until the end of the world."

That the Westminster divines meant precisely what the Church of England means in speaking thus, is sufficiently evident from what follows :—

"The efficacy of baptism is not tied to that moment of time wherein it is administered; yet notwithstanding, by the right use of this ordinance, the grace promised is not only offered, but really exhibited and conferred by the Holy Ghost, to such, whether of age or infants, as that grace belongeth unto according to the counsel of God's own will in His appointed time."

We must now endeavour to give some account of the contents of the book. The Lectures are eight in number. As we shall be unable to notice each of them one by one, it may be well to enumerate the subjects of which they treat. Our readers will thus understand the whole series of points from which the Office of Baptism is regarded.

Chap. I. On Sacraments.

II. The benefits of Baptism.

III. Objections to Infant Baptism.

IV. The right of Infants to Baptism.

V. The Sponsorial Institution.

VI. The Baptismal Service.

VII. The Baptismal Service. Objections.

VIII. The Sentiments of the Reformers.

Besides the lectures, there is a short but extremely valuable appendix.

The first lecture is in no sense controversial. It is not, however, the less valuable for that. As a foundation for a series of lectures to candidates for confirmation, we think it might be useful to every clergyman, and suggestive of many ideas. Sketched roughly and in outline, it is as follows :—

Before any institution can be exalted to the rank of a sacrament, the first necessary and indispensable condition is, that such institution be of divine appointment. Thus, in the dispensation of Moses, circumcision and the passover, and in the dispensation of Christ, baptism and the Lord's Supper, all stand upon the same foundation: all are of divine appointment. But what further distinguishes these two ordinances of the Gospel from other rites, is that each of them has an outward and material sign as well as an inward grace. Under the external is veiled something which is spiritual, and by administration of the external—not of course necessarily and always—the spiritual is conveyed. On account of these three characteristics—divine appointment, outward sign, and inward efficacy—Baptism and the Supper of the Lord with a remarkable harmony have been acknowledged as Sacraments by all Churches. In the Confessions of the Swiss, Dutch, German,

and Belgian Churches, we find them assuming the place ceded to them also by the Church of England. The Church of Rome, by adding to them other rites which she has elevated to their level, has put herself at variance with the Church catholic, and even with her own definitions.

(1.) The uses which Sacraments subserve are principally three. First, they express, protect, and perpetuate doctrine. For it is perfectly conceivable that the truth should be lost, "especially in times when the remembrance of facts depends very much on oral communication." This was one intention, at least, of the Passover. "It shall come to pass, when your children shall say unto you, What mean ye by this service? that ye shall say, It is the sacrifice of the Lord's Passover, who passed over the houses of the children of Israel in Egypt, when He smote the Egyptians, and delivered our houses." The act was a standing living history of a great and merciful interposition.

(2.) Next, Sacraments are seals and pledges of substantial benefits implied, though possibly not conferred till long after the pledge is given. The benefits, indeed, are secure by the promise of God; but out of pity to our weakness, God makes assurance doubly sure by the addition of a sign to the word. The burning lamp which passed through the sacrifice was a pledge and a sign to Abraham that the promised land of Canaan should indeed be his; but his seed did not actually come into possession of it till four hundred years after the promise had been given. Gideon's victory was secure because of God's word. The dry and wet fleeces of wool were assurances that that word should be fulfilled.

(3.) Sacraments are something more than pledges. They are conveyances or channels of grace. In the words of the Article, "They be not only badges or tokens of Christian men's profession, but rather they be certain sure witnesses and effectual signs of grace and God's good-will towards us, by the which He doth work invisibly in us, and doth not only quicken but also strengthen and confirm our faith in Him." Or, in the language of the Catechism, "A sacrament is an outward and visible sign of an inward and spiritual grace, given unto us as a means whereby we receive the same, and a pledge to assure us thereof."

Thus, then, the Church of England rejects alike the view of Rome "which so invests the sacraments with an intrinsic efficacy, that by the mere administration of the ordinance grace is conveyed," and also the rationalistic view which makes sacraments bare and naked signs. This rationalistic view, or something resembling it, was held by Zuinglius, but certainly not by Calvin. Calvin claimed for Baptism, that "it was the ordinary instrument of regeneration and renewal." Zuinglius,

on the other hand, claimed for it nothing but a testimony to the corruption of man, and expected from it nothing efficacious for him; and of the sacrament of the Lord's Supper he wrote,—“The bread and wine in the Eucharist are no more than external signs and symbols, designed to excite in the minds of Christians the remembrance of the sufferings and death of the Divine Saviour, and of the benefits which arise from it.”

Canon Boyd says that if this Zuinglian view be maintained, the rites called sacraments cease to be sacraments. By the Church of England, no virtue is lodged in the elements themselves, no necessarily invariable efficacy is affirmed, no such indissoluble connexion is established between the sign and the thing signified, as that the *one must* be where the other is; but the whole efficacy is placed in the *free* blessing of God, attracted (if one may so speak) by the spiritual condition of the worshipper. The efficacy is similar to that of other means of grace, prayer and the reading of the Bible. Grace promised must be met by grace expected, longed for, prayed for; and we have every reason to expect that it will come; yet come not *from* the ordinance, but *through* the ordinance, and *from* His might and uncontrolled favour “who gives to everyone severally as He will.”

It is in the second lecture that Mr. Boyd comes to the point which places him face to face with the accusers of the Church, when he treats of the benefits of Baptism. We could earnestly desire Mr. Spurgeon, and those disciples of Mr. Spurgeon who take all he says for granted, and are led blindfold by him, to study the lecture carefully. We are inclined to hope and believe that all who wish to be candid and just, would be compelled, perhaps not entirely to change their opinions, but at all events to moderate their language. The words of our Church declare a baptized child to be “a member of Christ, a child of God, and an inheritor of the kingdom of Heaven.” Yet, as Mr. Boyd most clearly puts it, in the deep-thinking times of the Reformation, good and holy men found no difficulty in using these words when they were introduced into the Catechism. They believed them to express the very mind and teaching of the Apostolic Epistles. But if any of them had been accused of teaching (as the Church of England has lately been accused) that the mere act of Baptism grafted men spiritually into Christ, gave to every baptized child the spirit of adoption, and assured him, as by an indefeasible right, of everlasting life after death, they would have been amazed. For in those days the idea of a double Kingdom of Christ was almost universally predominant: “one a kingdom of mere profession, another of spiritual efficacy.” Every baptized person was called a Christian, not because he was therefore a true follower of Christ, but because he professed to be so; and on

the strength of that profession they held him entitled to the name. It rested with Christ, not with men, to test the value of the profession. "All that they or any fallible men knew was, that they claimed it—not capriciously, or independently of anything constituting the ground of a claim—but because in the way of Christ's own appointment they had been admitted into the fellowship of professed believers." And this is in most perfect harmony with the language of the Bible. In the Apostolic Epistles, membership of Christ and sonship of God is predicated, not of select sections, but of the whole community, at Rome, at Ephesus, and in Galatia. Yet of these members many were linked to Christ by no true spiritual ties, were connected with Him by no vital union. "Ephesus and Galatia both needed to be admonished on the grounds of doctrinal and moral declension, and Corinth was an open scandal to Christianity." So, too, our Blessed Lord Himself says, "Every branch in Me that beareth not fruit He taketh away." Yes, branches in Christ that bear no fruit, and that have to be taken away. The language is Scriptural, nay the very word of Him who was emphatically the Truth. Because it does not suit the logic of Mr. Spurgeon's philosophy of Christianity, is it therefore to be expunged? No, verily. The Church of England is more Scriptural than Mr. Spurgeon. All baptized into His body, whatever their moral delinquencies, "villains, burglars, forgers," to use Mr. Spurgeon's own words, are members of Christ in the same sense that the schismatic, incestuous, and profane Corinthians were members of Christ. Does St. Paul therefore mean that these carnal Corinthians are *spiritual* members of Christ? Does the Church of England maintain that "villains, burglars, forgers" are *spiritual* members of Christ?

The same reasoning applies equally to the terms "children of God" and "inheritors of the Kingdom of Heaven." This language is also Scriptural. Surely there is a resemblance between Israel after the flesh and the spiritual Israel. The history of Israel after the flesh is the history of a backsliding, stiff-necked, idolatrous people. Yet it was in reference to the whole people that God said, "Out of Egypt have I called my Son;" and again, "Israel is my Son, my first-born. And I say unto thee, Let my Son go, that He may serve me?" Yet, "all are not Israel that are of Israel." Similarly St. Paul says to the Galatians, to all the members of a Church confessedly in a backsliding condition,—“Ye are all the children of God through the faith in Christ Jesus; for as many of you as have been baptized into Christ have put on Christ.” Does St. Paul here mean to affirm that every individual in the Galatian Church was a son of God in a spiritual sense—as bearing a moral and spiritual likeness to the only begotten Son of

God, our Lord Jesus Christ? The same apostle likewise says that "the Gentiles were fellow-heirs, and of the same body, and partakers of the same promises." Yet many of the Gentiles have put these honours far from them, and judged themselves unworthy of eternal life.

The principal benefits which Baptism confers, as noticed by Mr. Boyd, are four. First of all is incorporation into the mystical body and professing family of Christ. The second is the removal of that *imputed guilt* which rests upon us as children of a disloyal parent. Most carefully is this to be distinguished from "that infection of nature" which we inherit from a vitiated origin. The inaccurate man is very liable to confound these two things; and from this inaccuracy we believe there are not a few well-meaning and pious men in our Church who would hesitate to give to baptism this benefit which Mr. Boyd claims for it. We have little doubt, however, that Mr. Boyd's is the true Church of England teaching, and that he has the Reformers, or at all events many of them, on his side.* He maintains that one present benefit conferred in baptism is "the obliteration of the attainder under which every child of Adam enters into this world." In other words, the baptized man is not under a curse because of Adam's transgression; he is under a blessing, and has a right to a blessing if he will accept it. He was baptized into the sacrifice of Christ, whereby the sins of the world are taken away. "The very act of baptism is a renunciation of the first Adam, and the claiming of the love and mercy of the second." All that can bring him under a curse is his own will—his own refusal to accept the mercy of Christ. We need make no remark on the third benefit of baptism, as put forth by our author—that this sacrament puts into our hands the title-deeds of salvation; but of the fourth we must say a few words, as thereupon hangs a great part of the controversy. That fourth benefit is *Regeneration*. "We stand charged," writes Mr. Boyd, "with holding as a church, judged of by her own documents, that baptism bestows regeneration, and as ministers with disbelieving it altogether." A charge involving greater coolness and assumption was scarcely ever made—the first part resting on the fact that, in the Baptismal Service, baptism is associated with regeneration, yet it being taken for granted that regeneration in modern definition is the same thing as regeneration in the Church of England signification; the latter part resting on no attempt or shadow of attempt at proof, and without even a line of quotation in its support. The history of the word "regeneration" is therefore ably discussed by Mr. Boyd. He shows what its signification was in the days of the

* Certainly Luther and good Bishop Latimer. (See Latimer's Sermon on the Card, p. 7, Parker Society's Ed.)

Apostles, the Fathers, the Reformers, and the Puritans. As we feel that we, as Churchmen, have most to do with the meaning which our own Reformers attached to this furiously-disputed word, we shall quote what Mr. Boyd says of them and their opinions alone:—

“We pass on to the consideration of a period lying between these two extremes of times, Patristic and Puritan—the period when, after the deathlike silence of the middle ages, religious intelligence and thought began to struggle into life again. Then we find that the word had taken up into itself an additional idea, engrafting on that of incorporation or admission into the Church that of the implantation of a moral or spiritual power, the introduction of a germ or spark of spiritual life, which was to be the object and foundation of all the Christian solicitude and education afterwards bestowed on the baptized infant. And yet let us carefully note that there is a very broad difference between this idea and the notion of that full development and manifestation of spiritual life which properly should be called conversion. The spark of physical life in a babe is a very different thing from the manhood of the full-grown being. A seed, a germ of life, there is in the one, delicate, tender, feeble, which ill-usage, and even neglect, will destroy. An independence and fullness there is in the other, which fits it to battle with the world, breast its trials, and struggle through its difficulties. And there is little doubt that it was in this double sense of incorporation and implantation that the word was used in the early days of the Reformation; the compilers of our Liturgy, and the authors of our Articles, contending for more in baptism than the mere registration of a child as a member of the religious community, even although that act of admission into the visible Church carried with it the seals and pledges of prospective blessings. The language of our Service appears to contemplate the conveyance of a present privilege, obviously built on the principle expressed in the prayer of thanksgiving—‘*We yield Thee hearty thanks, most merciful Father, that it hath pleased Thee to regenerate this infant with Thy Holy Spirit.*’ But widely, essentially different is that sense from the broader one into which the word passed in the times of the Puritans; and very different is the view which regards Baptism as an instrument which God may employ for the conveyance of His grace, and that which makes it the necessary cause and effectual fountain of regeneration. If the Church of England held the extreme and extended view—which is a misapprehension of the term and an exaggeration of the original idea; and if she held that God’s grace, once given, never was recalled, or expired,—then with some show of reason might men conclude that she taught the saving power of Baptism. But if the Church’s view be the Reformational and not the Puritanic one (with which latter we have nought to do), then it is indifferent logic, and ignorant, if not dishonest, aspersion, to charge us with affirming that which we never declared we held. I say not that members of the Church may not, from the study of the divines of the seventeenth century, have insensibly adopted their language when addressing adult congregations, and employed incautiously the word Regeneration to express what they meant by conversion, although

never meaning to attach that sense to the word when used in respect to infants. But that is no reason for branding a very large section of our ministers with 'immorality, dishonesty, and falsehood.' "

After allowing that it is quite possible that some may combat this position of things, and, in their zeal for the action of the sovereign grace of God, may contend that nothing but admission to privileges is granted in Baptism, Canon Boyd says that they who hold such an opinion do in reality deny that there is such a sacrament as Baptism; for it is of the nature and essence of a sacrament that it possesses inward grace as well as an outward sign. They who speak or write thus do on a broad and intelligible point stand at variance with our Homilies, Catechism, and Articles.

"The simple fact appears to be, that because a false and exaggerated sense has been put by others on a particular expression, men have been apprehensive of using it in reference to Baptism. But why am I to be judged of by other men's exaggerations, or hindered from employing a phrase in my own sense because other men employed it in theirs. We have somewhat to do with the phraseology of the early writers, and much to do with that of the compilers of our Services; but nothing at all to do with the Puritans and their followers. Let them employ 'new birth'—which yet is not life nor the development of life, but the introduction of a creature into a new phase and order of existence—let them employ the words in their own acceptance if they will, but we are not bound by that. Our business is not to pass over to their lines, but to retreat on our own; to stand side by side, not with Calamy or Baxter, Owen or Howe, but with Cranmer, Latimer, and Jewell; to assert, as boldly and frequently as we may, the necessity of men passing from condemnation to pardon, from corruption to holiness, from condemnation to a 'good hope through grace;' but to be careful that we use not terms which put us apparently in conflict with our Services. Regeneration in the Puritanic sense we do not predicate of Baptism; Regeneration in the Reformational sense we do."

Similarly, when we are accused of teaching that Baptism saves, we reply to our accusers, What you mean by saving, we certainly do not teach or maintain; what our Reformers, what St. Peter meant when he wrote, "*The like figure whereunto even Baptism doth also now save,*" that we do teach and maintain. Men are put in the way of salvation, like those whom the Lord added daily to the Church. They are admitted to covenant mercies, brought under Christian culture, and invested with a right to privileges. How can you say that we teach that Baptism saves in your sense, when every Sunday morning our ministers and the whole congregation pray, "By Thy cross and passion, by Thy precious death and burial, by Thy glorious resurrection and ascension, good Lord deliver us;" when one of our Articles affirms, "We are accounted righteous before God only for the merits of our Lord

and Saviour Jesus Christ, by faith ;" and when, as we commit the dust of our brethren or our sisters to its kindred dust, we humbly beseech our Father in heaven to "raise us from the death of sin to the life of righteousness"? How can you say that we teach that all that is necessary is done once and for ever at Baptism, when, in nearly every one of our Collects, we pray for God's grace, either to renew our unrighteous, unloving wills, since He alone can order them ; or that we may put away the works of darkness, and put on the armour of light ; or that Christ's ministers and stewards may turn the hearts of the disobedient to the wisdom of the just ; or that we may purify ourselves, even as He is pure ; or that we may eschew the things contrary to our profession, and follow all such things as are agreeable to the same? Grace, continual grace, to prevent and follow us,—that is the burden of nearly all our prayers.

In combating the favourite dogma of the Baptists—that children, so far as we know, have no right to Baptism, inasmuch as they are incapable of repentance and faith—Mr. Boyd allows, as every one must allow, that we can trace no express command in Scripture for this custom. But, he goes on to argue, this very silence of Scripture may be taken as favourable to our side. For the case stands thus: 'The command issued by our Lord to the Apostles was universal, specifying neither age nor sex: "*Make disciples of all nations.*"' Now, it is a most certain fact, and can be conclusively shown, that the Jews were in the habit of baptizing the children of proselytes. To quote one single Jewish authority, and that one of the very highest, Maimonides says, "An Israelite that finds a heathen infant, and baptizes him for a proselyte, behold he is a proselyte." Therefore when our Lord, in issuing His command and at the same time using such general language, makes not one single exceptional clause—this Jewish practice of baptizing infants being then in existence—may we not also make a fair inference that He meant to make no exception? Is it not plainly quite as reasonable, under the circumstances, to infer that the general command included the particular persons, as to infer, because there is no special mention of them, that it was designed to exclude them. We know from St. Paul that the children of believing parents, nay, of one believing parent, were accounted not unclean, but holy. This is the theological side of the question ; how they were admitted into the fellowship of the holy, that is the historical side. Canon Boyd therefore treats the question as historical, and appeals to the early Fathers of the Church, not to find out their doctrinal views about Baptism, but to discover the fact whether they regarded the baptism of infants as right or wrong. Of these authorities, we shall only quote Irenæus, as being the earliest.



He was Bishop of Lyons, and wrote about the year 167. "Christ came to save all persons by Himself; all, I mean, who by Him are regenerated unto God—infants, and little ones, and children, and youths, and elders." Regenerated here without doubt means baptized; regeneration in the modern sense of conversion we cannot predicate of infants. But Irenæus uses the word in exactly the same sense that Justin Martyr used it, who wrote about 27 years earlier. "We bring them to a place where water is, and they are regenerated by the same way of regeneration by which we were regenerated; for they are washed in water in the name of God." Irenæus, Clement, Tertullian, Cyprian, Gregory, Basil, Chrysostom, and the great Augustine, concur with one voice to affirm that infant baptism was the usage of their times; and they traced it not to Conciliary edicts, but at least to Apostolic authority. And these voices reach us, not from one section or country of Christendom, but from all, or nearly all—from Rome, Lyons, Alexandria, Carthage, Cappadocia, Seleucia, Constantinople, and Hippo. Europe, Asia, and Africa send out their testimonies, and their testimonies are found harmonious. Supposing Mr. Spurgeon and his disciples say they do not care for the opinions of all the Fathers in the world,—that they were blind, and understood not the Scriptures,—we reply, Were the Reformers blind too? Was not the very thing which distinguished them, and for which they gave their bodies to be burnt, love of the Scriptures? Are their words and acts worth nothing? "Are the deliberate judgments of such men as Luther, Calvin, Bucer, and Cranmer to go for nothing"—men of the highest erudition, reflection, and conscientious determination to adhere to truth at all hazards? Still further, the Nonconformists of the seventeenth century, of whom all Dissenters are so justly proud,—these men baptized infants, and held that sacraments were ordained signs, and also means of spiritual grace.

Before closing this notice of Canon Boyd's work (which our space forbids us to prolong), we would call the attention of all who are godfathers or godmothers, to the valuable chapter on the sponsorial institution. Few institutions are there invested in reality with greater importance than this; yet few, we fear, are taken in hand by many more lightly and unadvisedly, or at all events without a due sense of responsibility. Most truly does Canon Boyd write, in the concluding paragraph on this subject:—

"The simple fact is this, that sponsors promise; that the Church receives the infant presented on the strength of those promises, and relies on them to fulfil them. It is there that the doubtful may, by God's grace, be converted into the certain. The plant will not grow without culture, nor the infant thrive without care. Of God's faith-

fulness to His covenant promises, we are sure; of man's faithfulness to claim and appropriate them, we are not sure. What we want are faith, prayer, and pains. But let not the institution be blamed because the actors in it are faulty. Never was an arrangement conceived by a Church more considerate or gracious—more likely to effect the great design of training up souls for Christ, and advancing the interests of His kingdom. And seldom has an institution promising so much glory to God been so nullified by the unfaithfulness of man."

He adds, what is too generally forgotten, that the parents are by no means exonerated, but that, as an additional security, sponsors are called in. So we have always understood the office.

We can add no more. We cordially thank Mr. Boyd for the publication of these Lectures, and commend them to every candid, fair-thinking Dissenter who wishes to have a true representation (as we believe) of Church of England teaching by one of her most affectionate sons and pastors.

OMITTED CHAPTERS OF THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

Omitted Chapters of the History of England, from the Death of Charles I. to the Battle of Dunbar. By Andrew Bisset. John Murray, Albemarle Street, London.

THIS is the most important contribution that English history has lately received; and of that history light is shed upon the most important parts. Mr. Bisset has been engaged for some years upon a minute investigation of the records of English history during the stormy period of the seventeenth century. But after the death of Charles I. he found that, while the sources of information already laid before the public were not scanty, there existed in the State Paper Office a vast number of MSS. relating to the period there called "The Interregnum." He resolved to attempt, by their aid, a history of England during the period extending from the death of Charles I. to the restoration of Charles II. Of this history, the first volume, now offered to the public, brings the narrative down to the battle of Dunbar, which left Cromwell firmly seated on his republican throne; where, as late events are teaching us once more, the rude monarch, the chosen of the people, may use the keen sword or the iron mace with a freedom which sovereigns of ancient descent and loftier claims would attempt to their certain ruin.

In our review of this work, we will take up certain great points, instead of attempting to comment upon the whole. If Mr. Bisset has had access to fresh materials, the reader will be

anxious to learn what use he has made of them, and how far they produce any change or changes in our view of the eventful epoch of which he treats. Upon the whole, he has not changed our opinion upon any subject of importance, but he has confirmed our impressions upon most of them. Hereafter there are no secret springs to be disclosed which can substantially change the views of honest writers, as to the motives of those great actors who appeared upon the scene during this troubled and most tempestuous, but most important epoch.

We are disappointed that he says nothing of the death of Charles. A deeper research than had hitherto been made satisfied us, in common with other historical students, some years ago, that Charles was sacrificed, rather to the fears of Cromwell and the army, than to any political or religious sect or party. The nation was loyal to the last; they had long since forgiven the king, as a generous nation will ever do, on account of his misfortunes; and nothing would have given them more pleasure than to have seen him again upon the throne, surrounded by popular institutions, and hedged in by an independent Parliament. The extravagant and unreasoning loyalty of the Episcopalian or Church party wrought his ruin, leading him to dare too far, under the assurance that his divine right would ultimately carry him through every contest, which none but rebels would provoke. The Presbyterians were satisfied with the concessions they had gained; they had been for a few years the dominant party, and were therefore loyal; for it was only under the shade of royalty that they could hope to retain the honours, and still more the emoluments, the sweets of which they had once tasted. The Independents were now much more feared by them than Charles and the Royalists; and the Independents were already the popular party, both in things spiritual and in the field of politics. But the Independents, again, felt already that the strong hand of Cromwell and the army was upon them, and, of the two, would much rather have trusted themselves to Charles, now humbled, and, as they hoped, instructed by adversity, than to Cromwell and the army, whose insolence, in several instances, they had already felt; and from whom, in the event of a revolution, there was nothing further to be gained.

The day on which the king died was a day of consternation to the whole kingdom, with the exception of a handful of fanatics, most of whom were confined to one or two regiments, under the direction of Cromwell and his personal friends. Mr. Bisset's researches have brought nothing to light which obliges us to a reconsideration of these conclusions. At least, he has not produced anything as the result of his discoveries. We may observe here, once for all, that he speaks with a severity of Charles which might have been spared.

The poor king stands already in a position but too degrading. His own historian, Clarendon, deploras a want of firmness, which placed him at the mercy of his queen, or of some worthless favourite. It was this weakness which sometimes led him, in violation of his word, to sacrifice a faithful servant, as in the case of Strafford; and sometimes to write in terms of abject obsequiousness to the Pope. Even this he did, that he might please the queen, and those who aided, if they did not originate, the Irish rebellion. In other respects, Mr. Bisset writes too much like a partisan. We often agree with him in the conclusions which he forms, but seldom in the language in which he indulges. Thus we have "King James's reign of infamy." When, again, Laud and Strafford had lost their heads, it seems unbecoming to tell us that they were "bigots and tyrants;" such language rather creates a reaction in their favour. And when Charles himself lay headless in his coffin, similar expressions, frequently repeated, have a tendency rather to disgust the reader than to promote a glow of patriotic indignation. That Charles was "a mean, incapable tyrant," like his father James, like Laud and Strafford, is not a question to be argued now with the passion of a partisan; nor are we concerned to settle the somewhat difficult question, whether "his presumptuous folly even exceeded that of James his father?" Political animosities we bury in the offender's grave; much more is this forbearance due to the dead when they have fallen victims to what professed to be the sword of justice. But it is with Mr. Bisset's authorities, and the use he has made of them, that we are concerned more than with his own opinions.

Not but that he displays the faults of the Parliament after the death of Charles, so far as he sees them clearly; but their grand, their master fault, that which proved their own ruin and that of their cause, was their want of moderation; that despised lesson of moderation, which, to a victorious party, never previously acquainted with the sweets of power, is the highest of all political virtues. There were a few brave, good men amongst them who saw this as clearly as we see it now, and expressed it too in language more eloquent than is now often heard in our House of Commons. Sir Benjamin Rudyer, before the war began, implored them to consider what they had already gained; far more, he said, than the utmost of their expectations. Had such successes been foretold when the Parliament opened, they would have seemed impossible; and for all of these they had ample securities. He foretold, with almost prophetic accuracy, the misery that would follow, "if once blood toucheth blood." But it was all in vain; they pressed onward as though they were never safe; they distrusted Charles when he was a mere machine, to be used if his services were

wanted; he was in their own hands, and, if he intrigued against them, liable to be deposed whenever they thought fit. Their real danger was from themselves;—from Cromwell, who sat in the House, and the armed fanatics, who were obedient to him out of doors. Mr. Bisset has a short sketch of his character, or of some of its features, which we transcribe.

“There were depths in the character of Cromwell which Baxter’s plummet could not fathom, which perhaps no human plummet can ever fathom. There were combined in him qualities apparently the most incompatible—the most fervent enthusiasm, the most adventurous courage, the calmest and keenest judgment. One leading characteristic of Cromwell was the union of craft with bluntness and with a fiery temper, whereas crafty men are usually understood to be of a cold temper and smooth manner; though craft, under a cloak of bluntness and irascibility, has the advantage of apparent openness and simplicity, and thus of throwing off their guard those with whom it has to deal.”

Mr. Bisset gives us a large account of Cromwell’s expedition to Ireland, to crush the rebellion which still lingered there after the death of Charles. This ended with a trial—Lilburne’s trial. It nearly fills the first volume, which is all that has yet been published. Perhaps he could not have done better; for while the story of the Irish rebellion sets before us the characters of Charles and Cromwell, as well as the condition of Ireland, in a light in which they nowhere else appear, the trial of Lilburne discloses the real character of the Parliamentary government which immediately succeeded upon the death of Charles.

“Cromwell set out on the 10th July, 1649, about five o’clock, the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, after prayers for the success of his expedition by three ministers, and an exposition of the Scriptures by himself, Goff, and Harrison, in the presence of a large assembly at Whitehall. He set out on his journey to Ireland by the way of Windsor and Bristol. Seven years had made a transformation like that in an ancient fable or Arabian tale upon the rustic if not clownish member for the town of Cambridge, the Huntingdon brewer, and St. Ives and Ely gentleman farmer. He now began his journey amid the acclamations of an immense concourse of spectators, ‘in that state and equipage,’ says a contemporary journal, ‘as the like hath hardly been seen. Himself in a coach with six gallant Flanders mares, whitish grey, divers coaches accompanying him, and very many great officers of the army; his lifeguard, consisting of eighty gallant men, the meanest whereof a commander or esquire; in stately habit, and many of them colonels, with trumpets sounding almost to the shaking of Charing Cross, had it been now standing. The Lord-Lieutenant’s colours are white.’”

Recent biographers of Cromwell deny that he was influenced by motives of personal ambition. They would represent him as a pure patriot, accepting honours which were thrust upon

him, only for the sake of his country; and especially they say, that if he ever consented for an hour to listen to the flattering offer of the vacant crown, he did so with great reluctance. To us it seems, on the contrary, that the crown was scarcely vacant before he was prepared to place it upon his own head. We do not believe that he helped to bring Charles to the block with any view to the crown; but he very soon discovered that the men whom he had brought with him into power were utterly unequal to the task of government—that their petty broils, low ambition, and narrow views both of politics and religion, would soon bring government, in their hands, into sheer contempt; and therefore he began, without much reluctance, to embrace the conclusion that a king was necessary, and of course that he himself was the fittest man to fill the office. And we see, in the splendours of this cavalcade, the first public indications of what was probably, in his own mind, a settled purpose. Had he once felt himself safe upon the throne, he would probably have made, barring the defect in his title, a wise and good king, compared with any of the Stuart race. He was far more liberal than any theologian of his times; for he protected the Jew, and saved the Quaker from persecution, when men of every party seemed to have agreed that it was a righteous duty to hunt them down. He was more generous, for he sanctioned the preaching of a few such men of the old Church of England as Archbishop Usher. And he carried material assistance to the persecuted Vaudois, when no man cared to look beyond our own shores. But the blood of the king was upon him, and he died not an hour too soon for his reputation—a vexed man, whose ambition was foiled, whose personal friends had deserted him, and who had actually no political followers, except a few courtiers who lived upon his smiles.

But the modern admirers of Cromwell are most of all uneasy lest his name should be tarnished with the charge of cruelty for his severity to the rebels in this Irish campaign. It is true that he was severe. Mr. Carlyle has the terse remark, not easily forgotten, that rebellions are not cured with rose water. Certainly Cromwell tried other methods; nor was he ashamed of his severities at the storm of Drogheda. There he gave no quarter. "Whereupon," says Cromwell, "I ordered St. Peter's Church to be fired; the steeple was crowded with rebels, who were either burned to death inside, or, leaping from the parapets above, fell into the flames below. The next day," he says, "the two other towers were summoned, in one of which were about six or seven score, but they refused to yield themselves; and we, knowing that hunger must compel them, set only good guards to secure them from running away, until their stomachs were come down. From one of the said towers, notwithstanding their condition, they killed and wounded some of our men.

When they submitted, their officers were knocked on the head, and every tenth man of the soldiers, and the rest shipped for the Barbadoes." Similar scenes were repeated, and Cromwell wrote home thus:—"I was persuaded that there is a righteous judgment of God upon these barbarous wretches who have imbrued their hands in so much innocent blood, and that it will tend to prevent the effusion of blood for the future; which are the satisfactory grounds to such actions, which otherwise cannot but work remorse and regret." Mr. Bisset places Cromwell's conduct in its proper light. "It is," he says, "as unfair to judge of the storm of Drogheda without keeping in view the inhuman massacres of 1641, as it would be to judge of the storm of Lucknow without remembering the massacre of Cawnpore. And it is as unfair to call Cromwell inhuman because he gave no quarter at Drogheda, as it would be to call Sir James Outram inhuman for the storm of Lucknow." Of the horrors of the Irish rebellion Mr. Bisset gives ample details. We shall spare our readers the revolting task of reading them. It is enough to say, that there are no agonies of which human nature is capable, which were not inflicted upon the unoffending Protestants, and even upon their women and children. (Cromwell spared women and children even at Drogheda and Wexford.) Few were permitted to fall in fair fight; indeed, they were outnumbered, and for the most part made no resistance. The numbers who fell thus are by no writer of the day computed at less than fifty thousand. A massacre of fifty thousand! Most writers double that number; and not a few, who had good opportunities of judging, give a still higher estimate.

The Irish rebellion is more injurious to the character of Charles than to that of Cromwell. It was discovered that he had been in treaty with Sir Phelim O'Neal, and other leaders of the rebellion, for assistance against his rebellious subjects in England. Several regiments of Irish papists were actually brought over, and engaged in the war. They met with little mercy from the Puritans, and few of them returned alive. Mr. Bisset asserts that the queen of Charles, Henrietta Maria, had nearly as much to do with the Irish massacre as her relative, Catherine de Medici, had with that of St. Bartholomew. Before this is indignantly denied, the reader must consult the authorities to which Mr. Bisset refers him. Her royal husband was helpless in her hands; and in his correspondence, some of which was seized upon the field of battle, in the carriage of the Romish Archbishop of Armagh, there are expressions which seem to intimate that he was too well affected to the Court of Rome. More of his private correspondence, taken after his last battle, and flight into Leicester, prove but too decisively that he had held out hopes to the Sovereign Pontiff that he should be able one day to reconcile himself to the bosom of the

Papal Church. A letter of his to this effect is indeed preserved in the Vatican, and shown with exultation. As Charles, almost with dying breath, denied that his affections had ever wandered from the Protestant Church, it is perhaps charitable to give him credit for his own solemn assertions. The case then would stand thus: the Pope of Rome was only one amongst the many whom Charles attempted to cajole by heartless promises which he never meant to fulfil; and his only defence must be, that he was compelled by the influence of the queen, whose blandishments, or still more, whose frown, he was never able to resist.

The Irish rebellion reveals the internal state of the country at that period. Nothing can be more utterly wild or savage. Every trace of that early civilization of which her traditions boast seems to have passed away. Were it not for her round towers, no doubt the most ancient structures in Europe, we should utterly discredit that apparently enormous fiction. Her English landlords had certainly for some time been non-resident; but it was a very small part of Ireland they possessed. Whatever the government of Dublin might be, the kingdom at large was broken up into a number of provinces held by native princes, in everything but the name, independent of the crown of England. One of these came over to London, in the reign of Elizabeth, in savage grandeur, accompanied by two hundred followers. These, with their chieftain, filled the Londoners with a degree of awe equal to their astonishment. They were a band of wild men; they encamped or hutted themselves at Islington; and their chieftain, when he presented himself at court, was with difficulty persuaded to conform to the ceremonial observed in the presence of royalty.

The English Church had not then been established in Ireland a hundred years, and the most inveterate papist could not charge upon her the savage condition of the people. But they had a hierarchy of their own, and Romish priests who taught in their own tongue in every parish. Yet at this time, except in courage, they were as uncivilized as Russian serfs, and more ferocious. Their courage we have said was great, but they had no martial bearing; and when Charles brought over two regiments of Irish rebels to fight against his Parliament, they had amongst them a whole company of Dahomey soldiery, women armed with enormous knives, and no other weapon. History certainly relates no other instance of a nation which once stood so high, sinking into a condition so utterly base. Great nations have passed away, and barbarians have succeeded in their place. Great nations have been conquered, and their posterity have in the course of ages become dull and spiritless; but of a nation once enlightened, the abode of the arts, the resort of commerce, the isle of saints, sinking into savages, who could perpetrate the horrors of the rebellion of 1641,—the world presents no second instance.

A considerable part of the volume is occupied with the trial of John Lilburne. He had been one of the patriots who withstood the illegal measures of the king before the war, but he refused to submit to the domination of Cromwell, on the thoroughly English argument that he was "as good a gentleman, and of as good a family." Lilburne was committed to the Tower on the 28th of March, 1649, or soon after the king's death, on a charge of high treason against the existing government, and for being the author of a scandalous and malicious book entitled "England's New Chains Discovered."

The reader may judge what was the character of this pamphlet, from Mr. Bisset's extracts. It laid to the charge of the government then existing most of the faults which they had pleaded as a justification of their resistance to Charles, together with many fresh ones of their own. Lilburne was not singular. Long before Cromwell's death, many a patriot had denounced his tyranny; and some fell victims by the hand of the executioner for political offences such as in his worst days Charles had never visited with death. And now, that they might, as it would seem, give the world a proof that the accusations of their opponents were by no means without reason, they placed Lilburne on his trial before a court scarcely less tyrannous and unconstitutional than either Court of High Commission or Star Chamber. Lilburne was arraigned on the 25th of October, 1649, at Guildhall, before an extraordinary tribunal, very similar to that which had tried the king. He was the boldest of men, and had a good acquaintance with English law. He treated his judges with an easy scorn, contradicted them at every step, and showed that his own knowledge was superior to theirs. Charles had denied the authority of the court. Lilburne was still more provoking; he told his judges that he had been taken prisoner by the king in the affair at Brentford, and was tried as a traitor:—

"I was taken prisoner," he said, "without articles or capitulation, and was by the king and his party then looked upon as one of the activest men against them in the whole company; yet, said Lord Chief Justice Heath (at his trial at Oxford for levying war against the king), we will not take advantage of that to try you by the rules of arbitrary martial laws, or any other arbitrary ways; but we will try you by the rules of the good old laws of England; and whatsoever privilege in your trial the laws of England will afford you, claim it as your birth-right and inheritance, and you shall enjoy it with as much freedom and willingness as if you were in Westminster Hall, to be tried among your own party. . . . And accordingly he gave me liberty to plead to the errors of my indictment, before I ever pleaded Not Guilty; yea, and also became willing to assign me what counsel I pleased to nominate, freely to come to prison to me, and to consult and advise with me and help me in point of law. This last he did immediately

upon my pleading to the indictment, before any fact was proved,—all which is consonant to the declared judgment of Sir Edward Coke, that great oracle of the laws of England, whose books are published for good law by special orders of Parliament, dated May 12, 1641, and June 3, 1642.”

Bradshaw, now Lord President of the Council of State in England, together with other judges, presided, and the charge was high treason. Lilburne, however, had the advantage of a jury. He refused to plead; he demanded to see the commission by which the court was instituted. Their demand was that he should plead in the usual form. After a good deal of sparring with Lord Keble they came to the following passage of arms :—

Lord Keble.—“Talk not of punctilios with us; nor talk not of judges made by the laws; you shall not want law: but if you talk of punctilios here in this room, we will stop that language.”

Lilburne.—“Truly, sir, I am upon my life; and shall my ignorance of the formalities of the law, in the practical part thereof, destroy me? God forbid! Therefore give me but leave to speak for my life, or else knock me on the head and murder me where I stand, which is more righteous and just than to do it by pretence of justice.”

More follows in the same strain, quite enough, it would seem, to wear out the patience and temper of Judge Keble. “Take it as you will,” he said, “we have had patience with you, and you must and shall have patience with us. We will pass over all that is bypast, but take heed by your surly crossness you give not advantage in the face of the court without any further proceedings or proof of your actions, but what our own eyes see.” Still Lilburne was immovable.

Mr. Broughton.—“By whom wilt thou be tried?”

Lilburne.—“By the known laws of England, and a legal jury of my equals constituted according to law.”

Mr. Broughton repeats his question verbatim, and Lilburne replies as before :—“By the known laws of England—I mean by the liberties and privileges of the laws of England, and a jury of my equals legally chosen.” And he demands that counsel may be assigned to him, “to consult with him in point of law, so that he may not destroy himself through ignorance.”

Again the clerk of the court interferes :—“You must say, By God and your country; that is the form of the law.”

Lilburne.—“Why must I say so?”

Judge Germin explains the meaning of the form of words, on which Lilburne makes a cutting exposition :—

Lilburne.—“Sir, under your favour, thus: then in the negative, I say God is not locally or corporally here present to try me, or to pass sentence upon me; but affirmative, I return

this answer—that I desire to be tried in the presence of that God that, by His omnipotent power, is present everywhere, and beholds all the actions that are done upon the earth, and sees and knows whether any of your hearts be possessed with a pre-meditated malice against me, or whether any of you come with so much forethought of malice against me as that in your hearts you intend to do the utmost you can, right or wrong, to destroy me ; and before this all-seeing God I desire to be tried, and by my country—that is to say, by a jury of my equals, according to the good old laws of the land.”

The trial lasted two days. The Court maintained nothing of judicial dignity. Lilburne never for an instant lost his courage. He exposed his judges with merciless sarcasm, and in conclusion turned from them almost with contempt, exclaiming,—

“ Oh, Lord ! Sir, what strange judges are you, that you will neither allow me counsel to help me to plead, nor suffer me to speak for my own life. Is this your law and justice, Sir ? Oh ! miserable servitude, and miserable bondage in the first year of England’s freedom. As a freeborn Englishman, and as a true Christian that now stands in the sight and presence of God, with an upright heart and conscience and with a cheerful countenance, I cast my life, and the lives of all the honest freemen of England, into the hands of God and His gracious protection, and into the care and conscience of my honest jury and fellow-citizens ; who, I again declare, by the law of England are the conservators and sole judges of my life, having inherent in them alone the judicial power of the law as well as fact : you judges that sit there, being no more, if they please, but cyphers, to pronounce the sentence, or their clerks, to say Amen to them ; being at the best in your original but the Norman Conqueror’s intruders. And therefore you, gentlemen of the jury, are my sole judges, the keepers of my life, at whose hands the Lord will require my blood, in case you leave any part of my indictment to these cruel and bloody men. And, therefore, I desire you to know your power, and consider your duty both to God, to me, to your own selves, and to your country. And the gracious assisting Spirit and presence of the Lord God Omnipotent, the Governor of heaven and earth, and all things therein contained, go along with you, give counsel and direct you, to do that which is just and for His glory.” (pp. 285, 286.)

The infatuation of the Court seems to have been such as men are guilty of only when rushing to destruction. “ When Lilburne had finished, the people, with a loud voice, cried, ‘ Amen ! Amen ! ’ and gave an extraordinary great hum ; ” which, in those days, was equivalent to a hearty cheer, where cheering was indecorous. It was even practised in our churches. The only effect it had on his infatuated judges was “ to make them look untowardly about them, and caused Major General Skippon to send for three more companies of foot soldiers.” Mr. Attorney-General Prideaux had yet to speak

in reply. Mr. Bisset says upon it, what had better been left to the quiet reflection of the reader, that he exhibited an instructive lesson to all after ages; for he showed that the "servile subtlety of Crown lawyers could be exercised as shamelessly for this remnant of a parliament, which boasted that it had put down tyrants and tyranny in England for ever, as it had been exercised to gratify the lust of unjust dominion of any single tyrant bearing the name of Tudor or of Stuart. He also exhibited in a remarkable degree, if not the 'ingenium velox,' the insensibility to shame, the 'audacia perdita,' which has characterized too many advocates, and has also most unhappily raised too many of them to an eminence at the bar from which they have rotted into peers." We do not approve of this burst of radicalism. The lawyers who have been removed into the upper house have previously been raised to the judicial bench, and no class of public functionaries have surpassed our judges in some of the highest qualities which adorn human nature; in freedom from passion, in love of justice, in stern integrity, and, of late years at least, in compassion for the criminal. At length the trial closed; the jury went forth about five o'clock.

"The court adjourned till six. Meanwhile the prisoner was carried into the Irish chamber. At the end of three quarters of an hour the jury returned, and the prisoner was sent for. The crier called over their names. The clerk asked, 'Are you agreed in your verdict?'

" 'Yes.'

" 'Who shall speak for you?'

" 'Our Foreman.'

" *Crier*: 'John Lilburne, hold up thy hand. What say you? Look upon the prisoner. Is he guilty of the treasons charged upon him, or any of them, or not guilty?'

" *Foreman*: 'Not guilty of all of them.'

" *Clerk*: 'Not of all the treasons? Nor of any of them laid to his charge?'

" *Foreman*: 'Not of all, nor of any one of them.'

" *Clerk*: 'Did he fly for the same?'

" *Foreman*: 'No.'

"Which 'No' was pronounced with a loud voice. Immediately the whole multitude of people in the hall gave," says the contemporary report in the State Trials, "such a loud and unanimous shout, as is believed was never heard in Guildhall, which lasted about half-an-hour without intermission—a shout which for fear made the judges turn pale, and hang down their heads."

The failure of a State prosecution is a fatal blow to any Government under which it may take place. The acquittal of the seven Bishops emptied the throne of James II., and sent him a wanderer for life. Even the insignificant Hone became the people's idol, a confessor in the cause of liberty. When a jury

had three times refused to pronounce him guilty, in defiance of one of the most learned judges of his day, the administration of Lord Liverpool never recovered the confidence it had lost, nor its popularity with the people. Political arrangements, however unwise, have but a remote effect upon society at large. But if justice is poisoned at its source, the poorest man trembles for himself. It is strange that the government which called itself a Commonwealth should have copied the worst faults of Charles. The patriots of 1640 saw nothing in his government so hateful as the way in which justice was denied, and the courts of law made the instruments of political oppression. Yet when their successors stepped into power, they were ready with the same base expedients. They created what courts they would; brow-beat their prisoners; and sat with the determination, almost openly avowed, to accomplish their destruction under a flimsy pretext of bringing them to justice.

There was always a large band of virtuous men, the stern opponents of Charles and Laud, who stood aloof from one and all of the incapable governments with which England was insulted till the Protector's death. The few who dared to protest were hurried to the scaffold. There is nothing more cruel or more unjust on the page of history than the trials of the three noblemen who, under the charge of treason, were sentenced to death by the House of Commons; namely, the Duke of Hamilton, Lord Capel, and Lord Holland. Thus the dynasty of Cromwell took no root; and when he died, not one of the older patriots lamented his death, or wished to see his son at the head of an imbecile and distracted commonwealth.

They had thrown down the statue of Charles in the Exchange, and inscribed in the vacant niche "*Exit Rex, Ultimus Tyrannus.*" The king was gone, says Mr. Bisset, but the tyrants remained.

There is a very interesting chapter, with which the volume concludes, on Scotch affairs down to the battle of Dunbar, of which the story is given in three words by Cromwell himself in his letter to the Parliament: "When we charged them coming down the hill, they *fled like turkeys.*" They were pursued without mercy, and the flight was more disastrous than the battle. Cromwell wrote home from Edinburgh, deploring their obstinacy, and the delusion into which their clergy had led them; for he doubted not, he said, that God had His people amongst them. It was only when he himself was under similar delusions, which he believed were the voice of God, that he became relentless, and sacrificed everything to his mad ambition. Mr. Bisset does not see in him any of the marks of great generalship. If we except his wonderful power of governing the

soldiery, and infecting them with all his own fanaticism, we think the description may be correct.

His battles were all fought without military skill, or provision for contingencies. He was indebted for victory to the simple exertion of natural courage, which, under the influence of his fanaticism, rose on the field of battle to a terrible height, and swept all before it. What the Roman historian says of certain legions of old, is true of Cromwell and his Ironsides—they were invincible, because they believed themselves to be so. How it might have fared with him if he had had a general of higher pretensions to deal with—a Soult or a Wellington—it is perhaps not difficult to conjecture.

It is probable that the soldiers whom Cromwell so readily chastised had no great heart in the fight. We are indebted to Mr. Bisset for some interesting information on this point, in addition to what little we previously possessed. It appears that the Highland lords drove their attendants to the field with a contemptuous disregard of their own feelings in the matter. Cromwell says that those who fought, fought well. It is probable, therefore, that many declined to fight at all, anxious only for their own safety.

"It is true indeed that men, treated as the Scottish peasants, and even the Scottish gentlemen (as appears from what has been said), were treated by their feudal superiors, have fought successfully. But that was when, as in the great Scottish War of Independence, whether better treated or not, they fought under great and popular leaders—Wallace, Bruce, and Douglas—for a popular and worthy object; or, it might be, under one of those great and terrible tyrants, such as Frederick of Prussia, a tyrant of invincible energy, untiring industry, and extraordinary capacity, but not under an oligarchy or knot of small imbecile tyrants, which for three centuries, among all its members, had not mustered brains enough to govern a hen-roost or to drive a flock of geese across a common." (p. 322.)

Mr. Bisset entirely dispels the illusion which romance and poetry have so long practised upon us. When the Highlanders rushed down to battle from their mountains, it was not from blind devotion to their lairds, but because a worse fate awaited them if they dared to linger, when, with savage symbols of fire and blood, he commanded their attendance on his person. It is difficult to believe that a Highlander should feel much interest in the Stuarts, or much antipathy to Cromwell or to the house of Hanover. He lived secure in his mountains, and to him the sovereign was the great laird of the clan or tribe. The laird, again, might be proud of his allegiance to the Stuarts, which was little more than that of an inferior to a greater sovereign, who repaid him with honours and distinctions, and treated him with an equality which he could not expect from the kings of England of a German stock. Not so the Highlander: he had

nothing to fight for worthy of his pursuit. He was no longer permitted to return home laden with plunder: his mountain lord might be a tyrant, but he was a tyrant in some respects on equal terms; he was the head of a great family, of which every one of his clan was recognised as a member. The poorest of them walked into his hall erect, and proudly wore his cap in his presence. It was far otherwise with the chieftain: he must have regarded Cromwell as an upstart, a man of yesterday, whom it was disgraceful to obey; and when the Revolution of 1688 took place, he found himself all at once deprived of his ancient rights, and reduced to the condition of a subject. He lost what many of the greater chieftains possessed—the power of life and death—and was nothing more than an English nobleman; in fact, as he found if he travelled to London, much less. This may account for the ease with which the Scotch were vanquished by Cromwell at the battle of Dunbar, and by the English generals when they swarmed into England under the Pretender, in 1715 and 1745.

But it is for Him who presides over the nations of the earth, to bring good out of what seems to be the greatest evil. Scotland has risen to be a great and happy country; and the Highlands, no longer wild and savage, are not less distinguished by the grandeur of their scenery than by the loyalty of their people, and the diffusion amongst them of the pure doctrines of the Gospel of Christ; the home of our beloved Queen, and the resort of thousands who seek health in her breezes, or mental refreshment in the society of her scholars, her gentry, and the humble but accomplished ministers of her church.

WILBERFORCE AND HIS CONTEMPORARIES: HENRY THORNTON,
SIR ROBERT HARRY INGLIS, BART.

(Concluded.)

IN the autumn of 1813, the household of Battersea Rise, and the larger circle of Clapham, were deprived of Mr. Venn. He was replaced by Dr. Dealtry, who, to a remarkable extent, filled the void that was occasioned. At this time, Henry Thornton, looking round at the growing activity of religious men, and the various schemes which they were pressing forward, could speak with increasing satisfaction of the progress of good. The only cloud on the horizon which his watchful eye could descry, was the publicity which had become necessary to keep up the various enterprises of philanthropy, the speeches and the excitement of public meetings, apt from their very nature to impair the bloom of

a healthy and humble piety. In the spring of 1814, the sudden close of the war spread through all circles a flush of joy, and restored to many the hope of prosperity. Apparently, there was nothing to cause anxiety to the household of Battersea Rise. The advent of peace had brought to the friends of Abolition fresh objects, and an enlarged field of exertion ; and in these labours Henry Thornton took, as usual, an active part. " We have," he says, " some dark plots in our head for influencing the Allied Powers in favour of the abolition of the slave trade through this earth of ours, which earth the three or four potentates now at Paris, of whom Lord Castlereagh is one, seem to hold in their hands." The only alloy to his satisfaction was found in Wilberforce's weakness of health, and his loss of voice ; so that the meetings of that spring were deprived of their chief orator. To his own state of health, even in his familiar correspondence with his old friend Hannah More, he scarcely makes an allusion, though his infirmities were increasing, and in the autumn his health began decidedly to fail. So frequent, however, through life had been his ailments, that his illness did not at first excite any special alarm, either among his large circle of friends, or in his own family, from whom in the latter part of the autumn he was separated. To his family he wrote with his accustomed playfulness, always making the best of everything, looking rather on the compensating mercies which Providence granted, than on the sorrowful circumstances of a man's lot. In the latter part of October his illness became more serious, and he resorted to further medical advice. At length the signs of disease became so distinct as to bring his anxious wife to his side ; and he was then removed from his house in Palace Yard to Mr. Wilberforce's house at Kensington Gore, which his old friend gladly placed at his disposal, in the hope that a purer air and greater quietness might allay the fever which was reducing him, and so restore his strength. At the first notice that his illness was serious, a large circle of anxious friends gathered to his house with constant inquiries. Bowdler, who had nursed him with tender assiduity during his wife's absence, came constantly to read to him and to converse with him. His true and tried friend, Wilberforce, was often with him ; and all the bustle and perturbed stir of his wonted activity was laid aside, as he sat in the sick room, entered with the tenderest sympathy into his friend's state, and with softened voice and noiseless step visited him continually, and whispered to him words of comfort. His younger friends were no less assiduous. Robert Grant repeated to him the hymns with which his pen had just enriched our literature ; and some of his striking prose writings, contributed to this periodical, were read to him by Bowdler, and dwelt upon

by Henry Thornton with delight. In a review of Pascal, Robert Grant had written,—“Religion does not wholly clear the moral mysteries with which man is surrounded, but gives him a solemn and ever-deepening repose.” That repose, as his friends saw, he enjoyed; and in the midst of extreme irritation, occasioned by disease in the nerves of the stomach, the cough and fever which ensued, and the languor which increased, he found in the Bible (especially in the 11th of Hebrews) a repose, founded on God’s promises, resting with childlike confidence on their sure fulfilment. The last prayer, which he wrote, expressed the feelings that now filled his mind:—“When the shadows of the evening fall around us, and when age and sickness shall arrive, and human help shall fail, be then Thou, O Lord, the strength of our hearts, and our portion for evermore.”

He had at times the refreshment of Dr. Dealtry’s elevating prayers, and Bowdler’s gentle and sunny piety was constantly ministering to his comfort. In all that concerned his friends, in the interests of the church in which he had so long sat, in the schemes of philanthropy which he had shared, he continued to the last to take an interest. Indeed, his mind was so perfectly unclouded, that the friends, who sat by him and heard his calm and reflecting remarks, could scarcely bring themselves to believe that the body was breaking up in which the spirit was so unbroken and serene. His faithful attendant, Pennington, with a mingled feeling of admiration and affection, struggling against the disease with every appliance of his consummate skill, exclaimed—“I wish I could save him: he is such a subject for medical treatment—a mind so well regulated, that it never retards the cure for one moment.” His eminent physicians, Sir Henry Hallford and Dr. Baillie, could not bring themselves to believe that the attack would terminate fatally; for, as the disease was functional, not organic, they hoped that a change would come, and as soon as the functional disorder ceased, strength would return. At every lull of the paroxysms of pain, or intervals of ease, the sanguine nature of Wilberforce caught eagerly at the hope, and relied to the last on his recovery. He himself took from the outset an unfavourable view. He was persuaded that the disease would be fatal, and under that conviction he made his preparations. He arranged his temporal affairs with the tenderest concern for his wife and children: he dismissed, by a strong effort of his vigorous mind, the anxieties which had oppressed him both in his own concerns and those of a near relation. Undeluded by the momentary gleams which kindled others into hope, and which soothed at times the trembling solicitude of his wife, he prepared himself to die. “I am sure,” he said to his medical friend, in one of his

earlier visits, "you are doing all you can; and now let us talk of other matters." "He is more persuaded," said Pennington, "of a fatal termination than I am, and he talks of it far more calmly."

He dictated an addition to his Family Prayers, which showed what he felt, and where he rested, as in this he sought an increase of his faith and patience, and God's presence with him to the end of his days. The impressions left upon Bowdler, at what proved their last parting, are contained in a letter which Bowdler wrote to Mr. Wilberforce:—"I can never be sufficiently thankful to God for having prolonged his life till I returned to him. I saw him on the Friday, and settled some worldly affairs for him; and I saw him again on Sunday evening, and the memory of that interview will long, very long, be dear to me. His deep humility under a sense of sin, his perfect trust in his Redeemer, his feeble voice, yet clear, unclouded intelligence, his depression under the weight of disease and suffering, yet his collectedness and unaffected resignation, was a sight for angels to behold, and I doubt not they did behold it, and bless that Almighty Lord, who has subdued even sin and death!" When it was evident that his sufferings were near their termination, Pennington was requested by his family to carry to other sufferers the skill which was no longer available to him. But Pennington entreated to be allowed to remain, as never had he felt so deep an interest in any patient; and the lessons he had learnt in that sick room were such as he never could repay. By his dying bed was seated Mrs. Grant, of whom Bowdler had said that she was sent into the world to comfort the sick and the sorrowful—she whispered into his ear verses of truth and hope. The venerable form of Mr. Grant was seen in the chamber of death, gazing with a softened tenderness on the dying countenance of one whom he had so long esteemed. The terms in which Bowdler, just after his death, described his character, supply an unexaggerated estimate:—"His influence," he said, "was great; his understanding of uncommon power: and what one fancied was a careless opinion, was often the result of such deep thought and patient investigation, as would have taken other people hours to express. I have often thought it was almost an evidence of the Christian religion, that so commanding a mind as his, prejudiced as it was in early life, by a methodistical circle in which he lived, against enthusiasm of all kinds, should quietly and soberly examine the subject for himself with all the force of his intellect, and end in becoming not only convinced of the truth of religion, but one of the most warm and devout of her followers. How we are all to go on without him, I cannot understand: as a standard for us all to look up to, he was in-

valuable. Even this day, the first that has risen on his lifeless remains, I have wanted his counsel ; and how many are there to whom his example gave confidence and guidance in their humble exertions—who leant on him, and looked to him in every season of doubt and temptation !”

The death of Henry Thornton was followed within a fortnight by the death of his dearest friend Bowdler ; and thus Mrs. H. Thornton was deprived of the friend on whom, next to Wilberforce, she had most relied for counsel. She bore indeed this blow, as she bore her great bereavement, with uncomplaining submission. The sight of familiar places, the countenances and words of old friends, the memories of the past, did not appear to call up in her mind painful associations, or to intensify a sorrow which was too deep for tears. But in such a temperament, so formed mentally and physically, the silver cord which had bound indissolubly two lives, could not be broken without the frame of the survivor being shattered by the shock.

She sought, indeed, every alleviation ; she followed the advice of her medical friend ; she desired, for the sake of her children, to preserve her health. She obeyed implicitly the directions of Pennington. There was no self-abandonment or despair in her sorrow ; but, as the spring advanced and summer came, her strength, in spite of every effort, visibly declined. She tried, under Pennington’s direction, to change the scene ; she went with her children on a visit to her loved friends at Barley Wood. But she carried about with her the grief of the stricken heart. Her shadowy unearthly look alarmed her watchful friends. Only when some of the younger children burst into the gaiety so natural to their years, did their merry laugh bring a smile on the faded countenance. She returned to Battersea Rise no ways improved. As the summer advanced, her strength declined more rapidly. Her interest indeed in others remained : in the joys and troubles of her friends she took a warm concern. They rewarded her by strong sympathy : the younger Grants, the younger Stephens, were eager to help and comfort her, as tender as her older friends. The rewards of her life of sympathy appeared, and Mr. and Mrs. Inglis, having no family of their own, came to help her in the amusement and oversight of her large group of children. Alarmed at her increasing illness, Pennington ordered her to Brighton. She would have preferred to be left in the home which was endeared to her by past thoughts and the peacefulness of its still retirement—full of many recollections, fragrant with feelings more balmy than flowers. But she implicitly obeyed her doctor, and in September, slowly and with great difficulty, she was removed to Brighton. She carried with her a few of the books which she had read so often with one who needed them no more, and

they gave her comfort. A volume of Venn's sermons was often read to her ; Mr. Dunn's sermon on " Our conversation is in heaven," was one of her cordials. Dr. Dealtry's sermons on the Revelations, Baxter's " Saints' Rest," were read to her daily. One sentence of Mr. Dunn's cheered her : " What the world calls death, is but his recall by his gracious Prince, from this outpost of the world, where he carried on the war for a while, to be nearer His royal person." But her greatest personal comfort was in the visits and words of Mr. Wilberforce. He came to her daily ; he read the Bible to her ; he prayed with her, and poured forth, in that voice of incomparable sweetness, the consolations of a Word which supports when all other support fails. He remained with her to the last—addressed earnest prayers for her to the Great Shepherd, that He would bear this tender one of the flock safely through the flood. He saw the answer clear, in a death painless and free from fear, the mind calm and cloudless, bright with happy thoughts, guarded, as by an invisible angel, from care, or doubt, or gloom ; she herself cradled in a childlike trust that she lay folded in the Eternal arms, and thus was passing safely to her enduring home. Mrs. Grant, her faithful friend, was also near her. At intervals, as she could bear it, she saw her children. The infant child of one of her dearest friends was frequently brought to her, and she delighted to look on the young and buoyant energy, which contrasted with her own fading and ebbing life. Flowers were on her table, by her hand—genial gifts of a gracious God ; she looked fondly at them, and was thankful. The moonlight streaming on the sea, the sound of the waves falling with lulling melody on the beach, gave her great enjoyment. A few hours before her death her daughter read to her, at her own request, a beautiful sermon of Venn's, on " We rejoice in hope of the glory of God ;" and her remarks in these last moments showed that her mind was buoyant and calm. On the 11th of October, 1815, with composure such as Mr. Wilberforce had never before witnessed in a dying person, Mrs. Henry Thornton sunk to her rest.

One great solace of her last hours, a protection against all anxious care, was supplied by the devoted affection of two of her younger friends, who then anticipated the wishes of her heart by undertaking, as the legacy of their disinterested affection, the charge of her nine orphan children. This circumstance, and the association which from this time arose between them and Mr. Wilberforce, makes it fitting that we should now speak of one, long known and esteemed in public life—Sir Robert Harry Inglis, who well deserves, though of a younger generation, a place among Wilberforce's friends. We have before mentioned him as a friend of Bowdler's, and we have quoted Bowdler's letter addressed to him. It is well that he should now occupy a separate niche ; and that, giving the outlines of his family,

and, as far as we can trace it, of his history, his life should find in these records a short and imperfect notice.

Robert Harry Inglis was born in London, on the 12th of January, 1786. He was the son of Sir Hugh Inglis, a Scotchman, born in 1744, at Roseburn, near Edinburgh. His father, the youngest son of a respectable family, had been sent, at the early age of sixteen, to seek, and make, his fortune. He pursued it with the adventurous spirit of a young Scotchman, in distant countries, in the South of Europe, then in North America, finally in the East Indies. From this country, the resort at that time of many Scotchmen, he returned with a moderate fortune, acquired without a stain. He was elected, in 1784, one of the East India Directors; and from that post, then so influential, he entered Parliament, as member for Ashburton, in 1802. He remained only four years in Parliament; but his connexion with the East India Company continued till 1813, when he occupied the Chair; and he then retired into private life, with health and powers unbroken, but with the feeling, as his son, writing the inscription for his monument, has piously expressed it, "that health and talents, when spared to the days of the years of man, ought to be unfettered by any employ which can interfere with the quiet preparation for another world; and meekly withdrawing from the bustle of active life, with a humility which in every station was his chief characteristic, he confined himself, in the bosom of his family, to the remaining duties of his station; and, in the single hope of acceptance through Jesus Christ, died, surrounded by his wife and children, the object of their respect and most grateful affection, on the 21st August, 1820."

In 1801 he was created a Baronet; in 1784 he had married his first wife, Catherine Johnson, by whom he succeeded to the small property of Milton-Bryant, in Bedfordshire; and from this marriage Robert Harry, along with two sisters, descended. The child of two parents alike estimable, Robert Harry grew up in a home which, though then presided over by Sir Hugh Inglis's second wife, was one of rare harmony and domestic affection. His stepmother and his sisters vied with each other in their affection for him, and continued to the last hour of their lives to revere him with a deep reverence. He has shown his affection for them by the words of the inscriptions which he wrote for their tombs. The boy was first placed at school with the Rev. Mr. Faithful, at Warfield, not far from Reading. From that preparatory school he went to Winchester; and with the Warden, Dr. Huntingford, he formed a friendship which continued till Dr. Huntingford's death when Bishop of Gloucester. From Winchester he went to Christchurch, Oxford; and at Oxford he became acquainted with almost every undergraduate of his

time, who was distinguished either for character or for talents. He then formed his close alliance with the eighteen persons who were the founders of the Grillon Club—a Club of which he continued the Secretary for thirty years. Among that number his most intimate friends at that time were Sir Thomas Dyke Acland and Sir James Riddell; and with these his friendship, drawn only closer as years passed, remained unabated to the end of life. In 1807, when he left Oxford, he married, on the 10th of February: and he then chose the Bar as his nominal profession, was called to it, but never practised. Before this time, he had formed a friendship with Mr. Henry Addington, Lord Sidmouth's son; and this led subsequently to his connection with Lord Sidmouth, who was at that time in office. He had also become acquainted with Bowdler, who, in a letter written in March, 1806, speaks of him as a man "who, I suspect, possesses a heart and understanding considerably above the common level." In the autumn of the same year, Bowdler writes to him in the prospect of his marriage, observing to him that he was soon to enter on that state "which I might almost call, in the words of the poet, 'One little understood, our greatest evil or our greatest good.' To you, I trust, and doubt not, it will be the latter: but no truth is better worth the recollection of every man in every station than this—that Christianity is the real bond of union." After his marriage, Mr. Inglis and his wife lived for a time in his father's house in Soho Square, and presented (as one of his attached friends has described it) a picture of the most perfect family union. In the autumn of 1808, Bowdler visited the young pair at Milton-Bryant, and speaks of his visit there as affording him great delight in the retrospect, a witness of his friend's solid and enviable happiness; greatly struck with the qualities of his partner—"a simple cheerfulness and unaffected humility, which I never remember to have seen exceeded." Several years afterwards we find Bowdler continuing his correspondence with Mr. Inglis, and showing him in confidence some of his verses. But Bowdler was only one of his many friends; for his kindly manners and genial character formed a host of friendships. About the year 1812, he was first introduced to the house of Henry Thornton. It was a characteristic of the reserved nature of Mr. H. Thornton, that, though he possessed none of the flowing courtesy and lively brilliancy of Wilberforce, he always took a deep interest in young men entering public life, whose future course he considered of so much importance to themselves and the country. Thus his intimacy began with Bowdler, though greatly his junior; thus he became the friend of the young Grants, and of young Stephen. Thus, when Sir Thomas Acland and Mr. Fazakerley entered Parliament for the first time, in 1812, they were welcomed to the easy hos-

pitality of Mr. Thornton's circle in Palace Yard. Through Sir Thomas Acland's introduction, Mr. Inglis and his wife passed into the same society.

When Mr. Henry Thornton's failing health drove the family to Kensington Gore, Mr. Inglis's kindness became exceedingly attractive to Mrs. Henry Thornton; and when, in her desolation, she retired to Battersea Rise, she was thankful to see two young persons, whose years and spirit were more in harmony with her children, take an interest in them; and she rejoiced to observe how they were welcomed by the young group, and how acceptable to them they became when her failing health prevented her from taking any active part in their superintendence. Then, when she perceived how they, with a marked love of children, had none of their own, the thought occurred to her, that that young family, whom she was so soon to leave desolate orphans, might be committed to their care. And they, with a rare disinterestedness and courageous kindness, undertook the difficult task. Hence, on the death of Mrs. H. Thornton, in the autumn of 1816, the young couple settled in the house at Battersea Rise, and undertook the onerous charge of the nine orphan children. Those of us who remember Sir Robert Inglis in his later days, will hardly realize the slight figure and active form, which the painter has preserved on canvass, which made him enter freely into the active exercises of the young group collected at Battersea Rise. Most persons would have prophesied that to undertake the charge of such a family, without the natural ties which maternal feeling and paternal authority confer, must have been in all cases hazardous: if there was high spirit, and talent, and buoyant energy, the experiment would prove a failure. That it was not a failure, is shown by unquestionable signs: not only by the affection, which began at the outset, and remained through life; not only by the respect with which their advice and opinions were always treated, and the eagerness with which every wish was met; but by this sign above all, that when the elder son, arriving at man's estate, was qualified; both by ability and fortune, to take up his independent position in the house which his father owned, he, voluntarily declining that post, preferred for twelve years to live with filial duty, as a son, in the house where he might have ruled as a master; nor did any change take place till Sir Robert Inglis's own decision removed him, reluctantly to all concerned, at the epoch of Mr. Henry Thornton's marriage, to the house in which he fixed himself in Bedford Square.

That familiar house on Battersea Rise had been characterized, in Henry Thornton's time, by a liberal hospitality. It became, under Sir Robert Inglis's direction, still more celebrated. It was the resort of every man of note and genius,

who either dwelt in London or visited it. Poets and painters, sculptors and authors, divines and diplomatists, statesmen and members of Parliament, young men entering into life, old statesmen who had seen the lapse of many generations of politicians, Presbyterian preachers famous for their eloquence, dignified prelates of stately orthodoxy, all frequented that familiar home. There might be seen travellers, who brought the latest news from Persia or Palestine, who had traversed the burning sands of Africa, or spent their winter among the icebergs of the Pole ; enchanters from the North ; wizards, of whom all men were talking ; modest poets, buried in their northern retreat ; the learned Southey, from the school of the Lakes ; reviewers, who tore the Lake-poetry to pieces with merciless scorn ; straight-laced Tories, who hated the name of Reform ; flaming Whigs, who advocated the boldest change. All met and enjoyed the good cheer in harmony under the sunny smiles of their benignant host. Young men like Thomas Macaulay, and, in later days, Charles Buller, who were just stepping into the ranks of the Liberal party, soon to rise to its foremost places, resorted with equal delight to the society of the Ultra-Tory, the Member for the University, inheritor of the Tory traditions of Oxford. The sturdy champion of Protestant principle, in whom Bankes saw the orthodox succession preserved, over whom Lord Kenyon and Lord Eldon united their hands in delight, was to be seen at his table ; but no less Mackintosh, and Charles Grant, and Hallam : Lord John Russell, who advocated Catholic Emancipation as the cure of Ireland's diseases, and the Duke of Norfolk, who regarded it as the birthright of his faith, met with Croker and Southey, who wrote fiercely against the Catholic claims, and prelates who regarded Emancipation as the approach of the deluge, for the British constitution the beginning of the end. It was pleasant to see how, with every opinion cast in a different mould, with ideas of politics and literature as wide apart as the poles, the young Macaulay turned to Sir Robert Inglis with a respectful reverence, and with silent deference, rare in him, paid to the man whom he regarded the homage of a son. It mattered not what principles or opinions characterized those who met under that roof, or severed them, through wide chasms of controversy, into deep divisions. They might be homœopaths, who renounced the allopathic heresy ; or the Faculty, who denounced the homœopaths as quacks : they might be Tories, immovable in prejudice ; or Liberals, bold in innovation : Evangelicals, who looked upon High-Church doctrines with horror ; or High-Churchmen, who ran down Low-Church as Dissent ; or the new school, who poured forth shot and shell against both, and raked the ranks of either party with hot philippics : they might be of the ancient school of reverential science, who sat, like Newton, at the feet

of theology ; or the new school, who held that they alone were the prophets, turned the earth upside down, and scoffed at theology with impatient scorn ; they might be painters, who had jogged from youth in the beaten track, within the shafts and traces of the Academy ; or the new school, who turned their backs on the old authorities, and professed to have first deciphered and represented nature : from that pleasant circle none were shut out, all were welcome ; and forgetting, in that glowing atmosphere of kindness, their freaks and feuds, they melted insensibly into regard, found out that in their rivals there was something to appreciate, and that the rough edges of opposite opinions, dovetailed together, might join into union. For all learnt, from the example of their host, how good it is to be at peace with our neighbour ; how charity, like sunshine, softens as well as warms. Yet every one knew that, with all this charity on the part of their host, there was no compromise. His opinions were fixed as the rocks, down which torrents of opinion might run in vain. Settled on his own foundations, his views stood firm ; no gust of fashion could move them. "There is no such thing now," we once said to him, "as a Tory." "I beg your pardon," was the answer, "I boast myself an uncompromising Tory." What he thought right, he said and he did. But while he held his own ground, he allowed for the minds of others, and admitted differences. Characteristic it was to see his mingled courtesy and firmness. If any one advanced a wrong sentiment, or hinted a sceptical sneer, he might rely on it that, sooner or later, he would stand reproved. Harsh sentiments of others, bitter sayings, slanderous stories, fled from before him. These might enter his company once, but not again. For if he forbore from a spoken reproof, his silence spoke. His gravity showed his pain, and checked the repetition of the fault. This instrument he wielded. It was one of the weapons of his influence used in Parliament as in his domestic circle. In the latter case his influence was great, yet more from his life than his words. It was not genius that gave him the mastery, but goodness. Over a young and lively circle, not bound to him by natural ties, talent would not have availed ; sharpness would have brought on sullenness, wit would have left a wound. Nor was there in him the brilliancy which dazzles the young, nor the vivacity which wins, nor the quickness which subdues them. There was in his intellect a technicality, in his manners a formality, which suggests weakness rather than strength ; a sort of Sir Charles Grandison politeness, which is apt to raise a smile. But though the young, if lively, are quick to catch at foibles, they are, if well-conditioned, quick to discover good. And this characteristic they soon observed : his conscientious-

ness, his love of right, his fear of wrong ; his restraint over himself, his consideration for others, and his loving kindness. They saw that for every sorrow he had a sympathy, and a helping hand for trouble ; that the only thing in which he could not restrain himself was a boundless liberality. So they aimed to do right, that by wrong-doing they might not give him pain ; they could not bear to wound a heart at once so tender and so pure.

But those little knew, who saw him in his social hour, how firm he was, and bold ; when duty called him, how unbending. Two examples of this may suffice. Before the coronation of George IV., the Cabinet of Lord Liverpool was forced to consider what they should do if Queen Caroline presented herself for admission into the Abbey, which they learnt was her purpose. They resolved to refuse her admittance ; and, at the suggestion of Lord Sidmouth, they fixed on Sir Robert Inglis to meet her at the Abbey door, to intimate to her the decision of the Government, and to see it enforced. Lord Sidmouth assured them that there was no one in London who would do this so effectually, uniting so much courtesy with such unbending firmness. Fully did he justify the opinion ; for when the queen alighted, Sir R. Inglis approached her, and told her, with a manner at once the most deferential and determined, that he had orders not to admit her, and that these orders must be obeyed. Having thus announced his purpose, he offered her his arm to conduct her back to her carriage, when she yielded and retired. The other occasion many will remember, as it occurred in the House of Commons. It was after the Reform Act had passed, when the new Parliament had met ; and, after the heat of a long agitation, in the novelty of a new experiment, the heaving elements were still seething from the recent storm. Late at night, on one occasion, after a long debate, an old county member, a baronet, arose and amused the House by remarks which were dashed with a coarse buffoonery, bordering on profaneness. Such remarks, made offhand with a touch of piquant humour, are always sure, in a mixed assembly, to raise a thoughtless laugh. But the member for the University of Oxford rose, and, in the midst of "Ohs!" and shouts, and uproar, rebuked the offender and appealed to the chair. The feeling of the House was with the culprit ; the Speaker was silent ; the impression ran against the interruption. Why this interference ? The rebuke was needless, it was over precise, it was puritanical. But the rebuke told, and went home. The more men thought, the more they approved. They felt that the warning was needed—was timely as well as salutary ; and served, among a new audience, at the outset of their Parliamentary history, to check for the future the licentious outburst of profane remarks. Then, as men reflected, they

began to admire ; they felt that, among those six hundred men, there was probably not one who would have done as Sir R. Inglis did. Many regretted the allusion, but who would have rebuked it ? Who was at once so prompt and so bold, with such a sense of duty and such courage, and the mingled courtesy and calmness that enabled him to chastise the offence and to hold his position ?

What his intellectual gifts were, those who sat with him for many years in the House of Commons, and in committees of the House, can bear witness. He was not a man of eloquence ; he had little imagination ; his words were correct and easy, but not remarkable. He had none of the quickness which causes surprises, none of the variety which gives constant charm, none of the novelty which abounds in happy illustration, nor the rich and pure Saxon vocabulary which supplies to some of our orators the materials of power. In these points he was inferior ; but he was of easy speech, of ready resource, and of a memory at once full and accurate. Those who thought, from the preciseness of his manner, that they might with impunity attack him, found out, sooner or later, their mistake. They often met a blow which staggered them, and was the more severe that it was unlooked for. Out of that beaming and benignant countenance there could come, ever and anon, vigorous sallies. We remember when Mr. Shiel, in the height of his celebrity, attacked, as was not unusual with him, the member for Oxford, and taunted him with his prudent silence on some of the religious controversies of the day. What was his opinion on the Tractarian dispute ? Would he break silence, and tell them ? But the prompt answer, with a request that Mr. Shiel would inform the House of his views on a controversy much older and of greater celebrity, that had long divided the Church of Rome, turned the laugh against the orator, and showed him that in the bland Tory he had met his match. Nor will his contemporaries soon forget how, in one of the Irish debates, O'Connell, attempting to relieve his Church of the burden which weighed her down through her treatment of Galileo, ventured on the ignorance of his audience, and made some statements, derived from fancy rather than history ; but was on the instant brought to book, and shown to be hopelessly wrong in dates, in facts, even in the name of the Pope : supplying thus a proof, that so long as Sir Robert Inglis sat in the House, no one could safely venture to forget or misquote history.

But we must defer to another article some further particulars of Sir Robert Inglis's character.

DEVICES OF SATAN PECULIAR TO THE PRESENT DAY.

It may be freely conceded to be a dangerous practice to ascribe all things of which we disapprove in our fellow-Christians to the immediate temptations of the Church's great Enemy. To do so, is to take for granted that we are right in all our views, and that those on whose conduct we animadvert, are clearly and unquestionably wrong. Such references, therefore, to the workings of the Evil One, should be cautiously and sparingly used. But it would be, perhaps, a still greater error to eschew all such allusions, and to censure invariably all who use them. Such an entire abstinence would savour of a readiness to be "wise above that which is written." We are plainly told in the Gospels of one of Christ's Apostles, that "Satan entered into him." And if it be objected, that this was "the son of perdition," and not a true disciple, we may point to another of the twelve, of whose love to Jesus no doubt can exist, yet to whom his Lord on one occasion exclaimed—"Get thee behind me, Satan, for thou art an offence unto me," thus plainly showing that from the lips of a sincere follower he heard, at that moment, the voice of Satan himself. And hence we may fairly argue, that the accents of the Tempter may now also be perceived, even falling from lips which shall one day join in the song of the redeemed. While, therefore, we would be cautious in the use of such reference, we would not fall into the opposite error, of deeming all allusion to Satan's temptations to be rash and unlawful.

Perhaps we have never less need of caution in this respect than when we are characterizing attacks on God's own word. An inspired writer exclaims—"Thou hast magnified Thy word above all Thy name!" and we can scarcely err, when we stigmatize every attempt to impair the authority or the influence of that word, as unquestionably instigated by him who began his first temptation by the insidious question—"Yea, *hath* God said?"

This class of temptations seems more rife in the present day than in any former period of the Church's history. Never before was the Bible so widely circulated; never before were such wonders wrought by it, as have been seen in Madagascar and elsewhere. It can be no matter of surprise, therefore, to find the efforts of the Enemy redoubled, his darts re-sharpened, his objections to the truth of the Divine Word rendered more artful and more insidious. Hence the necessity for a brief and rapid survey of those objections—a survey sufficiently succinct to be easily read and retained in the memory; and yet

furnished with the simplest answers ; so that these difficulties, when started in the course of daily life, may come upon no reader by surprise, or gain the advantage of an unguarded moment. Such a survey we shall now attempt to take, embracing all the ordinary objections to the credibility or authority of Scripture which are now commonly heard in every-day society ; and pointing out the simplest solutions of the difficulties so brought before the mind.

I.

Foremost among these difficulties is one only recently pressed with any force or earnestness :—That we have not, in fact, any document to which we can point, as being what we call “The Word of God.” This preliminary question is put in two different ways :—

1. We have an insidious suggestion of a number of points still in dispute, which, when credulously admitted and pondered, seem to leave the mind in doubt as to whether there be, in reality, any such document as we had supposed, when we had spoken, in time past, of a Bible—a word of God. In this way, very calmly and persuasively, does Dean Stanley speak, in his recent paper on “The Theology of the Nineteenth Century.” He begins by remarking, that “in the early ages there was a real desire to know what the Bible was—what books it contained. That desire almost ceased in the cessation of mental activity at the fall of the Roman Empire. It was revived partially at the Reformation, but it attained its full force at the close of the last century and beginning of this.” How gently and inoffensively is the idea here insinuated into the mind, that although in our Sixth Article we have a most positive and distinct statement of what the Bible contains, we do not, in fact, know anything with certainty about it ; but have still to enquire, in almost total darkness, What is the Bible ?

But this general idea of doubt and uncertainty is soon amplified into many particulars. The following questions rapidly follow each other, without any answer being supplied :—

“What is the ancient text of the New and Old Testament ?”

“How far does it differ from that which is put forth as the received text in our Authorised Version ?”

“What are the consequences to our theological studies from the acknowledgment of the famous variations now finally recognized in the chief manuscripts of the New Testament ?”

“What is the effect on our sermons of our becoming fully acquainted with the defects of our translation ?”

Next comes a bold assumption, tending in the same direction—i.e., to lead us to doubt whether the books of the Bible are really what they appear to be.

“The composite origin of the Psalter, of the Pentateuch, of

Zechariah, of Isaiah, of the Chronicles, and of St. Luke :—how slowly, yet now, in principle, how universally acknowledged.”

What is the meaning of acknowledging a fact “in principle”? But one half of what is here quietly assumed is not “acknowledged” at all. Who, except the German Rationalists and their followers, have ever acknowledged “the composite origin” of the Pentateuch, of Isaiah, of Zechariah, or of St. Luke’s Gospel? The assumption is both reckless and insolent.

But let us pause for a moment, and see what a cloud of doubt and suspicion rises up out of the Pit, and strives to obscure the light of the sun of Divine Truth. It is here assumed or insinuated :

That there is a doubt what the Bible really contains ; and how much of what we commonly call “The Bible,” really deserves that name.

That, even when we have ascertained what books do actually belong to the Bible, there will remain the question of “various readings.” So that even when we have admitted a Gospel into the Canon, we shall next have to consider how much of that Gospel was really written by St. Mark or St. Luke, and how much was foisted in, afterwards, by uninspired persons.

That, in addition to all this, there will remain the question of “the composite origin” of many books. For that it is argued, that all Isaiah’s prophecies were not written by Isaiah, nor all Zechariah’s by Zechariah, nor all the Pentateuch by Moses, nor all St. Luke’s Gospel by St. Luke. In fact, on this view, the Bible consists of a number of gathered fragments, which still need to be carefully examined, in order that we may learn what ought to be in the book, and what ought not ; and the grounds on which some parts are to be admitted, and other parts rejected.

Such is the position taken up, by a dignitary of the Church —by a man who must have repeatedly subscribed those Articles of the Church of England which distinctly recognise “Holy Scripture” as “the Word of God,” and declare that “Holy Scripture” to be “those canonical books of the Old and New Testament, of whose authority was never any doubt in the Church.” He thus acknowledges a thing to be certain and unquestionable at one time, and then proceeds to represent it as uncertain and doubtful at another ! It is not, therefore, surprising, that a layman, who has probably never subscribed the Articles at all, should state the case still more strongly. Accordingly, Mr. Fitzjames Stephen, in two or three sentences, distinctly sets aside the Bible altogether, saying,

“Mr. Keble tells us that, by the common law of the Church, it is laid down that the whole Bible is to be taken to be true, when fair criticism has ascertained what it is. This, of course, involves the admission, that the authorised version as it stands is not entirely true. Hence the common law of the Church is

not, "The whole Bible is true," but "There was once a book, being since destroyed, which was true."

We are much indebted to Mr. Stephen for thus speaking out, and showing us whither the Dean of Westminster would lead us. Both are travelling on the same road; both have set their faces in the same direction; and Mr. Stephen frankly confesses whither they are bound. Admit what the Dean asks, and his lay fellow-labourer frankly tells you what is the result. "The Bible, as it stands, is not all true or genuine: the original is gone—is destroyed. Therefore, we have, practically, no word of God—no Bible."

Our answer to all this is, that the whole is a fiction; a representation which has no likeness to the facts of the case. Neither the Dean nor the layman offers any proof of these bold assertions. Each begs to take the whole matter for granted. When we admit, as we readily do, that there are various readings in the numerous MSS. of the Bible, as there are various readings in Xenophon, Cæsar, or Terence, Mr. Stephen at once leaps to the conclusion, that the Bible has perished; and that all we can say is, "There once was a Bible, which has been destroyed, which was true." Yet he never dreams of speaking in like terms of the writings of Cæsar or of Virgil. They stand, as to various readings, where the Bible stands; or, rather, far lower. If we have no Bible, we have no Homer, no Xenophon, no Cæsar. But the whole assumption is an absurd fiction, which it is unnecessary to attempt to refute.

In like manner, Dean Stanley begs to assume that there are important variations in the copies of the Bible, so important as to necessitate a change in the teaching of the Christian pulpit. He begs to assume, also, that it is a matter of doubt what books ought, and what ought not, to be admitted into the Canon. He begs, thirdly, to assume, that it is admitted that the Pentateuch, the prophecies of Isaiah and Zechariah, and the Gospel of St. Luke, are not entirely the productions of the authors whose names they bear, but are "composite" books, written by different writers, and put together no one knows how or when.

To all these unfounded assumptions we oppose a simple denial. These things are not conceded: they are not true. Again and again the Dean claims to take a thing for granted which must not be taken for granted. Every one of these assumptions is gratuitous and baseless. And his whole case thus rests on a series of fictions.

He had no right to pour forth, in this rapid manner, several most important statements without offering a single proof. He asks, very coolly, "What is the effect on our sermons of our becoming fully acquainted with the defects of our translation?" We answer without hesitation, that there are no

defects in our translation which can exercise the slightest influence on our preaching; and that to assume or insinuate that there are, is an act of the most criminal character.

To sum up the whole matter in two or three sentences. The canon of the Old and New Testaments, as we have it, is unimpeachable. The Jews, "to whom were committed the oracles of God," guarantee to us the books of the Old Testament; and the Christian Church of the first three centuries hands down to us the Gospels and the writings of the Apostles. Our Bible, as it is in common use, contains "the Holy Scriptures," "the Word of God," free from human admixture or defilement.

The text has been preserved by the watchful care of the Divine Author. Without a miracle, many slight variations must have crept in, amidst thousands of manuscript copies; but it has been graciously provided, without any miracle, that not one of all the variations yet pointed out shakes or affects in the slightest degree any one of the articles of the Christian Faith.

2. Another form in which this resolute determination to get rid of the authority of Scripture shows itself, is that of an undue stress laid upon the various kinds and different degrees of Inspiration. All serious students of the books of Holy Writ have long recognized the fact, and have attached but slight importance to it. Receiving the whole Bible as the Word of God, they could still admit the vast difference between the first chapter of Genesis and the first chapter of Chronicles, without supposing that they were making any important concession. But those who are bent on making entrance and destroying the fortress, imagine that they see here a weak point. Truth, absolute truth, admits not of degrees. A document in which there is some truth and some error can never have absolute authority. Our entire belief can never be claimed,—for that would be to claim our belief for error. And when we get this view of the question, we understand Dean Stanley's eagerness in grasping at this supposed acknowledgment of the inferiority of one part of God's Word to another. He says:—"In a well-known recognition lately made, that some books of the Bible are less largely inspired than others, is happily involved the whole acknowledgment of the superiority of one dispensation to another—of the gradation, the accommodation, by which truth has been made known to man." Now, we acknowledge the fact most readily and most entirely; but we entirely deny the consequences which Dr. Stanley is so eager to draw. Let us illustrate the matter by the help of Archbishop Ussher's simile. The writers of Holy Scripture were "God's secretaries." Suppose, then, a king desiring his secretary to write to one of his viceroys in a distant province, to give him some important

instructions—instructions perhaps involving the lives or welfare of thousands. He adds, also, a further direction to the secretary:—"Tell him to send me certain things which were left in such a castle, and of which here is the list." Well, between the main business of the letter and these minor orders there may be a world-wide difference. The first may concern the highest interests of the State; the other relates merely to some goods and chattels. And yet they are both the orders of the king; both authoritative; both to be implicitly obeyed.

And so is it with Holy Scripture. "God, at sundry times and in divers manners, spake by the prophets." Some of His words concern nations; some the eternal interests of all who hear or read them. Others, like the counsel to Timothy to "take a little wine," or the injunction to "bring the books and parchments," were of a different class, and in some measure of a temporary character. But in one respect they all stand on the same footing—they are all "the words of God." They are all true; they are all faultless; they are all Divine. It is merely a device of Dr. Stanley's, and of others who tread in his steps, to assume that we admit a different source than the will of God for any part of the Holy Scripture. Our Heavenly King, like any earthly one, may give His secretaries instructions of high moment, and instructions of minor importance; but in one respect all are alike. They all bear the same impress of authority; they were all made part of that "Scripture which is profitable for reading, for exhortation, and for doctrine;" and they all form portions of that Word by which we shall be judged at the last day.

II.

We pass on to a second class of objections, closely allied to those we have just been considering. Dean Stanley is contented with suggesting doubts, and so involving the whole question of the integrity of Holy Scripture in a painful and perilous uncertainty. But Dr. Colenso takes the bolder course of direct and straightforward challenge. He asserts unhesitatingly that the first and second chapters of Genesis could not have been written by the same person; that it is "evident" and "certain" that in different parts of that book we have two different hands. He then goes on to argue, that it is most probable that the books of Exodus and Numbers were written by Samuel, and Deuteronomy by some writer of the days of Josiah. The general result is, that instead of "the books of Moses," written by the command and under the inspiration of God, we have merely a collection of old Hebrew writings, left, not by eye-witnesses of the facts related, such as Moses, but by authors who lived long centuries after. Thus the narratives of the Exodus, the wanderings in the wilderness, and

the wars of Canaan, lose all title to be regarded as histories, and become, like the *Iliad* or the *Æneid*, mere poems, written by men who had no personal knowledge of the events supposed to be narrated.

And yet, when we look a little closer, all this rash speculation, though dignified by the name of "criticism," is found to be mere conjecture. Take the very first instance alleged, which is deemed to amount to a proof that the book of Genesis was not all written by Moses; for that there are at least two hands and two minds perceptible in it. The opening chapter of this book, it is remarked, speaks of "Elohim" as the First Cause and Great Creator. But when we pass on to the second chapter, this language is changed, and we hear of "Jehovah Elohim" as the Author and Framers of the worlds. Clearly, therefore, it is said, we have here two hands—two writers; the first page is written by one, the second page by another. And the same difference is observable in other parts of the same book; so that we can tell when the "Elohist" is speaking, and when the "Jehovist."

This is put forward by Dr. Colenso as a thing "proved" and "established"—as one of the "results of criticism." Yet, after all, it is nothing more than mere conjecture, and may have a foundation in fact, or may have none. Who is entitled to say that an historian shall not, when he begins his history, adopt a certain style of phraseology; and a month or a year after, on taking up his pen to resume his story, fall into a different style? It is clear that there is no impossibility in the case. Yet unless Moses *could not*, in A.M. 2473, write that "Elohim created the heaven and the earth," and in 2474 that "Jehovah Elohim made the earth and the heavens,"—except it is impossible that he could thus have changed his style, it is certain that the critics have proved nothing. They find "Elohim" in the first page, and "Jehovah Elohim" in the second. They would fain argue that there *must* have been two writers. But we can only allow that there *may* have been two writers. Equally possible is it that Moses wrote both the one and the other. Not the slightest *proof* can be adduced in favour of either hypothesis.

Many writers—we might say, most writers—change their style as they advance in life. Myriads of instances might be adduced in proof of this, but it is needless. St. Paul, in his earlier epistles, speaks of "the Lord Jesus Christ," or of "Jesus Christ." In his later ones, he more frequently speaks of "Christ Jesus." A critic of Dr. Colenso's sort might argue, that there were clearly two hands visible, and that the later epistles were by some other writer than the former. But what is all this but conjecture, and very useless and worthless conjecture too?

Suppose we admit it to be, not only possible, but even probable, that Adam, or Seth, or Noah, or Abraham, left, under Divine guidance, certain records of the early history of the earth; and that these records were accessible to Moses, and were used by him in the writing or compilation of the Pentateuch. What then? Is the Book of Genesis, or of Exodus, less credible, or less Divine, because Adam, or Noah, or Abraham, all of whom conversed with God, were the first authors of some passages in it? Is the Book less the work of Moses because he may have interwoven these ancient records into his story? Surely it matters nothing to the authority or credibility of the story, whether it were all substantially revealed, sentence by sentence, to Moses, or whether some portions of the book had been dictated to Noah, or to Abraham, 500 or 1000 years before.

But, as usual, Dr. Colenso's conclusions go very much further than his premises would warrant. He would fain argue, that if two hands are visible in the Book of Genesis, we had better give up Moses as the author altogether. And if Genesis is thus consigned to some unknown author, why not Exodus? why not Numbers? why not the whole Pentateuch? Let us suppose the whole collection to be a mere heap of old traditions, written no one knows when, or by whom; but, at all events, "not historical,"—*i. e.* not true.

There is not the slightest reason for conceding any portion of this violent supposition. Let it be proved, if it can be proved, that two hands must have been concerned in the Book of Genesis. What then? Suppose that Moses did incorporate with his narrative certain ancient records, how does that fact diminish the value or credibility of the story, or show that Moses ought not to be deemed the writer of it? Assuredly it does nothing of the kind.

During a thousand years, from the time of Joshua to that of Malachi, Moses is named, in each succeeding age, by Joshua, by David, by Isaiah, by Jeremiah, by Daniel, by Ezra, and other inspired writers, as the real author of "the Law," or books which we know by his name. And still greater confirmation have we in the attestation in many passages of the Gospels, of Him who could say, "Before Abraham was, I am." Dr. Colenso reminds us that the Lord Jesus passed through infancy and childhood, and had, therefore, times of imperfect knowledge. But this fact has no bearing on the case. He had, before any of these attestations of Moses were uttered, received the baptism of the Holy Ghost; He had entered on His public work, and to impute imperfect knowledge to Him in this, His fully-empowered ministry, is fearfully profane.

The rest of Dr. Colenso's attempt to destroy the credit and

authority of God's word is equally weak and criminal. He is fond of talking of "proof" and "evidence;" but he offers nothing but conjecture. This is the staple of which his whole work is composed. He conjectures that Samuel may have written Exodus and Numbers, and that Jeremiah may have been the author of Deuteronomy. But all these guesses, unsupported as they are by the least shadow of proof, proceed upon the hypothesis that these holy men of old, Prophets of the Lord, were the most reckless forgers, the most fraudulent concocters of false history, that the world ever saw. Dr. Colenso insists on believing that they wrote long narratives of apparent facts, and put much awful denunciation and gracious promise into the mouth of Jehovah—not one of the said facts having occurred, not one of these Divine denunciations or promises having been really uttered! He wishes to reduce the Old Testament, as a history, to the level of the *Iliad*, or the *Arabian Nights' Entertainments*; and even imagines that in doing so he is "doing God service."

III.

Another class of temptations of this kind is generally ranged under the large and vague assertion that "Science and Scripture are irreconcilably at variance." By this phrase it is meant to be implied, that facts have been brought to light which render a continued belief in Holy Scripture impossible. Most people unthinkingly suppose, when they hear this sort of language, that by scientific proofs of some kind, the statements of the Bible have been shown to be untrue. Yet all this is mere assumption. Not one single fact has science yet discovered which shakes any one statement of God's word. The allegation so often and so confidently repeated, that Scripture and Science are irreconcilably at variance, is advanced without the slightest proof. Continually are we desired to admit it, without the adduction of a single instance in which the assertions of the Bible have been refuted by the discoveries of modern science.

The points on which the Bible is assumed to be contradicted by Science are several; and we shall now proceed to particularize them.

1. It is attempted to be argued, that because the Bible uses the language of common life when speaking of astronomical objects, it therefore contradicts Science, and is refuted by the discoveries of the telescope. Yet Newton may be deemed to have had some knowledge of astronomy, and it never occurred to him to question the truth or inspiration of Scripture because the inspired writers used the language common among mankind, and spoke of things as they appeared. Thus Moses, in Genesis xix., writes:—"The sun was risen upon the earth

when Lot entered Zoar,"—whereas, as a scientific writer remarks, he ought to have said, that "Palestine had revolved, when Lot entered the city, until its tangent plane coincided once more with a radius vector from the sun." Had he thus described the fact with scientific accuracy, his narrative, for the last three thousand years, would have sounded to mankind in general like so much jargon and gibberish. Up to the present moment astronomers continue to write, in the phraseology of the Bible, of "the sun's setting," and of its "rising," because they know that any other language would be deemed pedantic and absurd. The Sacred writers, then, acted reasonably, and not ignorantly, when they spoke of the earth as steadfast, and of the sun as moving, according to the current language of mankind. They described things as they appeared. Had they described them as they actually were, they would have seemed to their hearers and readers to be speaking riddles.

2. The next attempt to convict Holy Scripture of ignorance and error, is based upon the language used in Genesis i. in describing the Creation. For many centuries, men, knowing nothing of what was beneath the crust of the earth, assumed that "the beginning" spoken of in the first verse, preceded by only a short space of time the creation of Adam and the other denizens of the earth. But the writer of that chapter had stated nothing of the kind. Yet, assuming this to be an assertion of Holy Scripture, modern sceptics exultingly parade their proofs that the earth has existed for hundreds of thousands of years, and at once demand that we shall admit that Moses, or whoever else wrote the 1st chapter of Genesis, knew nothing about the matter. Thus they would assume that the Bible opens with a page of the merest fiction.

But not the slightest ground have they for any such assumption. If they take up any one of the histories of England which are in common use, they will find that the writers invariably commence their story about the time of Cæsar. Yet the island had existed some 3000 or 4000 years before this,—of which long period no historian says anything. In like manner Moses, inspired and directed to write man's history upon earth, merely makes the general statement, that "In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth;" then passes on to a period, when "the earth was without form, and void," and commences his history by describing how the Spirit of God began to move upon this chaotic mass, and soon clothed it with new life and beauty. Geology has, within the last eighty years, discovered many signs of former stages of the earth's existence. These discoveries we may without difficulty receive. They contradict nothing that Moses had said, any more than a discovery of acts done in England in the days of Solomon could contradict Hume's history of England. Long before

geologists began their researches, Bishop Patrick, commenting on the 2nd verse of Genesis i., remarked that "how long this state of darkness and confusion continued, we are not told : it might be, a long while." Scripture had asserted nothing as to the distance of time that intervened between "the beginning" and Adam's creation. Hence geology, if it describes this period as covering millions of years, gives no contradiction to the language of Moses, for Moses was not inspired to say one word on that point. Sceptics would fain represent Science and Scripture as at variance here ; but the supposed contradiction is a mere invention of their own.

3. The next impeachment of the truth of the Bible narrative concerns the history of the Flood. Whether we maintain, with the last edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, that the deluge was universal ; or admit, with Archdeacon Pratt, that it may only have covered those parts of the earth then known to man ; on either hypothesis we are met by the broad assertion, that the facts stated are physically impossible.

But the grounds on which this denial rests are themselves only one great blunder. The arguers against the credibility of the history of the Deluge always begin by assuming that that event is narrated as arising from ordinary and natural causes ; whereas the Bible asserts no such thing. Throughout, the whole visitation is narrated as the immediate act of God. To deny it, therefore, or to throw doubt upon it, is merely to question God's omnipotence.

The impugnner of the history of the Deluge should be asked, "Do you accept as true the history of Christ's Resurrection?" If not, then let him abandon the name of Christian, and take his place with infidels and unbelievers. But if he accepts the narrative of Christ's Resurrection and Ascension, then he admits facts which are quite as difficult of belief as the story of the Deluge.

He either admits, if he be a believer in Christianity, or denies, if he be an unbeliever, that a human body, some 1800 years ago, was publicly put to death, so that Roman officers and soldiers were fully satisfied that no life remained in it ; that it was then, by the friends of the departed person, placed in an excavated tomb, and covered by a massive stone, and watched by a guard of Roman soldiers ; in spite of all which, after remaining for some six-and-thirty hours in this state, this buried body came forth alive, walked the earth for forty days, and then visibly rose from the earth, and ascended up to heaven. Of this wonderful history, Dr. Arnold says,—

"I have been used for many years to study the history of other times, and to examine and weigh the evidence of those who have

written about them; and I know of no one fact, in the history of mankind, which is proved by better and fuller evidence of every sort, to the understanding of a fair inquirer, than the great sign which God has given us, that Christ died and rose again from the dead."*

Now, as we have said, if the objector to the story of the Deluge disbelieves the miracle of the Resurrection, let him avow himself in his true character, and not assume the name of Christian. But if the evidence which satisfied Dr. Arnold satisfies him also, and he believes, in spite of all "natural laws," that Christ rose from the dead and ascended to heaven, then he will not absurdly and inconsistently discredit the smaller miracle, that Christ, on another occasion, walked upon the surface of the sea.

Nor, if he is reasonable, will he object to the narrative in Joshua iii., that the stoppage of the waters of the Jordan, and their rising up and standing on a heap, was "physically impossible." He will recognize the fact, that he is speaking of the acts of One with whom "nothing is impossible;" One who "callesth the things which be not, as though they were." And when he hears that same God who "created the heavens and the earth," say, "Behold, I do bring a flood of waters upon the earth, to destroy all flesh wherein is the breath of life," he will not be guilty of the inconceivable folly of replying, "It is physically impossible."

Hence, therefore, the matter is reduced to this simple issue: If the objector disbelieves all miracles,—the Resurrection, and the Ascension;—then the discussion is at an end: he is merely an infidel. But if he calls himself a Christian at all, (as a man who would fain act as a bishop ought to do,) then a believer in the Resurrection and in the Ascension only talks absurdly when he objects to the Deluge as "physically impossible."

4. Some further difficulties thrown in the way of the young and undecided rest wholly on conjecture. Yet they always boldly assume the names of "science," "proofs," and "facts." Foremost in this class are the doubts as to the "antiquity of man." Sceptics of our day, although they assume the air of indifference as to Scripture, are always silently working for its overthrow. Thus, they will leave the testimony of Genesis wholly out of view, and bend their efforts to show that men have lived upon earth for 10,000 or 20,000 years. They are well aware that whoever comes to believe this, must, sooner or later, find his faith in the Bible histories undermined and shaken.

Hence they show great zeal and earnestness in the inculcation of these views. All they really need for the accomplish-

* Sermons on the Christian Life. p. 14.

ment of their ends is a few relevant facts; but these are generally wanting.

Rather more than two years ago, Sir Charles Lyell, in his volume on "the Antiquity of Man," did his best to establish some valid ground of doubt whether man could be deemed so recent an inhabitant of the earth as the Bible represented him. But he signally failed. He ventured no further than to suggest reasons for questioning whether man might not have existed some 10,000 or 20,000 years ago. But no single fact that would bear investigation could he bring forward to overthrow the plain statements of the Book of *Genesis*. The *Westminster Review*, a chief organ of the sceptics, openly confessed its "disappointment;" and Mr. Pattison, a geologist of known reputation, in a brief tract of some twenty pages, showed that Sir Charles had really effected nothing. Mr. Pattison has never been answered. That there is a single proof to be adduced that man existed on the earth 10,000 years ago, has never been shown, and we believe never will be. All that our Lyells and Lubbocks can offer is a series of mere conjectures, that IF a certain peat formation required 7000 years, *then* the human remains discovered in it must have been more ancient than the Bible chronology will allow. To which Mr. Pattison replies, that in other works Sir Charles has considered 1800 years to have been sufficient for the formation of a peat-morass; and thus the reply to his larger hypothesis is found in his own pages. In a word, after sceptical geologists have been labouring for twenty years to excogitate some kind of argument or syllogism which may destroy the credit of the writer of the Book of *Genesis*, their task remains at this moment unaccomplished. They still go on talking of "facts" and "proofs;" but if we ask for those facts and proofs, we receive nothing but conjectures and hypotheses, beginning with a series of *ifs*. This class of objections or doubts, therefore, in the hands of a man accustomed to reason, speedily crumbles away, and comes to nought.

5. One more series of objections or grounds of doubt remains; and that is, perhaps, the weakest and least solid of all. Men of "science" who are predisposed to doubt, are often found to fasten upon the fact of the descent of the whole human race from a single pair, and of the origin of a dozen great parent-languages in the confusion of tongues, and to strive to throw doubt upon both these statements of Scripture, by arguments drawn from analogies or hypotheses of their own. Happily, however, there is a striking concurrence of opinion among men of science of the highest rank in accordance with the Scripture narrative. Alexander von Humboldt, Merion, Klaproth, F. Schlegel, and the Academy of St.

Petersburg, all came to the conclusion, after a long study of the subject, that the languages of the great families of the world bear such marks of relationship, as to prove that they had a common origin. Other philologists, such as Herder, S. Turner, Niebuhr, Balbi, and Abel-Remusat, go further, and hold that traces can be pointed out of the separation of the tribes and tongues by some violent and sudden cause. We have, then, a vast array of scientific opinion on the side of the statements given us in the Bible.

Still, a few rash and daring speculators, with Bunsen at their head, have ventured to set up an hypothesis wholly at variance with the Bible narrative. Languages, they say, grow slowly. "It has taken nearly 2000 years to develope modern French, Italian, and Spanish, out of Latin. Must it not have taken much longer to develope Latin, Greek, German, Celtic, Slavonic, and Sanscrit, out of their mother speech?" Twenty thousand years, they go on to argue, is a very probable term for the development of human language in the shortest line. And so, upon this bold and reckless guess—for it is nothing more—we are to give up the Bible history altogether, and to suppose that man must have lived upon earth some 14,000 years before the time indicated by Adam's creation.

The inventors of this hypothesis conveniently forget that the Bible plainly and distinctly declares that by the confusion of tongues a number of different languages were constituted and given to different families in a moment of time. But the main fact on which they rely is nothing better than a fiction. It did not take 2000 years to develope the French, Italian, and Spanish tongues out of Latin. The Latin tongue doubtless prevailed in the Western kingdoms up to the time of Theodosius, or nearly 500 years after Christ. And if we pass over, not 2000 years, but 500, we find the French language in France, the Spanish in Spain, the Italian in Italy. A more striking instance might be given still nearer home. When the Normans first conquered England, in 1066, the language spoken by the people was Saxon, and the language spoken by the nobles, and at court, was Norman-French. So matters went on for above a century, and the English language of modern days had no existence. About the middle of the thirteenth century it began to appear, and a few written documents may be found of the date of A.D. 1200—1300, in which a sort of English begins to be used. Pass on only three centuries, and remark the noble, abundant, and wealthy language used by Shakspeare and Milton, and then say, if you can, that "languages grow but slowly." If such a language as the English could thus grow up in three or four hundred years, how monstrous is the assertion that "twenty thousand years is a

very probable term for the development of human language in the shortest line," and that, consequently, we must not believe Moses when he represents that the human race only began its course some 5800 years ago.

THE EDUCATION OF WOMEN.

Essays on the Pursuits of Women. By Frances Power Cobbe. London: Emily Faithfull. 1863.

It has often been a matter of surprise to us, that, while so much is being constantly written and spoken on the subject of man's education, so little regard should be had to the education of women. We have always been of opinion that the case should be reversed; that the mind of woman really has more need of mental culture than the mind of man; and we are rejoiced to see a lady of such talents and powers of mind as Miss Cobbe standing up boldly to defend this opinion.

One point we wish to make clear before we proceed further. It was with the deepest regret that we read some time ago a book of Miss Cobbe's, entitled "Broken Lights." We feel that it is vain to ignore the school of theology to which Miss Cobbe belongs; and as it is a school from whose tenets we dissent most widely, our readers must not suppose that, in our approbation of Miss Cobbe as a writer on education, we in any way commend her religious views. But the subject of education is to some extent neutral ground, at least in its details, and we feel that we are not forfeiting our character as the upholders of Evangelical truth in the Church of England by meeting Miss Cobbe here.

Nor must our readers do us the injustice to imagine that, because we have spoken little in this article of religious teaching, we therefore esteem it lightly. Human wisdom is nothing, and less than nothing, in the sight of God, when it lacks the religious faith of a little child. Religion is the gold, silver, precious stones of the soul, without which all else is but wood, hay, stubble. But we are writing for Christian readers; and we feel that it would be almost presumption on our part to suggest rules for that religious teaching which fathers and mothers can adapt, far better than any public writer, to the needs of their own children.

Now, we do not wish to examine this subject from any idle curiosity, but on high moral and social grounds. We have often regretted—what Miss Cobbe sets forth so forcibly—the idleness and worthlessness of the lives which many ladies in

our higher classes lead. It is needless to say that these idle moments, so thoughtlessly frittered away, are fraught with danger to the soul and the intellect; that this very idleness is in itself a great sin, as great a sin as the servant's in the parable, who hid his talent in a napkin. We shall make no excuse, therefore, for most seriously calling our readers' attention to so important a subject.

We may observe at starting, that education in the present day is no longer what education was half a century ago. Our daughters and sisters cannot stop where our mothers, still less where our grandmothers, stopped; any more than the least intellectual squire of the present day can content himself with the same amount of learning that proved amply sufficient for his most intellectual predecessor of seventy years ago. Knowledge, and the means of acquiring knowledge, have increased vastly since the beginning of this century; questions are daily started in which ladies can and ought to take a part; the means of travelling are far easier, and far more within universal reach; and social intercourse is less constrained and less exclusive. It is impossible to shut our eyes to all this. It is impossible to dream of placing young ladies of the present day on a par with Rose Bradwardine and Miss Hardcastle. These self-evident facts seem to have impressed Miss Cobbe very forcibly. She says, and we feel the sad truth of her words, that no inconsiderable portion of women's lives is aimless and profitless. The reason of this Miss Cobbe conceives to be twofold: firstly, the erroneous teaching, which makes women look to marriage as the aim and end of existence; and secondly, the equally erroneous teaching, that woman has a certain magic circle, out of which she may not step. On the first of these points we agree with her most heartily. Nothing can be more horrible than to make the entry into the highest and holiest of all lives—the married life—a mere social speculation; to sacrifice to its success loftiness of thought and purity of aim; duties which are owing to self, and friends, and God; to care only for outward appearances, which may attract the gaze of the passer-by; to study only those superficial attainments which can never captivate any man whose affections are worth the having. And yet, we fear that the instances of this are without number; that there are young ladies, capable of better things, who make an idol of marriage, and sacrifice themselves to it, never thinking it worth their while to consider if they possess those real, solid qualities by virtue of which alone they can become good wives and good mothers. To the second of these reasons we assent with equal cordiality. Society seems to have set up a boundary of knowledge which women are not to pass, and this boundary both sexes alike would seem to have tacitly agreed in recognizing. If a lady at any time feels that she

does not know so much as she ought, or would wish to know, she consoles herself by the reflection that she is not expected to know more, and that the knowledge to which she aspires lies in a region where she may not tread. And we fear that men are too apt to encourage these ideas, that in ordinary conversation they seem to let themselves down to the level of their companions, and studiously avoid any topics which are commonly supposed to be too lofty for their comprehension. Nor is the fault, even in this case, so entirely on the side of the gentlemen as we might imagine; for nine-tenths of the young ladies of the present generation studiously discountenance, both at dinner tables and evening parties, any conversation that does not verge on absolute nonsense; and gentlemen, if they would not lose caste for ever, are compelled to humour this absurd weakness.

The question then arises, how are these mistakes to be set to rights? In the first place, we may remark that too much stress is laid on the importance of marriage. Undoubtedly, to marry well is the greatest blessing that can fall to women's lot; but it is a blessing which is not granted to all. Our statistics incontestably prove that the number of births of female children exceeds by four per cent. those of male children; and they prove further, what is of more importance, that, as a fact, thirty per cent. of the young women of England never marry. The knowledge of these particulars cannot fail to give rise to serious reflections. If it be indeed the case that thirty out of every hundred of our women, even in the higher classes, are condemned to a life of celibacy, what can be more ridiculous than to sacrifice every other object to the chance of drawing a prize in the lottery? We fear, if the truth were known, that there are many mothers who are always impressing on their daughters, that to marry, no matter whom, provided he be able to maintain a wife, is the only thing worth living for; who, like Horace, would say of their main chance:—

“*Tibi melius suadet qui rem facias, rem,
Si possis, recte, si non, quocunque modo rem.*”

Such conduct we cannot condemn too strongly. But it bears with it its own punishment. No young ladies perhaps fail more constantly of marrying, none certainly fail more constantly of marrying well and happily, than those young ladies who lay themselves out most to captivate gentlemen. They are mistaken, greatly mistaken, in their estimate of our sex if they fancy that to dance nicely, or to chat pleasantly about the last novel, qualifies them for the character of wife and mother in the eyes of any man whose esteem deserves to be gained. Let them be assured, that though outward charms and showy ac-

complishments may dazzle for a moment; yet, if a man once appeal to his better judgment, the quiet, unassuming, unattractive lady, who has striven to fit herself to become a helpmeet for him, will sway his heart with a far more potent and truer love than all the beauties of Europe.

We agree, therefore, with Miss Cobbe, that we should, if only for the sake of the ladies themselves, strive to provide them with a better education than they generally receive. The doubt is in what this education shall consist. Ought it to be at all like the mental training through which men pass at their schools and their universities? Against this suggestion three objections are raised: firstly, that there is a natural incompatibility between classical studies and feminine duties; secondly, that the powers of woman are inferior to those of man; thirdly, that Greek and Euclid, though good in themselves, are yet inappropriate studies for women. The first and last of these objections are in reality the same, though put in different forms; and we confess we are not disposed to think that either of them is worth very much. Miss Cobbe quotes the remark of Sydney Smith, that "a woman's love for her offspring hardly depends on her ignorance of Greek, nor need we apprehend that she will forsake an infant for a quadratic equation." This criticism, like all Sydney Smith's criticisms, is based on sound common sense. Indeed, the argument against women learning Greek and Euclid may be placed in the same class with the argument against the pursuit of the same studies by man. Why, it is often asked, should men learn dead languages and geometrical problems, which can be of no possible use to them in after life? The most obvious answer to such a question is the best. It is to train their powers of mind, to develop their reasoning faculties, to accustom them to continual application, to teach them close accuracy, to cure them of slovenly ways of thinking and writing; and if this be so, why should not women go through the same course? It is nonsense to take for granted that the training which proves beneficial to the intellects of men must of necessity be ill adapted to the intellects of women. Nay, we fully believe that these very studies are best adapted to strengthen the weak part of the intellect of women. On this point we will let Miss Cobbe pass judgment upon her own sex:—

"One of the most obvious differences between the mental constitutions of man and woman is the preponderance in the latter of the intuitive over the reasoning faculties. . . . This rapid intuition of woman may, or may not, prove a defect. Properly trained and balanced by that carefulness of truth which comes of conscientious study, it is no defect at all, but a great advantage; but unregulated quickness is a peril and misfortune. Jumping at conclusions is a

favourite species of feminine steeplechase, with whose sad results we are probably all too familiar."

The criticism is severe; but, with Miss Cobbe's authority to shield us, we venture to say that it is just. No one, indeed, can have failed to notice among ladies of his acquaintance, that there is scarce one who is not ready to give an opinion at a moment's warning on any subject, from the character of their friends to the American war. If juries of women were impanelled as well as juries of men, we are firmly convinced that for every cause which the men decided rightly, the women would decide wrongly. For such a mental failing as this there is no corrective so good as laborious, engrossing application to difficult studies. There are, of course, wide differences in the capabilities of women, and we should no more dream of recommending every lady to get up Euclid, than of recommending every Cambridge man to read for the mathematical tripos. But we do strongly hold that every lady who has sufficient powers should not hesitate for a moment to apply herself to such studies as these.

The second objection is based on the opinion, which has been so common since the foundation of society, that the powers of woman are inferior to the powers of man. No idea was more prevalent among the great men of Greece and Rome; and even Aristotle, the most enlightened philosopher of those enlightened communities, was compelled to come to the conclusion that woman was, after all, only an incomplete, imperfect man. It is to be hoped that our view of the other sex is more complimentary; but as we fear that there is still some slight misconception on this point, we would wish to say a few words upon it.

One fact we hold to be indisputable, that our wise Creator purposed man and woman to hold different positions in the universe wherein He placed them. The knowledge of the difference in their physical structure, which we have acquired through science, proves this incontestably—man was created for strength, woman for beauty, whether of body or mind: man's life is of necessity active, woman's quiescent. The desire for independence, for companionship, for overcoming obstacles, for braving dangers, for unceasing exercise, bodily or mental, is as characteristic of the man, as the love of quiet, the power of endurance, the gift of adapting herself to change of place and change of circumstance, contentment with the lot which has been assigned to her, calm resignation under severe trials, is characteristic of the woman. We feel that man's character never attains its full development save when he has engaged heart and soul in the great battle of life. We feel that woman's character has never attained to its perfection save

when we see her as the loving wife and tender mother. Man is formed for the turmoil and the labours of the outer world, woman for the peace and quiet of home. We constantly express the same idea in ordinary conversation when we say that cowardice is most hateful in man, and boldness in woman. Rousseau remarks that there is one act which misbecomes even the most beautiful woman, the act of running quick. And we own the truth of this, for we feel that woman is made for harmony, and that anything which violates this harmony is out of place. In like manner there are certain moral sins which, though of course equally heinous in the sight of God, are yet felt and acknowledged even by Christians to be worse in the woman than in the man, because in committing them she violates, as it were, the very law of her nature in a sense in which he does not.

So, again, there are certain mental powers with which man has been gifted far more highly than woman. The reasoning faculties are more perfect in him than they are in her. The creative powers belong almost exclusively to him. It has been justly said, that no woman ever succeeded in drawing the characters of men, because it was impossible for her ever completely to know or to realize the tempest of passions which sway the souls of an Othello or a Faust. But if woman is inferior to man in these gifts, she is as decidedly superior to him in delicacy of perception, subtlety of wit, æsthetic taste, intensity of feeling, depth of religious devotion. And yet man encroaches upon these domains of woman;—why should woman be prohibited from approaching the domains of man? The truth is, that, allowing fully the distinction we have drawn above, we maintain that it merely proves dissimilarity, and not inferiority. Even granting that no lady would ever become a Newton or a Porson, is that a valid reason for debarring them from the study of classics or mathematics? Do not hundreds of men pursue those studies who are just as little likely to attain that proud distinction?

We may sum up what we have said by repeating our conviction that two proofs alone would make these objections valid—either it must be proved that these studies would change the natural character of woman, and take her from the place in society which it is her part to fill; that the study of geometry would make her bold and forward, and the study of Demosthenes transform her into a stump-orator; or it must be proved that there is a natural incapacity in her intellect which unfits her for them. Can these proofs be satisfactorily adduced?

Leaving these objections, we are next met by the question, in what is the present education of ladies deficient? It would be far easier to say in what it is not deficient. For one thing, it is undeniably frivolous and superficial. We do not by any

means wish to discourage in ladies a taste for music and drawing, but these subjects should not be made paramount, unless they are really studied as an art. Except in the latter case, they cannot claim to be valued higher than mere accomplishments, and are absolutely no training for the mind at all. They are apt, we fear, to take the place that cricket and football too often take among boys; which, though excellent things in the right place and at the right time, should nevertheless be strictly subordinate. The same objection, though in a less degree, may be urged against the present system of learning modern languages. To learn French or German, with our present facilities, is really no exertion at all; and though it may be an admirable thing, and doubtless is an admirable thing, to read with ease the great authors of Germany and France; yet, as a means of strengthening and cultivating the mind, the value of these acquirements is but small. We also think that we may fairly take exception to the present system on the ground of its excessive tendency to minutiae. No doubt it is of great importance that a lady should be able to spell and read correctly, but we suspect that needless time and trouble is wasted on these elementary subjects. So, too, an acquaintance with the dates of important events is desirable; but, in nine cases out of ten, it is quite superfluous to commit faithfully to memory the particular month or the particular year. After all, however, the gravest charge that can be brought against this education is not so much the insufficiency of the matter as the faultiness of the method. The chief advantage of learning music and drawing is, that we may thereby acquire a critical ear and a critical eye, that we may cultivate the delicacy of taste and perception which alone can enable us fully to appreciate the masterpieces of great artists and great musicians. We need not say how often this important object is entirely overlooked. The same remark applies with equal force to the study of modern languages and history. The chief advantages of learning French, and Italian, and German, is, that we may make the thoughts and the genius of the great writers of other countries our own. It is of little use to talk languages like a parrot, if Corneille, and Molière, and Dante, and Tasso, and Goethe, and Schiller are to remain sealed books for us. Hence, it is of the greatest moment that the student of languages should at least be introduced to a course of literature. But to this masters and mistresses seldom aspire. Provided a young lady can write a French letter, can conjugate "ne pas se lever" in the active and passive voices without a mistake, and translate fluently a page of *Télémaque*, they desist from their labours and are thankful. So, too, with history; to know the dates of all the Bishops and Popes of Rome from St. Clement to Pius IV. is as worthless in itself as to know the

dates of one branch of the great family of Smiths. Hampden's refusal to pay ship-money is of far greater importance historically than the births and the deaths of half the sovereigns of Europe ; for that refusal marks a great turning-point, not only in the history of England, but in the history of mankind ; and yet most young ladies are brought up in a happy ignorance of all this. To apply their facts to the solution of important political questions, to discover how the destiny of nations hinges on a seemingly unimportant event, never enters their minds as one of the chief uses of history.

How, then, are these evils to be corrected? Chiefly by a change in the method. Nothing would be more advantageous than to combine a course of reading on the art of painting with the merely mechanical part of drawing. Such books as Sir Joshua Reynolds's Lectures, and parts of Ruskin, or even Lessing's *Laocoon*, are of inestimable value to all who would fain obtain an insight into the highest principles and beauties of the art. The same may be said of music. We have never discovered yet why young ladies should be so seldom taught to compose music at the same time that they learn to play the piano with skill and taste. It must surely be one of the best means for leading them to a thorough appreciation of the perfection of great musical compositions. Modern languages should be studied with a view to the literature of the country which the knowledge of its language places within our reach. It is therefore of the highest importance that the perusal of at least two or three of the classic authors of France and Germany should form an indispensable part of the study of French and German. To say that they will not be thoroughly enjoyed at the age of school-life, is nonsense. Boys of fourteen and fifteen can thoroughly enjoy Molière and Voltaire, Goethe and Lessing, and in these matters girls are always more precocious than boys. History, again, which cannot be otherwise than useless if limited to a mere dry compendium of facts, should be read with a view to some definite purpose. Few quotations are more popular than Pope's line—"The proper study of mankind is man ;" and it is hardly possible to find a more instructive and pleasing picture of man than history can give us. But then history must be something better than a dry skeleton : it must be a biography, it must be a philosophy. We must read it as a key to the causes of civilization, of law, of freedom, of the growth of the human intellect, of the influence of religion and nature over man. How often is it thus read in ladies' schools?

Next in importance to the change of method will come the change of subjects. We have placed this last, because the differences of opinion concerning it are wide. One side of the

question could not be set forth more forcibly and eloquently than in these words of Miss Cobbe :—

“The three great revelations of the Infinite One—the True, the Beautiful, and the Good—are all alike in sanctity in themselves. To devote life to the pursuit of any one of them is a noble thing. With respect to the good, we all feel this, and admit that to promote the happiness of our neighbours is a holy destiny for man and woman. And again, with respect to the beautiful, we in a degree admit the same for women ; and if they display the gifts of Jenny Lind, or Mrs. Browning, or Rosa Bonheur, or Harriet Hosmer, we permit them to study music, or poetry, or painting, or sculpture. But with respect to the True, the rare and noble love of it, the readiness to devote life to its acquirements in abstract and abstruse studies—this is a thing we can hardly bring ourselves to sanction in a woman. We should welcome heartily all earnest devotion to truth, beauty, and goodness, and rejoice in every diversity of gift whereby women may bring their special characteristics into play, and so enrich us all.”

With these words we most cordially agree in the main. But there are several remarks which we wish to make upon this subject. Miss Cobbe seems to give a preference to the true over the beautiful, and on this point she does not fully carry us along with her. Perhaps she writes with a slight prejudice ; but be this as it may, we are firmly convinced that woman's domain is pre-eminently the beautiful. We have already said, and we repeat our words, that the chief glory of woman lies in her beauty whether of body or mind, as the chief glory of man lies in his strength.* We do not for a moment mean to imply that woman cannot fully appreciate the true, or that man cannot fully appreciate the beautiful ; but that the former is more specially adapted to the character of man, and the latter to the character of woman.

It is plain, however, that to produce great works of literature, of painting, of sculpture, is a rare gift bestowed on a few favoured mortals. This is undeniable ; but the power of enjoying these creations of genius is within the reach of all. The next best thing to having written “Othello” and the “Paradise Lost,” is to be able to estimate at their full value those mighty masterpieces. Indeed, in some respects the reader has the advantage over the writer. Probably no writer of works of fiction has found so much pleasure in writing his romances as posterity has found in reading them. How, then, may we learn to love and treasure these types of the beautiful ? Chiefly by studying the standard classics of our own and other coun-

* Let this, however, be understood in strict subjection to such texts as, “Thus saith the Lord, Let not the wise man glory in his wisdom, neither let the mighty man glory in his might,

let not the rich man glory in his riches : but let him that glorieth glory in this, that he understandeth and knoweth me, that I am the Lord,” &c.—(Jer. ix. 23, 24.)—Ed.

tries; by giving up to them the time which is much less profitably spent on magazines and newspapers; by cultivating a catholic taste for every work that possesses sterling merit. It is lamentable to think that there are so many ladies who only know by name such books as the *Spectator*, the *Essay on Man*, Defoe's *Plague of London*, and the *Faëry Queen*. It should be not merely a pleasure, but a duty, to wander with Una through fairy-land, to follow the fortunes of Belinda's fated lock, to visit the radiant bowers of Eden, to listen to the thunders of Johnson, to chat with Addison over the last new fashion. It shows nearly as great want of education in an Englishwoman to be ignorant of the literature of her country, as to be ignorant of its history. Why cannot she find the same pleasure in Horace Walpole or Goldsmith as in the last number of the "*Cornhill*"?

Nor is there any conceivable reason why we should make a task of what ought to be unmixed pleasure. We find, indeed, silly prejudices which are rife at the present day on this subject, and which cannot be put down too vigorously. We are told constantly that the writers of former ages were old fogies, as if men of three centuries ago had less human hearts than we have now!—as if this were the golden age of English literature to which *non viget quidquam simile aut secundum*!—as if it were no gain to us to mark the folly and the wisdom of past times, that we may add to the stock of our experience, that we may learn to follow the one and eschew the other! It is far from being our wish to magnify the past at the expense of the present. We are as little inclined as Horace to bestow unqualified commendation on an author merely because he is a hundred years old. Nothing can be more ridiculous than to see a man sneer at his own time, and wrap himself up in the lives and the books of his forefathers. If the question of priority lay between Richardson and Dickens, we should unhesitatingly decide for Dickens; because, *ceteris paribus*, we are of opinion that the writer of our own time should have the precedence. But if the question lay between Milton and Alexander Smith, between Massinger and Henry Taylor, we should as unhesitatingly decide for Milton and Massinger.

The truth is, that there is no taste which may be so readily acquired as a taste for literature, and none assuredly which yields so rich a harvest. Among the many pleasures which our Creator has bountifully scattered for us throughout the world, this pleasure stands forth pre-eminently as one of the finest and most lasting. To be conversant with the great works of literature is to become the companion and the friend of the wise and good of all time, to be transformed into the denizen of another world, to unlock the chambers of the heart with the golden keys of joy and grief.

We fear our readers will have wearied of our ardour on this subject, and we will pass on to the consideration of another question—Why should not ladies study Latin and Greek? In a former part of this article we alluded to this question, and we would merely add a few words to what we said there. The principal argument in favour of this study is the most obvious one, that it is so excellent a training for the mind. In this respect, Latin and Greek cannot be compared in value to modern languages. If an Englishman will live in Paris for a month or two, and resolutely cut himself off from all communication with his fellow-countrymen, at the end of that time he will be able to read any French book he pleases. But to know Greek sufficiently to be able to read with ease the choruses of *Æschylus* and the speeches of *Thucydides*, demands the application of years. Half the languages of Europe might be learnt fairly in the same space of time. This we have said is the principal argument for them; and it is an argument, as *Miss Cobbe* remarked in the passage we have quoted above, which should weigh specially with us when we consider the advantages of introducing them into the education of ladies. There is, however, another argument which deserves to be noticed. The epoch of Greece and Rome is an epoch in the history of the world. We are introduced to forms of society and forms of government wholly unlike anything that has appeared since. We are introduced to a military empire and a literary empire which surpass all that modern times can offer in comparison. Greek philosophy, Greek poetry, Greek history, Greek sculpture, and Greek architecture, have exercised an immense influence over all our great thinkers and great artists. Within a certain sphere they are unsurpassed, perhaps unequalled. Is it right, then, that ladies should be so little acquainted with these wonderful communities?

We suspect that some of our readers will stand aghast at the long list of desiderata which we have drawn up. "How," they will exclaim, "can school life be sufficient to comprise so wide a range of subjects?" But is all education to cease with school life? A great and wise man said on his death-bed, that he had spent a life-time in learning one thing—his own utter ignorance. Who, then, shall say that they know enough? And what can be more ridiculous than the phrase current among young ladies, that they are finishing their education? We would not be misunderstood on this subject. We fully allow that education must always be relative; we fully agree with *Miss Cobbe*, "that the private and home duties of such women as have them are beyond all doubt their first concern, and one which, when fully met, must fully engross all their time and energies. But it is an absurdity, peculiar to the treatment of women, to go on assuming that all of them have home duties,

and tacitly treating those who have none as if they were wrongly placed on God's earth, and had nothing whatever to do in it." Do we not all know young ladies of our acquaintance who have no higher aim than the desire to be married, and no better occupation than novel-reading and crochet-work? Are there not many young ladies who do not marry till some years after they have left school; and how are they to employ those years, unless their education has taught them to do so aright? It may be that they have home duties to perform; it may be that they have works of charity which it falls within their power to further: but if this be not the case, how can they best improve the time? Unquestionably by marking out a course of studies which may fill up the many spare hours that now hang so heavy upon them. Unquestionably by turning to the best use in their power those faculties with which God has gifted them; by making the trivial round, the common task, a means for rising nearer to Heaven and to Him. The hours of ennui will then be exchanged for hours of quiet, unobtrusive search after those higher pleasures which our Creator has bestowed upon us as intelligent beings, made in His own image; the gloom of a discontented mind, unsatisfied with its narrow ideas and unworthy occupations, will give way to the bright cheerfulness which ever accompanies the consciousness that we are doing what we can to turn to account the talent that has been intrusted to us.

And here we must again revert to the case to which we have already alluded. Do young ladies realize the fact, that more than one-fourth of their sex never become wives at all? Do they strive to realize the position in which they will be placed, if, after the death of their parents, they lead a life of perpetual celibacy? Do they picture to themselves the years of loneliness, it may be, when they will be thrown on their own resources? What will it then avail them that they have attracted admiration, or enlivened a dinner-table with their ready wit? Can they really be so wilful as to close their eyes to the fact, that they need stronger stays to enable them to spend those lonely years in peace of mind and contentment with their lot? "But," it is said, "religion is sufficient." Most unquestionably religion is sufficient; and far be it from us to imply that such is not the case. Yet we should do well to remember that religion is sufficient, because it comprises duty as well as love; because it implies the fulfilment of a work, whatever that work may be, whether it consist in increasing the happiness of others, or in self-improvement. Nor is there any surer aid to our religious faith in times of sorrow and temptation, than the firm conviction that our days are not spent in vain, than the resolute application to some task which shall have for its end the glory of God. And how may we best

promote His glory;—by seizing on the opportunities which are scattered so thick around us, or by heedlessly suffering the golden hours, and months, and years to slip by in idleness?

Our readers, we feel sure, will excuse us for writing thus, if we need an excuse. Let us, then, examine the same question from another point of view. Is a sound education less useful to a married than to an unmarried lady? There can be only one answer to this inquiry; and we will illustrate our answer from our own sex. Why is it that professional men, who have received a good education, in nine cases out of ten make their way so much better than those who have not? Is it because the examinations of Oxford and Cambridge directly bear on medicine, and law, and politics? Certainly not; but because the training which the mind receives from a certain course of study is of inestimable value in preparing it for any labours on which its powers may be exerted hereafter. So, too, a lady who has received a good education will be far better fitted to perform the duties of a wife, than a lady who has wasted the most important years of her life on useless frivolities. A lady who has stored her mind with useful knowledge will be a far truer companion and helpmate to her husband, than a lady who can only criticize the Paris fashions and the rules of etiquette. If her husband be despondent, her encouragements will be loftier; if he be in perplexity, her counsel will be of far more value. Above all, wherever his duties may call him—be it to a curacy in Cornwall, or a military station in the West Indies—she will be a companion to *herself*. The hours which would have seemed so weary, had she had nothing to occupy her thoughts, will steal away imperceptibly in pleasant and instructive studies. The loss of society she will scarcely feel in the ideal society which fancy can summon around her; and though almost severed from the world, she will

“Live in a bright-beaming world of her own,
And the light that surrounds her be all from within.”

And be it observed, that in what has been said we have been setting up no ideal and impossible standard. Or if it be true that the great mass of the other sex are incapable of rising to any intellectual perfection (an argument which we totally disbelieve), can we do less than verify its truth by the test of experience? Can we do less than extend woman's sphere of action, whether she be able to improve the opportunity or no? Is it not a great mistake to argue from a prejudice which may be erroneous, and cannot but be unfair? It would seem, to judge by ordinary opinion, as if everything that deserves the name of work were reserved for man; as if woman, in her course through life, aspired to nought higher than the song and the dance; her heaviest anxiety the choice of a new silk, her severest labour the perusal of a three-volume novel.

But we hope for better things. We hope that the sneers against woman's condition have ceased with the sarcastic criticisms of Byron, and that she will no longer suffer the imputation of having proved false to her sex because she can explain the causes of the French revolution, or master a proposition in Euclid. If this idle fancy be once set aside, we venture to say that nine-tenths of the ladies of the present day may triple and quadruple their knowledge and their reading without drawing from their gentlemen friends the faintest whisper of a suggestion that they are over-wise.

Our readers will see that we have refrained as far as possible from introducing religious considerations into our remarks on this subject, partly because our readers will be best able to supply this deficiency for themselves; partly because we incline to think that, strictly speaking, this question belongs more properly to morality than to religion. The fact that, as rational and responsible beings, we have a work to perform which it behoves us to do with our might, has been the great principle of all moralists, from the two chief philosophers of heathendom to the present day. Nothing is more strongly insisted on by Aristotle than the worthlessness of that dormant state of moral existence in which we sink to the level of the Seven Sleepers; and Christian revelation has only set this truth forth in a still stronger light. Unless we can honestly say that we are striving to act up to this principle, we cannot claim to have fulfilled the higher law of our being. Life in man or woman is worse than wasted unless we live to God.

Here we must part with Miss Cobbe. We are forced to waive the discussion of many interesting questions which she has started, and which we would gladly have noticed. We admire her spirit in speaking out so boldly; and we admire the ability and eloquence with which she has enforced her arguments. And we trust most sincerely that her labours will not have been in vain; that the time is not far distant, when Wordsworth's noble type of womanhood shall be the rule and not the exception—

“A being breathing thoughtful breath,
A traveller between life and death;
The reason firm, the temperate will,
Endurance, foresight, strength, and skill;
A perfect woman, nobly planned,
To warn, to comfort, and command.”

OXONIENSIS.

ON THE MEANS OF PROMOTING THE STUDY OF THEOLOGY.

It has been stated, though perhaps it may be difficult to determine with what exact degree of truth, that, at the bishops' examination for Holy orders, the candidates from our theological colleges, as St. Beghs and St. Aidans, acquit themselves more satisfactorily than those from the two great English Universities. Considering that still by far the larger proportion of clergy are educated at Oxford and Cambridge,—that these two great national seats of education possess advantages for disseminating learning unrivalled by any other institution in the world,—we may well ask, Are the Universities content that thus it should be? Are they content that there should be a continual complaint that the clergy, as a whole, whom they send forth, are deficient in a thoroughly sound knowledge of theology? Something surely ought to be done, and *by them*, if they wish still to hold that honourable position which they have so long held, of being the educators and instructors, not only of the nobility and gentry of England, but also of the clergy, the spiritual guides and teachers of England. It is our desire, in no dogmatic or captious spirit, but simply out of the sincere and hearty love which we bear to the Church of England, to sketch in outline something like a scheme which we think the Universities might adopt for the furtherance and promotion of theological learning.

At present, the amount of theological knowledge required at Oxford is about as small as it can possibly be. The four Gospels in Greek are alone required at *Moderations*. Add to this, for the final examination, the Acts of the Apostles, the Old and New Testament History, the Articles, with Scripture proofs, and we have the sum total of divinity required for the degree of Bachelor of Arts, whether the candidates be pass-men or class-men. There are, undoubtedly, able lectures delivered by the Divinity professors, on *Hebrew*, on *Ecclesiastical History*, on *Pastoral Theology*; and a certificate of attendance at one, if not two, of these courses of lectures, is required by most of the bishops; but what amount of knowledge the student has gained from the lectures—whether he has really gained any at all—there is no test whatever. A certificate of attendance alone is required.

Now, there have been, for the last fifteen years, at Oxford, three separate schools, through one of which, in addition to the classical school, every undergraduate must pass before he can

attain his degree.* These three schools are, as is commonly known, the schools of Mathematics, of Natural Science, and of Law and History. Why should there not be a Divinity School, which the student might have the option of passing, as he has now the option out of the other three? Would there not be many who in all probability, especially if they had any intention of taking holy orders, would pass through this school out of preference? Would not the bishops (supposing that the system worked well) require the candidates from the University of Oxford to have passed this school before they present themselves for ordination?

That classes should be given in this, just as in the other schools—that a first or second-class man in divinity should be considered to have gained an equal honour and distinction with a first or second-class man in law or in natural science—would be highly desirable; and thus the standard in theological knowledge might be kept quite as high as the standard in other subjects. If a man were required, either for a pass or a class, to know as much about theology as he is now required to know about law and history at Oxford, it assuredly would be a great gain.

What books and subjects should be chosen in the wide field of theology, it would be presumptuous in us to dictate; but a thorough mastery of the original text of the New Testament (half of which is supposed to have been already mastered in the previous classical examination), and a sound knowledge of the Evidences, of the history of the first three centuries, and of the period of the Reformation, is indispensable. Something like this we would desire for the mere pass-examination. For honours, there might be a most abundant choice of reading. The original language of the Old Testament might most advantageously be included, and recommended, though perhaps not demanded as a necessity. The Septuagint likewise might be added to the list. But, in the history of the Christian Church—the influences which it has exercised in all ages for good or for evil—the birth, the growth, the extinction of heresies—the rise and rapid development of almost universal darkness and error—the perpetual protest, from some quarter or other, against this error,—what instructive and useful lessons are afforded here! An acquaintance, too, with some of the best of the Fathers—as Irenæus, or Augustine, or Ambrose, or Chrysostom—together with some of the ablest writers of our own Church, especially of the Reformation period, would do much to open men's eyes to things of which too many are at present ignorant, and which they care not to examine. Yet, surely,

* By a recent statute of the University, those who have taken a first, second, or third class in the Final Classical School are exempted from any further examination.

the clergy *ought* to know the doctrines of the Church, as taught by her best and noblest servants in the purest ages; and they *ought* to know the doctrines of that reformed branch of the Church—the Church of England, to which they belong—the doctrines of those who reformed her, and who, for the most part, composed and compiled her formularies.

We do feel that at present there is a lamentable negligence, if not ignorance, of the literature of the Reformation. Too many are content with the mere outlines of its history. To read the Reformers themselves, to study and digest them, is what few attempt, and perhaps few have time for, amid their parochial visits, and the composition of two or three sermons a week. Yet some knowledge of the writings of the Reformers is absolutely necessary for rightly understanding the doctrines of the Church of England—the feelings which animated those who reformed her.

Well would it be for some of those that flatter themselves that they are the best Churchmen who, by tinsel decorations and flaming altar-lights, bring the services of the Church of England as near as they can to the ritual of Rome, to have marked and learned such a passage as the following from the sermons of brave old Latimer:—"Where the devil is resident and hath his plough going, there away with books, and up with candles: away with bibles, and up with beads: away with the light of the Gospel, and up with the light of candles, yea, at noon-days. Where the devil is resident, that he may prevail, up with all superstition and idolatry, censing, painting of images, candles, palms, ashes, holy water, and new service of men's inventing, as though man could invent a better way to honour God with than God himself hath appointed. Down with Christ's cross, up with purgatory pick-purse—the popish purgatory, I mean. Away with clothing the naked, the poor, and impotent; up with decking of images and gay garnishing of stocks and stones. Up with man's traditions and his laws, down with God's traditions and His most Holy Word."*

Dr. Arnold, in reference to Tractarian views and practices, has said,† "I call all this Judaizing a direct idolatry—it is exalting the Church and the sacraments into the place of Christ, as others have exalted His mother, and others, in the same spirit, exalted circumcision. We, too, cannot but wish that they who use language very like popery about the holy communion should, before they take orders, have read and pondered such sentences as these, which we again quote from Latimer:—

"Then let us trust upon His only death, and look for none other sacrifice propitiatory, than the same bloody sacrifice, the

* Latimer, Sixth Sermon on the Plough. Parker Society's edit., pp. 70, 71.

† Dr. Arnold's Letter to Rev. J. Hearne, p. 152.

lively sacrifice and not the dry sacrifice, but a bloody sacrifice. For Christ himself said, *consummatum est*—It is perfectly finished. I have taken at my Father's hand the dispensation of redeeming mankind. I have wrought man's redemption, and dispatched the matter. Why, then, mingle ye Him? Why do ye divide Him? Why make you of Him more sacrifices than one. Paul saith, *Pascha nostrum immolatus est Christus*.—Christ our passover is offered. So that the thing is done, and Christ hath done it, and done it *semel*, once for all; and it was a bloody sacrifice, not a dry sacrifice. Why, then, it is not the mass that availeth or profiteth for the quick and dead."*

By thus instituting a Divinity school similar to the schools of Mathematics, Natural Science, and Law and History, and compelling men to read some good sound first-class divines, we think Oxford might do much for the encouragement of a theologically educated clergy; and surely the bishops would give their assistance by requiring candidates from that university to have passed through this Divinity school, as now nearly all of them require Cambridge men to have passed the Voluntary.

It may be urged by some, that the voluntary theological examination at Cambridge has not been productive of the fruits that were expected—that many have, upon the whole, pronounced it a failure. That there is plenty of room for improvement at Cambridge, we are thoroughly aware; and we are not quite sure whether it might not be advisable that men should be allowed to proceed to their degree after taking honours in divinity, as they are now allowed after taking honours in classics, without passing the mathematical examination. To have passed a really searching examination in theology necessarily implies a fair acquaintance with classics, and it would be perfectly easy for the university to insist upon the candidates bringing up one Latin and one Greek Christian author at least in addition to the Greek Testament.

At this time, when there are hundreds of parishes needing additional clergymen, and when the supply is by no means equal to the demand, the bishops are almost forced to be content with the proficiency which the universities afford. They cannot help themselves. They cannot make a man learn more than the universities profess to teach. They are obliged to accept, as thankfully as they may, the standard of theology which the university has required. What, in fact, can they do if they are not content? They may reject a man on the ground that he is not duly prepared; but where are they to send him in order that he may be duly prepared? They can-

* Latimer's Sermons, pages 73, 74.

not send him back to the university; the university has passed him. They can only advise him to read with some experienced clergyman, or enter some theological college, where he shall receive better instruction. And what is this but confessing that the university has granted a degree to one who, on account of his theological ignorance, does not deserve it?

Let, then, those who feel the importance of this weighty matter at the universities take it in hand. Neither Oxford nor Cambridge has been afraid, of late years, of promulgating changes in the examination statutes. Can they deny, but Oxford more particularly, that there is great need of change and reformation here?

In making these remarks, we are not for a moment forgetful that there are other requirements for an able and successful minister of the Gospel, apart from which knowledge availeth nothing. We are sure that he who studiously uses his Bible, and seeks for wisdom from above, will be by far the best minister. Yet, thoroughly to understand the Word, is necessary before a man can truly dispense the Word; and the Bible ought to be studied by a clergyman, or one who purposes to be a clergyman, with all the help that philological, historical, and antiquarian works afford.* To the universities we turn for help: we entreat them more heartily to labour for that which they continually ask of God, when they pray that whatever tends in them "to the advancement of sound religion or useful learning may for ever flourish and abound." To each of them we would say, "Arise! for this matter belongeth unto thee: we will also be with thee: be of good courage, and do it."†

T. C. O.

CORRESPONDENCE.

POOR BENEFICES.

To the Editor of the Christian Observer.

DEAR SIR,—In your May number, under the article "Public Affairs," you have the following passage:—

"Already the commissioners have discovered that they have it in their power, by a rigid economy in other matters, to raise all livings under £300 a-year, having a population of 4000, to that sum as their minimum; and in four or five years from the present time, the clergy are promised that all benefices, whatever their population may be, shall be raised to £300 a-year."

I am sorry to say that all that the commissioners hope to accomplish in five years is to raise unconditionally to £300 a-year the income of every benefice in *public patronage* which now exists, and has,

* *Vide* Dr. Arnold's Letter to T. F. Ellis, Esq., p. 86. † *Ezra* x. 4.

according to the census of 1861, a population of 4000 persons. Livings which are under £300 a-year, and differently circumstanced, must look for augmentation through other sources than the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, who will help to the extent of meeting a capital sum subscribed by the granting of a perpetual annuity equal to the interest of the benefaction.

It will be very advisable to correct the mistatement which has been inadvertently made, as the error may tend to raise expectations which will not be realized, and will inflict a serious injury on the Poor Benefice Fund Societies which are everywhere established.—Obediently yours,

NASH STEPHENSON.

Shirley, Birmingham ; 13th June, 1865.

THE SIMONY QUESTION.

To the Editor of the Christian Observer.

SIR,—In a dusty pigeon-hole I find the following rough notes, thrown together many years ago, as the basis of a paper intended for the *Christian Observer* ; but the paper was not written, as the bishops and clergy were then almost unanimous in opposing any modification of the laws anent Simony, and the discussion was thought at least premature. Perhaps now that the question has assumed another phase, these fragmental suggestions may interest some of your readers. I send them rough as I find them.

NEMO.

“Lord Chancellor Brougham says, ‘The octogenarian clergymen are the plague of my life.’ They are (and no fault of theirs) the plague of every body’s life. They have lost their vigour; perhaps their voice, hearing, and eyesight. They are often so poor that to have a curate is a heavy burden to them; they have no heart to begin anything new, and which they are not likely to see finished; and often they have not the means of doing so if the improvement involves expence. The parsonage house, glebe, and chancel are getting out of repair; schools are wanted, and various other things; and they are harassed by demands upon them, often most unreasonable; and yet they cannot retire from their post; for, if they do, they must starve, having little or no private income, and subject to many liabilities. The best curate in the world cannot supply their involuntary lack of service. The responsibilities and expences of their position cleave to them to their dying hour; and often leave serious difficulties to those who come after them. These evils might be avoided by allowing incumbents to retire at a certain age, or under other specified circumstances of health, &c., and with suitable conditions and consents, upon an annuity from the profits of the benefice. It needs only be agreed that the patron shall present his nominee, Mr. Freeman, at once to the benefice; Mr. Freeman, the patron, and the incumbent fixing the pecuniary terms of the transaction; the bishop seeing no objection; or, if any objection is urged, there being an appeal to the archbishop, or to the Privy Council. Mr. Freeman being in vigorous life, and able either from his own resources, or by stirring up others, to do much that a man on the brink of the grave could not attempt, com-

mences his work; schools, societies, and other pastoral machinery grow up under his hands; and when Septuagenarius dies, instead of dilapidated house, glebe, and chancel, and a parish in ecclesiastical and spiritual ruination, everything has been repaired; a school, or schools, perhaps a needed church, has been built; and Freeman can now go on with his labours with an augmented income. Everybody has been benefitted and nobody hurt by this arrangement.

"But then starts up the bugbear of Simony. Is there anything in this so simoniacal as in the sale or barter of advowsons and presentations; the permission of bonds of resignation, or the often proposed scheme of presenting a clergyman to a chapel on condition of his raising so much towards its erection and endowment? Bad men will do bad things under every possible arrangement; but the chief probable objections may be foreseen and provided against. The retiring superannuated clergyman must not be allowed to take another benefice. If the transaction was allowed at an earlier age under the plea of permanent inability, and the party recovered his health, he must give up his retiring annuity, and so many years must elapse before he was admissible to another benefice. No patron should be allowed to present to the vacated benefice, if the patronage had been purchased within so many years. Bishops and other official patrons should be prevented making unfair patronage or merchandise of their trust, by a few obvious regulations—the age of the retiring party, and *the sanction of the Archbishop and Privy Council*, being required; and as an official patron does not hold patronage for selfish ends, the succeeding patron would have no fair reason for complaint upon public grounds, if a few aged or inefficient incumbents of cures of souls had been superseded; and his turn of office would balance the matter. It would, in the end, be as broad as it is long."

POETRY.

PSALM XLIII. 3—5.

SEND out thy light and truth, O Lord! throughout the dark wide earth
To call thy people to thy courts with sacred joy and mirth,
Unto thy tabernacles, Lord, unto thy holy hill,
With shout and song and hymn of praise thy temple gates to fill.

Unto the altar of my God I will with homage go,
From heart and harp in unison my grateful praise shall flow,
To God the gladness of my joy, Exceeding Great Reward!
To God, my God! my sun and shield, and my salvation's sword!

O why art thou cast down, my soul, disquieted within?
Fear not the flood, fear not the flame of conscience-scorching sin;
Still hope in God, for thou shalt praise the ever precious blood—
The health of thy glad countenance—thy Saviour and thy God!

M. N. C.

NOTICES OF NEW BOOKS.

Two Years After and Onwards, or the approaching War amongst the Powers of Europe. By the Author of the Coming Struggle. London: Houlston and Wright. 1864.—In this volume the prophecies, symbolized in the book of Revelations by the outpouring of the sixth and seventh vials, are attempted to be explained and interpreted. In some preliminary observations the author takes the opportunity of distinguishing between an explanation and a revelation of Scripture. The observation is appropriate, but it seems to us that the author himself has occasionally fallen into the fault of speaking in positive terms of forthcoming events which are not so distinctly stated in Scripture, but that many sincerely Christian have widely opposite views on the subject.

Passing over this blemish, (and it is a blemish which few books on such subjects are free from,) we will briefly draw our readers' attention to the author's explanation of the outpouring of the sixth and seventh vials: for, in regard to the first five, it is generally believed that their contents are already exhausted.

To enter into details, would be to abstract the real and chief interest of the book. We refer, of course, to the means by which the anticipated events are to be brought about, and the proximate causes from which they are to result.

The author's opinion, then, is—that Turkey will be crushed by Russia. That in the immediate neighbourhood of Jerusalem—the valley of Jehoshaphat—the Russian and English hosts will meet in mortal strife, and then and there the Son of Man will appear. That the Jews will previously colonize Judea, and that Russia will become the master of Europe. At the same time it should be clearly understood, that the author's opinion is, that our Saviour's second coming takes place at the destruction of Antichrist, *i. e.* the end of the antichristian world, and not at the end of the millennium.

For further information we must refer our readers to the book itself, which will well repay perusal.

The Glory of God in Man: Four Sermons preached before the University of Cambridge, in October, 1864. By E. H. Gifford, D.D., Honorary Canon of Worcester, late Head Master of King Edward's School, Birmingham, formerly Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge. Cambridge and London: Macmillan & Co. 1865.—The title of the volume before us is one that immediately recalls to our mind the great controversy now being carried on between the Broad Church party and their opponents—*viz.* whether man still retains the image of God, and in himself is capable of good; or whether, after all, the Bible is right, when it assures us that man is born in sin and a child of wrath. But we have not to get far into the first sermon, on "The Unrighteousness of Man," before we come to an explicit statement of the Author's views on this subject. He thinks that man, after the Fall, is still made in the image of God, and by virtue of this

image he is still God's noblest creature upon earth; but "fallen it is true, and the truth cannot be too often repeated, fallen very far from his high estate." And then he goes on to inform his hearers that the best way to meet "that false and impious deification of man which assumes that God finds His conscious existence only in man,—that we ourselves, and we alone, are the inscrutable mystery of God," is to appeal to the testimony of Scripture, and to set forth the Scriptural truth which this doctrine perverts. Having set our minds at rest as to the object and aim of the four sermons before us, we will give our readers a short sketch of each separately; and we feel assured that many of those who heard them will be glad to refresh their memories by a quiet perusal of them.

The first of the course is on the words, "For all have sinned and come short of the glory of God;" and the object of the discourse seems to be, to point out what is meant by the glory of God, and *coming short* of this glory—i. e., as shown by several texts, and appealing to the original, "to be in want of." That God being a God of love, man, if in a pure and holy state, and if he were entirely in the image of God, would love God; and then, "if we remember how the love of man is based upon the love of God, we see that without the love of God there can be no true and holy human love, and therefore no happiness for man even in this life;" and thus we see that, the heart being estranged from Divine love, we find the chief element in that loss which the Apostle describes as "coming short of the glory of God." And then, quoting the description of the heathen in the first chapter, he asks the significant question, "Is this, then, the being that is made in the image of God? And is that Divine image, or any portion of it, still undestroyed?"

The second discourse, on "The Righteousness of God," founded on Romans iii. 21—26, is not so much a treatise on that righteousness, as an attempt to show man's need of it, and what it will accomplish for him; which will be best explained by a short quotation:—"As, therefore, against the unrighteousness of man St. Paul sets the righteousness of God—as against *works*, which lead only to condemnation, he sets *faith*, which God accounts for righteousness—so now, against the *law*, which demands righteousness, he sets *grace*, which bestows it. Man can claim nothing from God as a reward, but whatever is bestowed must be as a free gift." And he then proceeds to set forth clearly the necessity of an atonement, and the love of God in devising it, and to overthrow, in a clear and brief manner, the various objections that have been urged against the doctrine of the vicarious sacrifice of Christ.

It would be needless to epitomize the two remaining sermons, on "Life in Christ," and "The Love of the Spirit;" nor would it be possible so to do in our limited space. Suffice it to say, that they contain all the fundamental truths necessary for the acceptance of the benefits arising from a life in Christ and the love of the Spirit. We may just notice, that there is an interesting discussion on the much-disputed expression, "Christ died *for us*," whether it should be understood as meaning that He died in our *behalf*, or that He died strictly in our *stead*. Dr. Gifford favours the meaning that Christ died in our *behalf*; arguing that mere substitution does not necessarily imply a kindred nature, as in the case of the ram offered in the *stead*

of Isaac, and that mere substitution does not necessarily imply a benefit, nor necessarily does it imply love; whereas, when the "Scriptures speak of Christ dying *for us*, they imply His union with us in a common nature, they imply the benefit received by us of reconciliation to God's favour, and above all they imply the self-sacrificing love of Him who died to confer that benefit upon us." Much more might be quoted from these four sermons, which are written in a clear, argumentative style, to show how the Author exposes and refutes the fallacies of those who deny the fall of man, the inspiration of the Bible, and the necessity of an Atonement; but sufficient has been culled, we hope, to show, that while our universities permit a great deal of poison to be disseminated amongst our young men, at the same time they, to a great extent, supply the antidote; and we may remark, that from the pulpit of St. Mary's many able discourses have been delivered by masters of large public schools. Dr. Vaughan of Harrow, Dr. Howson of the Liverpool College, and Dr. Gifford, lately of Birmingham, are now amongst the most popular preachers at Cambridge; and although the sermons delivered differ somewhat in talent, and also in clearness of doctrine, yet we cannot but be thankful that so much of what is good emanates from men who are or were in high positions at our public schools. We trust that it may prove a harbinger of better things to come with respect to the religious education given to our boys, which hitherto has been so miserably neglected. Many a young man has in consequence set out at college entirely without a landmark, with scarce any knowledge of his Bible, and therefore easily tossed about by every wind of doctrine. If the Universities will encourage men of piety and wisdom as their preachers, we cannot doubt much of the present evil will be remedied; and if those who now occupy the place of such men as we have mentioned will explain to those under their charge the Scriptures in St. Mary's Church, we doubt not but that there will soon be less of this disgraceful evil to be remedied.

We are much struck with the simple eloquence of these lectures, and still more with the earnest and reverential spirit which pervades them. But we cannot accept the learned author's doctrinal views on several points of vital moment; and it is of the more importance that we should mention this, because he is, if we mistake not, entrusted with some of the doctrinal epistles in the new or Archbishop's Bible, from which so much is expected, and in which so many excellent men (Mr. Birks for one) are engaged. We cannot admit the correctness of this sentence, "God gives us, in His holy sacraments, all needful grace and strength for the work to which He calls us; but we must be fellow-workers with Him. The assent of our will to His gracious purpose, the belief of His promises, the use of His gifts—these are what He requires of us." (p. 78.) Neither can we admit that, because St. Paul, writing to the Corinthians, says, "If any man defile the temple of God, him shall God destroy, for the temple of God is holy, which temple *ye* are," therefore "in some real and solemn sense we must believe that the Holy Ghost has been given to *every man* who has been made by baptism a member of Christ." (p. 100.) We think it a far more natural, as well as theologically a far safer and more correct interpretation, to expound it thus:—"Many of you are living in grievous sin; and yet, being nominal Christians, you profess

to be the temples of the Holy Ghost, and your sin is increased by this your profession. But in works ye are disobedient, and show no proof that ye ever received the grace of God in truth. Remember the ancient Israel. They were *all baptized* unto Moses in the cloud and in the sea; but with many of them God was not well pleased. He swore in wrath that they should not enter into His rest, and *their carcasses fell in the wilderness.*"

A Night in the Snow: Or a Struggle for Life. By the Rev. E. Donald Carr. James Nisbet and Co., London.—The marvellous escape of Mr. Carr from being frozen to death in the terrific snow storm of the 27th of January last, is still fresh in the memory of all who read in the columns of the newspapers the short but graphic account of the perilous night he spent in trying to find his way across the Long Mynd mountain of Shropshire. In the little book now before us, Mr. Carr gives us a detailed account of the perils he passed through, and the suffering he endured on that memorable night. It may well be called "a battle for life;" few men could have undergone the amount of physical suffering which he so bravely struggled against; and had it not been for his unprecedented energy, and God's good providence, he would never have survived to tell the tale of how he passed a night in the snow. The profits from the sale of this work are to be devoted to the restoration of Woolstaston Church, of which Mr. Carr is the Rector, and we are sure that it will be read with deep interest.

PUBLIC AFFAIRS.

THE last session of the old Parliament is drawing to a close, and within a month we shall be in the turmoil of the new elections. Fifty years ago, Legh Richmond and others dissuaded serious professors of religion, and especially the clergy, from taking any part in politics. We do not repeat their arguments, for we by no means adopt the principle. We think that the Christian man, whether clergyman or layman, amongst other duties which he owes to society, is under the strongest obligation to use all his political influence, especially at the time of elections, and to take care that he use it well. And yet the difference between these excellent men and ourselves is not so great as it may at first sight appear. What they were afraid of was, that pious people should be found addressing a noisy rabble at the hustings, or a drunken crowd of excited partisans in the committee-room or the public-house. We mean something very different when we speak in these days of political influence. We would have it fearlessly exercised even in the pulpit. The Christian minister loses sight of his true dignity and of his lawful calling, if he ventures upon what are properly called party politics; such, for instance, as the extension of the franchise, or the relative merits of a Liberal or a Conservative administration: but he is never more clearly within his own boundaries than when he insists upon the duty of all Christian electors to choose

out men of piety for their representatives—men who will do their utmost to promote a Christian education, and no other, whether in our universities or in the lowest of our ragged schools; who will resist to the utmost the aggressions of popery, now so shamefully connived at, if not openly encouraged; who will promote all that tends to the virtue and happiness of this great nation—for instance, the observance of the Lord's day, the suppression of intemperance, and the welfare, we will add, of the National Church. It is true that all these points may be handled rashly in the pulpit. So they may, and so may many others of perhaps greater moment, which still no man thinks it right to exclude from the wide circle of pastoral instructions; but the minister of Christ should have so learned Christ as to be able to infuse the true spirit of his master even into discussions such as these. It may be a difficult work, but in these times it is a work that must be done. Within the last month, painful are the evidences which the expiring Parliament has given us of its indifference to the growth of popery, and of its dislike to those venerable institutions where sound learning is professedly taught only in connection with the pure faith of our Reformed Church, and where public prayer is wont to be made "for the king's most honourable council, and for all the nobility and magistrates of the realm, that all and every of these, in their several callings, may serve truly and painfully to the glory of God and the edifying and well governing of His people, remembering the solemn account that they must make; also for the whole Commons of this realm, that they may live in the true faith and fear of God, in humble obedience to the king, and brotherly charity one to another." (See Canon 55.)

We have been for some time aware that a project was on foot for establishing a Church of England College on sound Protestant, that is, distinctly Evangelical principles, (for we plead guilty to no sectarianism,) in the neighbourhood of London. Although great names entitled to our highest respect were connected with it, we confess that we regarded the movement at first with some dissatisfaction. We thought that the students would have, if we may so express it, a sort of hot-house education; that wanting the rough breezes, conflicts, and collisions of the university, they would grow up feeble-minded or self-sufficient men. But recent events have shown us too plainly that the scheme was a wise one, and that it was introduced to the public not a day too soon. We did not calculate upon the hollowness of our House of Commons. We did not believe that, in the rush of loose principles and infidel sectarianism, even within our own Church, the time was so near when it would come to be disputed whether our ancient universities should any longer be religious foundations, and gravely proposed that religion should be banished from their studies, or rather from their *statutes*, and left to take its chance, not only with every species of dissent, but with every kind of natural science. Yet all this has come to pass; and it is highly probable that the new Church of England College, now established at St. John's Wood on a scale of considerable grandeur, will be the only seat of learning to which our young men can be sent to receive a pious as well as a learned education to fit them for the ministry. It has been very liberally endowed by a few wealthy members of our Church, who make their wealth sub-

servient to the glory of God ; and it seems to be conducted on very liberal principles. We have received a circular letter inviting us to mention the names of pious young men wanting assistance, with a promise of scholarships to those who are found deserving of them. If we understand the circular alluded to, it is not the very poor student, but the son of the merchant or tradesman in middling circumstances, whom it has specially in view ; and from no class of society can the Church of England look for a more abundant or a better qualified body of spiritual labourers. The new college at St. John's Wood has our best wishes for its entire success.

Of news from abroad, we have none of much importance. The Maori war is not concluded. Our relations with Japan are in a more promising state. But we cannot forbear expressing a wish that our colonial secretaries would write and act with more consideration for our colonies, even where they are decidedly wrong. Our persistence in the plan of sending convicts to New Holland or Western Australia has produced a degree of irritation, totally disproportioned, it may be, to the injury anticipated, but yet nothing more than a wise home government ought to have foreseen. With Canada, we are happy to say, a perfectly good understanding once more prevails.

The Southern States of America, now that they are once more open to English travellers, present a dismal spectacle of the consequences of civil war. The country is laid waste ; the gentry are ruined ; and the slaves are rebellious. They cannot understand that, being emancipated, their masters are no longer obliged to feed and clothe them ; they expect to be maintained in a life of idleness. This is but natural ; for their reasoning is that of children, or rather perhaps of savages. Collisions with the military have taken place, and some of the negroes have been " burnt " or shot. The South is conquered ; but its restoration to the Union seems at present to be a task too great for those who rule in the Northern States.

Against Jefferson Davis the monstrous charge of having been concerned in the plot for the assassination of President Lincoln has been abandoned. It was evidently introduced without a shadow of evidence, solely to inflame the passions of the people ; yet he is brought to his trial on the charge of treason. We can scarcely believe that the Federal government will dare to put him to death. But there is no knowing to what excesses a wild spirit of revenge will not lead them. If it should be so, the day of his execution will be a day of mourning in England, though President Davis was no friend to this country. It will be the greatest outrage committed against the society of nations since Louis XVI. and his beauteous wife fell beneath the guillotine. Queen Elizabeth has given us a precedent how to act. After the massacre of the Huguenots, when the French ambassador desired an audience to justify or explain away the atrocity, he found the Queen and all her Court dressed in the deepest mourning ; a solemn silence prevailed ; a frown was on every face, except on that of the Queen and her ladies, whose eyes were turned to the ground with an expression of the deepest sorrow. The French ambassador, writing to his court, admits that he was utterly disconcerted, and retired abashed. Such an audience ought the American ambassador to receive from Queen Victoria, should Jefferson Davis be put to a felon's death.

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CHRISTIAN CERTAINTY.

Christian Certainty. By Samuel Wainwright, Vicar of Holy Trinity, Micklegate, York. Hatchard and Co., London.

“A SYNOPSIS of the Christian Evidences” would be no untrue title for this work. It brings together and presents in one view such an accumulation of proofs of the truth of the Bible, as we never remember to have met with before. The author has evidently read a great deal, and thought a great deal, upon the subject; while, in his manner of treating it, he has as evidently aimed to give to truth all the *force of truth*.

The credulity of Scepticism is one of the most marked characteristics of that malady—a symptom at once of the existence of the disease, and an evidence that there is some wrong action of the heart. When a man can believe (as most sceptics do) almost anything without proof that seems to contravene the statements of the Bible, and yet can question here where he cannot disprove, it shows a weakness of judgment indicative rather of the want of soundness of mind than of the possession of superior sense. No one is required by Scripture to believe without reason, but only upon sufficient reason. Provision is made for this in the nature of the Christian evidences themselves. Of this we have proof in the words of St. Luke, which Mr. Wainwright has taken as the motto of his work:—“That thou mightest know *the Certainty* of those things wherein thou hast been instructed.”

A question may naturally be raised as to what constitutes “*certainty*.” This, as a matter of course, varies with the nature of the things to which it relates. I cannot expect to have the same certainty, or, rather, kind of certainty, of the

existence of such a country as New Zealand, which I have never seen, as I have of the existence of my own hand with which I am now writing. Moral certainty, and ocular certainty are two very different things. The certainty of scientific experiment is not equal to the certainty of my own consciousness. There may be mistakes on my part as to the causes of the observed results. The certainty that arises out of geological discoveries must necessarily be far less than that which is grounded upon known and unmistakeable facts. This certainty varies both in kind and in degree. There is no certainty of an external kind which comes nearer to absolute certainty than history, written by the very persons who witnessed the facts recorded, and had no possible motive for stating anything but what was strictly true: and this is just the kind of certainty which we have of the truth of the Scripture records. It is the certainty of "*eye-witnesses*."

In founding moral lessons and great spiritual facts upon the basis of human history, the All-Wise seems to have consulted for the unchanging security of the truth which he would impart to mankind. Had religion been made to rest upon opinion, or upon the progressive sense of the human race, or upon any of those external influences which are always varying, it would necessarily, in a measure, have been uncertain, doubtful, liable to directly opposite apprehensions; but, by being fossilized in the facts of history, it remains from age to age the same. The facts recorded by eye-witnesses respecting the exodus of the Israelites out of Egypt, their passage through the Red Sea, their journeys through the Wilderness, the manner in which they were sustained for forty years, their settlement at last in the land of Canaan, connected as they are with observances that continue to this day: or again, the facts respecting our Lord and Saviour, His wonderful birth, His superhuman wisdom, His miracles, His death, His burial, His resurrection, His ascension into heaven,—will ever remain certain, *because they are facts*, and cannot be changed.

It is a point that ought never to be overlooked when we are considering the question of the truth of the Scriptures, that the facts which the Bible records would, most of them, be just as much facts, if the religion of the Bible were proved to be a fiction. The facts, to wit, of man's creation as a being of a peculiar order, and of his condition as a sinful creature, conscious of his need of a Redeemer, exist apart from the Bible, constituting in themselves a great mystery, and all that the Bible really does is to give the solution of that mystery. Unless some other and better solution can be given of it, men are bound to receive the solution which the Bible supplies, or they put themselves not only out of the pale of Faith, but out of the pale of Reason.

The Bible is too often treated as if it were the cause of the existence of evil, whereas it only accounts for it, and informs us how it may be done away. If any one would see how true the Bible is to the facts of human nature, he has only to read the third chapter of Genesis, and to compare it with what he observes and knows respecting the human race. The tendency of mankind to desire whatever is forbidden; the innate curiosity of the woman to know evil when it presents itself under the fascinating form of good; the pains she has to undergo now, peculiar to womankind, in parturition; her subjection to her husband; the shame that ever attends conscious guilt; the spirit of self-justification that ever manifests itself in both man and woman when they have done wrong, and their disposition to cast the blame each upon the other rather than upon themselves; the curse of toil and sorrow that lies upon mankind for their sin; the felt necessity for some vicarious sacrifice to satisfy offended Justice, exhibited first by the two sons of Adam, according to the Scripture account, and at all events known to be universal now among mankind: these, and other like things, are facts that exist independently of Revelation, and would remain even if no Divine Revelation were asserted. The Bible, then, ought not to be charged with the mysteries of man's condition; but credit ought rather to be given to it for dealing with an existent state of things in a way peculiar to itself, which claims to be Divine, which commends itself to every man's conscience if unsophisticated, and which is actually found to be effectual wherever it is received in real faith.

There are some things which must be *certain*, because they *exist*; there are other things which are also certain, only in a different way, because they have been *done*. If we could not rely upon authentic history with regard to the past, we should know absolutely nothing but what was taking place before us at the present moment. We all believe, without question, in the far greater part of profane history; why should we not equally believe in sacred history, viewed simply as history? If the one is worthy of our credit, surely much more is the other, not because it is called "*sacred*," but because we have good reason for believing it to have been Divinely inspired.

No sensible Christian man would ever think of requiring belief without some sort of evidence or proof. "Try all things—hold fast that which is good," is the instruction given us by Scripture itself. Evidence for the truth of Christianity *ought* to be demanded; statements *ought* to be sifted; no one *ought* to allow to be imposed upon his belief things that may not be true. But then the Bible carries in it other evidence of its Divine origin than that of the history of supernatural occurrences. It has an evidence of its own, a *moral* evidence;

in the spirit which it breathes. This must be allowed its due (not undue) influence in determining the judgment. I may feel quite certain of a thing, though I cannot tell exactly what makes me feel certain. *Moral* certainty is one great part of the certainty that attaches to Christianity.

But it is time that we should give some account of the book which we have undertaken to review. It is entitled "*Christian Certainty*." The author of this work confines himself to no one department of the evidence for the truth of Christianity. He goes over the whole ground on which objections have been raised. Beginning at the beginning, he first meets the admitted "difficulties" that exist in regard both to the matter and the manner of Divine Revelation; then the "doubts" that have been grounded on these in a variety of particulars; then the various "sophisms" to which sceptics have resorted to shake the belief of others in the Bible, and to justify their own disbelief; till he comes at last to what he terms the "certainty" of Revelation, where he piles Ossa upon Pelion, till he absolutely overwhelms the objector with proofs, and crushes him down in the dust.

The first objector whom our author handles is Bishop Colenso, and short work does he make of him. He demolishes his objections one by one, till he leaves him not a leg to stand upon. It is really instructive to see how they who sneer at the Mosaic records, as old wives' fables, bow in abject reverence before Egyptian mysteries of three thousand years antiquity; and how they who have cast off faith in Holy Scripture believe, upon the slightest possible grounds, in the insuperableness of any shallow difficulty raised by the sceptic; as if there could be no truth where it lies not palpable upon the surface. Thus it is that Scepticism and Credulity are found to meet. Upon such minds as Dr. Colenso's reasoning is lost, and nothing is likely to have any effect, except it be ridicule. All men have heard of his difficulty in believing in the truth of the Mosaic history, because of what Moses states respecting the hare, namely, that he "cheweth the cud, but divideth not the hoof;" in both of which points, he says, Moses is incorrect.

Leaving the Bishop of Natal and his demolished objections, our author next discusses the "doubts" of various kinds that have been thrown upon Scripture—doubts arising from Literary Criticism; doubts arising out of Varieties of Interpretation; doubts about Inspiration; doubts arising from Scientific Investigation. In discussing all these points, he completely exhausts the subject, leaving no point untouched, and no objection unanswered.

We may here remark that a Revelation that was not invested with some shades of doubt could hardly be Divine. The

dimness of doubt hangs over everything with which we have to do in God's world: a mixture of obscurity with clearness, which leaves room for faith where reason fails. To let his ignorance control his knowledge, would be absurd in man; he ought rather, in all cases, to let his reason adopt the proofs which will justify his faith, notwithstanding the difficulties. What philosophic truth is there which man has not at some time doubted, or respecting which he may not still entertain some measure of doubt? Doubts have arisen respecting the nature even of light itself. Who knows to this day, for certain, the composition of the sun, or which is the true theory of light? Who knows, indeed, the exact laws of vegetable nature here upon earth? What man knows the mystery of his own being? Yet who doubts, so far as to disbelieve, that he truly has a living rational intelligence, though some obscurity hangs over its origin and its operations? The conditions under which man's mind must ever be more or less exercised, are those well described by the philosophic Pascal:—"Il faut avoir ces trois qualités : pyrrhonien, géomètre, chrétien soumis ; et elles s'accordent, et se tempèrent en doutant où il faut, en assurant où il faut, en se soumettant où il faut."

It will be seen from these remarks, that what we condemn is not so much doubt, as disbelief based upon insufficient reasons. The very highest exercise of reason is not unfrequently that which might be more properly termed *faith*. Faith leads us in the dark, Reason only in the light.

The most valuable part of Mr. Wainwright's work, in our opinion, is that in which he discusses the doubts that are founded on scientific investigation. He here puts before the reader a vast amount of positive information, at the same time that he shows up the weakness of the objections of scientific sceptics, who would fain have us believe that, because they cannot make their dubious discoveries square with the Scripture records, those records must be untrue. The chapter we particularly refer to is that entitled "*Scripture and Science*." In respect to the opposition between these, he very truly remarks:—

"Whatever the discrepancy may be, it must be of our own making. We have generalized too hastily the facts of Science, or we have interpreted too superficially the words of Scripture." (p. 195.)

In handling the so-called "facts of Science," he has to adduce them; and so he makes them known under the safest possible form—while *refuting* them. This he does with great skill, and often in a most effective manner. If Scripture is true, it is certain that, in the end, Science will have to bow to Scripture, not Scripture to Science.

It is a most curious fact, that man should be so much occu-

pied, as he is in the persons of our modern geologists, in discussing his own origin. Still more curious it is that he should endeavour to prove that, as he was originally made, he was not a man, but a monkey ! Unsophisticated minds, in their simplicity, will be apt to think, led to the conclusion by such men as Professor Huxley, that man must be on the way to return back into the monkey again. The high antiquity of the human race is now the favourite theory. But how can that "high antiquity" be proved? Mr. Wainwright shows that every one of the facts brought forward to prove it is a fallacy. The time said to be required for the formation of peat fails to prove it; that for the accumulation of shell mounds fails to prove it; the time supposed to be required for the formation of the deltas of the Mississippi and the Nile fails to prove it; the flint implements (so much talked about) discovered in the valley of the Somme fail to prove it; and the fossilized human remains found by Schmerling fail to prove it. All these so-called facts Mr. Wainwright overthrows by counter facts.

The credulity of geologists has often appeared to us to be something quite marvellous. They require us to believe, upon the strength of their theories, confessedly founded upon guesses (there are no means of verifying their certainty of truth), that this earth, even in its present formation, has existed for an incalculably longer period than Scripture states; that man is, in substance and in structure, one with the brutes,—that he is a mere development out of a lower species of animal; though what he will develop himself into at last they fail to tell us. In order to prove these theories, they assert various facts respecting coal and crystal, and peat and sandstone. But, unfortunately for them, it is just as easy to adduce facts on the other side. If, for instance, it is alleged that for certain sandstone some 20,000 years must have passed to have a bed of such thickness deposited, uprises the fact, that at Craigleigh, near Edinburgh, a tree some sixty feet long lies slanting at an angle of 40° across the strata in its whole length. Now, that a tree remained 20,000 years slanting thus, all the time the sea was depositing this strata, is beyond belief. Again, they tell us that the formation of certain beds of coal would require 2000 years for each foot of thickness, and 120,000 for the coal measures of England. But it is an ascertained fact that in cut-down forests in Ireland and elsewhere some ten or twelve feet of bog will be formed at the rate of a quarter of the time. In Lincolnshire, the very number of the Legion who cut down the forest has been found in the bog. Such facts as these seem to us to overthrow the whole system of geologists as to deposits. Again, it was a settled point,

according to the assumed geological progress of orders of fossil Fauna, that human remains could not be found in any deposits before our present world. Now it is alleged that in Brazil and in North America (in the last case in so old a deposit as old red sandstone) unequivocal human remains have been discovered in strata too old for them, according to geological systems. What, then, is the inference that we draw from all this? That Geology is the science of *uncertainty*, not of certainty: at all events, that we must wait for farther light, and additional facts, before we jump to any conclusion inconsistent with the Bible history.

We might go on to give a number of other facts which we have met with in our own reading, subversive of the certainty of science; but we would rather refer the reader to Mr. Wainwright's book, where all the assertions of geologists are taken up, discussed, and answered one by one in a regular order. Whether it be the theory of creation by Law, or the alleged antiquity of man, or the doctrine of spontaneous generation, or of transmutation of species, or the plurality of races, or any other point of the kind subversive of faith in the essential truth of Scripture, the reader will here find it met, with all that can be said on the one side set over against what has been said on the other. Not content with argument alone, Mr. Wainwright resorts to ridicule, in the use of which weapon he is very effective. We give the following as a specimen of the way in which he handles a passage from Professor Huxley:—

"The fossil remains of man hitherto discovered," the Professor says, "do not seem to me to take us appreciably nearer to that lower pithecoïd form, by the modification of which he has, probably, become what he is. Where, then, must we look for primeval man? Was the oldest *homo sapiens* pliocene, or miocene, or yet more ancient? In still older strata do the fossilized bones of an ape more anthropoid, or a man more pithecoïd than any yet known, await us in researches of some unborn paleontologist? Time will show. But in the meanwhile, if any form of the doctrine of progressive development is correct, we must extend by long epochs the most liberal estimate that has yet been made of the antiquity of man."

Upon this Mr. Wainwright exclaims:—

"Admirable! *If* that unborn paleontologist would only make his appearance; *if* he would only discover something to the purpose; *if* he could only hammer out of the rocks those pithecoïd or anthropoid apes, which at present exist only in the clouds; *if*, in short, any form of the development theory could only be shown to be correct (for any form would do); why, then, we should at least have one pertinent and palpable fact to start with. What, gentlemen! when we plead the certainty of 'Thus saith the Lord,' can your philosophy do no more than answer us with *ifs*? Has it no more wisdom than

to assume these various curious and conflicting suppositions, as if they were so many demonstrations? This may be the science of speculation, but Locke and Newton knew nothing of it: it is not the science of induction." (p. 261.)

A little further on, our Author, assuming a more serious tone, and yet with a mixture of grave irony, proceeds thus:—

"It is when we thus review the facts on which our opponents profess to rely, that we perceive the utter worthlessness of the theories which they build upon them. The investigation we have been pursuing leads to this inevitable result:—that the allegations made in the name of modern science against the teaching of the Bible are allegations unsustained by proof. The scientific objections are unscientific. They are illogical. They are inconsistent. They are inconclusive. They are mutually hostile. They are such, that if some of them are true, the rest must of necessity be false. They involve syllogisms where the premiss is an improbable conjecture, and the conclusion a glaring *non sequitur*. In defiance alike of history and common sense, our opponents have invented a diversity of origin for the human race; but then the process by which they have achieved their invention is just as scientific as it would be to classify English statesmen by the rules of palmistry, or the size of their great toes. They have asserted that man is in substance and in structure one with the brutes; but the assertion is so absurdly contrary to fact, that the common sense of mankind laughs it to scorn. They have maintained the diversity of species to be so great, that the human race alone must have had half-a-dozen different origins; but then they have also maintained that diversity to be so small, that all the families of mankind, together with monkeys, donkeys, frogs, and fishes, are nothing more than ordinary varieties of one common original. They have traced a gradual development and transmutation of species from the monad up to man; but then the particular instances of this development are what we, what no one, has ever seen, and the transitional links, what no one has ever found. By theorizing on the nebulae, they managed to put the world's Creator far away out of their sight, until it turned out that the nebulae were not nebulous! And when at last forced to admit the fact of creation, loud were their declarations that we must alter the date. More loud, indeed, than unanimous; for when you ask what are the reasons for which the Bible must be abandoned, or what is the substitute which we are offered in its stead, the conflict of answers is a new Confusion of Tongues." (pp. 271, 272.)

This is a clever way of writing, though it is rather rough handling. The fault of our author, if we may just hint a fault, is, that his style (stronger instances of it might be given than this) is more suited for a Lecturer to a popular assembly than for a grave written treatise.

That is a useful chapter of Mr. Wainwright's work (Part III.) in which he treats of *Sophisms*, and demolishes them; because sophisms are the snares in which the great majority of minds

get caught. Many can feel the force of an objection plausibly put, who cannot see the way to answer it. Mr. Wainwright gives a short and effective answer to each one of the most popular fallacies of sceptics and objectors, that scatters them at once into dust. Take, for example, the way in which he meets the sophism, that "the dogma of an infallible Bible is on a par with an infallible Pope, and will soon be as utterly exploded":—

"In this short sentence the fallacies are manifold. What is meant by 'dogma'? Does it mean an established principle, or an unwarrantable opinion, or something between these two? Whatever it means, it is incapable of being applied to subjects as essentially diverse as those of which it is here used in common. Again; those subjects are affirmed to be 'on a par.' We utterly deny the affirmation, and demand proof. Wherein does this parity consist? Where shall we find the equality here asserted? Is it in the kind of proof adduced for the two propositions? Is it in the degree? Is it in both together? It is simply nowhere. The doctrine of an infallible Bible is established in the explicit declarations of the Bible itself; *e.g.*, 'All Scripture is given by inspiration of God.' Will it be pretended by those who assert the parity of these two propositions, that deductions like these—as direct, as explicit, as conclusive—are adducible in support of the notion of an infallible Pope? There is no pretence of the sort. They are, therefore, dissimilar in kind. But the sophism requires not only that such declarations should be found, but that they should be found in like numbers. There is no pretence to this either; and the evidence for the two propositions is not more unlike in kind than in degree. Where, then, is their parity? And what opinion must we form of those sophistical objectors who have so little respect for their own character as to hazard vaticinations founded on fallacies like these? If in very deed the two things had been of the same kind, the fate of the one might possibly have been predicated from the fate of the other. But what becomes of such prognostications, when it is seen that they possess not one single element in common? (pp. 315, 316.)

In a still more effective manner our author explodes the following sophism:—

"If these objections were urged by a few superficial thinkers, it would be another matter; it is the combined momentum of so many minds that constitutes their force.

"Rather good, certainly; for it is much the same as saying that twenty or thirty men, considered individually, may be asthmatical or crippled; but combined, they constitute one man, sound in wind and limb! A proposition eminently mathematical, and eminently illustrative of the new process of inverted reasoning! Given, the healthy result desired, to find the unhealthy factors required for its production. What number of ciphers will constitute unity?

"Thus the result is impossible, even if the process of combination were possible. But this process is itself impossible. The 'combined

momentum' of the sophism is nowhere to be found. It does not exist. *Quot homines tot sententiæ*, receives its highest illustration in the vagaries of the boasted unity of these 'many minds.'" (p. 320.)

From these examples it will be seen that Mr. Wainwright is strong in reasoning as well as in ridicule.

Perhaps the best specimen of our author's power of argument is the way in which he handles the assertion that "a miracle is impossible":—

"How do you know that?" he asks. "In declaring a miracle to be impossible, you are making a declaration not only opposed to unquestionable facts, but one, too, which, on your own principles, it is impossible to prove.

"What is a miracle? Those who thus glibly assert that a miracle is impossible, are not unfrequently sorely puzzled to tell what a miracle is. Suppose, however, that we accept that definition most commonly given, from Hume to Baden Powell, and regard a miracle as 'a violation or suspension of a law of nature.' What then? Does not law imply a lawgiver? Must not the operation of the statute be subordinate to the control of the enacting power? Again, what is meant by a 'law of nature'? Is it not simply this, that 'similar phenomena uniformly reappear in an observed series of antecedents and consequences, which series is invariable'? Yet what a fallacy is here! Who can tell that this series is invariable? Hume talked of the uniformity of experience; but neither he nor his admirers can know anything (experimentally) of an experience not their own."

Having disposed of the fallacy founded on an experience that is limited and partial, our author thus proceeds to deal with that which pretends to be universal:—

"But if the impugners of miracles do mean to claim the uniformity of universal experience, how then? Why, then we have the second fallacy. They pretend to a universal experience, and yet there is not a man among them that possesses a tittle of experience beyond his own personal observation. Shall we be told of their *united* experience? As well tell us of their united individuality. For of what does this united experience consist? Ask the first man you meet who boasts that the united experience of mankind is opposed to the possibility of miracles, and see if he be not obliged to confess that this boasted experience consists, after all, in an infinitesimal amount of actual experience—i. e., his own—together with his belief in the testimony of other persons as to their experience. So that those who profess to impugn the Christian miracles on the ground of experience, are really doing it on the ground of testimony! The facts on which they rely for their induction as to the uniformity of experience are not only partial, incomplete, and therefore misleading, but they are not *known* to be facts after all. They lack the guarantee of experience. They have been received and admitted as facts *on the ground of testimony!*" (p. 328.)

"When, therefore, we are told that a miracle is impossible, because it is contrary to experience, we ask, To whose experience is it contrary?

To that of the objector? Very likely. No one pretends that miracles are as common as blackberries. If they were not rare, they would not be miraculous. Granted, therefore, that the objectors never witnessed a miracle; does it follow that no one else ever did? That water should freeze was, beyond all question, to the Asiatic mind 'contrary to experience;' and yet to the Dutch ambassadors no experience was more sure. So that a fact may be 'contrary to experience,' and yet not contrary to truth." (p. 329.)

This is exceedingly well done, barring only some expressions in the language that are rather beneath the gravity of the subject. A still better example of turning the tables upon the opponent is the following argument founded on the fact that Christianity *exists*, and its effects *exist* :—

"But for those effects, as for all others, there must be an adequate cause. And the only such cause assignable is to be found in the fact of the Christian miracles. And from that fact there is no escape. For to deny those miracles is to admit, in the fact of Christianity, the existence of a certain effect which transcends every assignable cause. And the existence of such an effect is in itself a miracle. If there be any force in reason, or any truth in history, then Christianity is founded on miracles; and we have a miracle in that direction. If there is no force in reason, and no truth in history, then the existence of Christianity without miracles is itself the most stupendous of all miracles; and we have the miracle in that direction. The impugner of miracles may accept either of these alternatives, but he cannot reject both. If he could, that would be the greatest miracle of all!" (p. 332.)

Again, as to the success of the apostles under these circumstances :—

"Their success, without the means of success, is itself a miracle. But their efforts, without a motive, is a much greater miracle. Gentlemen, take your choice. Admit the physical miracle which supplies them with a motive; or admit the moral miracle of conduct like theirs without a motive! In either case, you get rid of a miracle only by admitting a miracle—a pretty proof that a 'miracle is impossible'!"

It is a pity that powerful reasoning like this should be marred by such familiar expressions as "common as blackberries," "gentlemen, take your choice," "a pretty proof;" and we would advise the able author to expunge all this language of the factory in any new edition of his work, and to write like a man who has undergone the refining process of a classical education.

To do Mr. Wainwright full justice, we must say that when he leaves the refutation of objectors, and comes to the main object of his work—the establishment of "Christian Certainty," he acquits himself like a scholar and a gentleman. His arguments here are conducted with calmness and strength, and his language has

fewer blemishes of style. He borrows largely, indeed, from the writings of other men; but he so dovetails their observations with his own, and so extracts the pith of their thoughts, that in reading him we find ourselves reading many authors in one. Here lies the chief value of his work to the ordinary reader. To those who have but little time to give to books, and cannot make extensive researches for themselves, his work is *the very thing*. It enables them to see, within a moderate compass, all that can be said both against and for the Bible. His argument is a *cumulative* one. Having swept away, as with a besom, all the fallacies and futile objections that have been raised against the truth of Scripture, he then proceeds to pile reason upon reason in proof of the "*certainty*" of those things which have been delivered to us as facts in the Book of Books.

It may give a good idea of the comprehensiveness of the author's arguments, if we only place before our readers the heads of the several chapters which he has on "*Certainty*." For his work has at the beginning that very helpful thing, a very full analytical table of contents. Thus, Part IV., *Certainty*, Chapter XI., consists of the following divisions, under their several appropriate headings:—1. *It is certain* that man needs a religion; 2. *It is certain* that the Christian religion is perfectly adapted to the actual condition and necessities of mankind; 3. *It is certain* that the *objections* alleged against the Bible, as the Divine Revelation containing that religion, are *untenable*; 4. *It is certain* that the *reasons* assigned for a belief in the Divine authority of the Bible are *unanswerable*. Chapter XII. *It is certain* that if the Bible be not Divine, then it is an effect without a cause. Chapter XIII. *It is certain* that the life of Christ alone is sufficient to demonstrate the truth of Christianity. Chapter XIV. *It is certain* that the testimony of Christ to the truth of Christianity receives irresistible force from the perfection of his character. Chapter XV. *It is certain* that the old arguments in proof of the truth of Christianity are not antiquated; they still remain unanswered. Chapter XVI. *It is certain* that the most recent, subtle, and powerful assaults on the Bible have utterly failed to shake the foundations of our faith. Chapter XVII. *It is certain* that against the evidence for Christianity, cumulative and congruous as it is, our opponents are unable to maintain any single argument whatever. Chapter XVIII. *It is certain* that the certainty which characterizes the demonstration of the truth of Christianity is certainty of the highest kind.

Under all these heads the writer enters into all the various subdivisions of the several subjects, with a condensed force of statement, and power of argument, that leaves nothing farther to be desired. This part of his work will well repay any one's reading, if it be only for the striking passages which he brings.

forward from the writings of others, and the beautiful sentiments with which, so to speak, he garlands the character of our great Redeemer. To give only one specimen of this :—

“Christ committed nothing to manuscript; but those parables radiant with beauty, those thoughts penetrating to the heart's heart of every subject, those flashes of moral insight which light up the soul's inmost corners with the candle of God, were an ineffaceable writing traced upon the memory of his generation.” “It was a robust virtue that he taught—a virtue with foot firmly planted on the earth—a virtue arrayed in battle harness, and stained with battle dust. Things appeared to him in their true relations, through the clear eye of sense.” “The Christ of the Gospels is eminently shrewd and cool-minded. The halo of moral glory which surrounds Him obscures to us the robustness, the sharp, cutting vigour, the solidity, the acuteness, the adroitness of His purely human understanding. His Gospel was the Gospel of love, but He was not in the least sentimental: witness the parables of the talents, the vineyard labourer, and the unjust steward.” “This Jewish peasant, wandering with a few poor mechanics about the inland seas, and bordering wildernesses of Judea, homeless as the bird of the air and the fox of the hill, His meagre retinue forced sometimes to appease their hunger by rubbing out the ears of corn, rises to an apprehension of moral and spiritual power, transcending infinitely that of the rulers, the priests, the teachers, of his nation, and of all the sages and philosophers of his time. This Jewish peasant looks upon the glories of antiquity, upon the mighty edifice of ancient civilization, and is placidly, immovably assured that the words of truth spoken by his mouth in remote Palestine will smite its pinnacles with the fire of God, and strike down its cloud-capped towers, and of all the fabric of its vision leave not a wreck behind.” (p. 410, *et alia*.)

These are fine sentiments, finely expressed. And their truth, as applied to the character of Christ, is beyond all question. Most justly, therefore, does Mr. Wainwright ask : “*Can we conceive a teacher whose doctrine was so profoundly and persuasively moral, binding it up with a falsehood?*”

Instead of asking sceptically, “What is truth?” it behoves every one to settle in his mind firmly the conviction that there is such a thing as Truth, if only it can be found. If it is not to be found in Christianity, where is it to be found in the whole world? Myths may have been founded on many a religion, but no religion was ever yet founded on a myth. While there is a passion for falsehood in man's mind, there is also that passion for truth, stronger than all, which will never let him rest in a lie, so long as the light of truth can anywhere be found to shine. Who does not see that if there were no such thing as truth, as a positive entity, in the world, there could be no such thing as falsehood? The whole of human action is based upon the assumption that there is such a thing

as Truth. Man's imagination is ever in search after it in the analogies which it seeks between it and things natural. Language is founded upon it. The mind of man is bred and fashioned to it. Its existence is assumed in every debate in the senate, and in all pleadings at the bar. Without it there would absolutely be no hinge for man's mind to turn upon. Deny it, and you destroy man's rational nature. This being the case, how can any one doubt that there is such a thing as religious truth, ascertainable, as all other truth is ascertainable, by proper inquiry? That some obscurity hangs around it, is what no one denies; because it is that cloudy pillar in which Deity hides Himself, in order to guide those who are willing to walk by faith rather than by sight. Scepticism may doubt or deny it; prudence and policy may seek to conceal it; kindness and courtesy may modify it in order not to give offence; yet Candour will ever confess it, Courage will protect it with its shield, Imagination cover it with its wings, and Charity stand by to own it as its truest friend.

The great value of the work which we have now passed under review is, that after having conducted the reader through all the dark and labyrinthine paths of Doubt, it brings him out into the full clear light of the Christian evidence, and enables him to feel the *certainty* of Christian Truth.

ARCHBISHOP MANNING'S PASTORAL.

WE are free to confess our unbounded surprise at the indiscretion and bad taste which have induced Archbishop Manning to inaugurate his appointment to his titular office by the publication of the Pastoral to which he has prefixed his name. That document can be regarded in no other light than that of a deliberate challenge to the Church of England, and a daring attempt to try how far the forbearance of this country will endure the repetition of Papal aggression. Considering what Dr. Manning once was—a respected and trusted minister of the national church, whose uniform he wore, whose emoluments he enjoyed, to whose doctrines he swore allegiance, and in whose service some of his best (and perhaps happiest) years were spent—it would have been more seemly for him to have wept over what he considers her errors, than to insult her by sarcastic and contemptuous inuendos. Such, at least, would have been the course of the great Apostle, whom honest conviction separated from his “brethren according to the flesh.” But the action of true Christianity was to make men loving and charitable; that of Rome, arrogant and censorious.

We shall pass over, with brief notice, the indecency of the assumption of the ecclesiastical dignity, in the full glory of which the new Archbishop rejoices to appear. Remembering that he owes that title to an act of foreign interference with British rights, and a deliberate encroachment on British law, it might have been expected that he would have felt a certain delicacy and a law-respecting reluctance to the publication of titles to which he well knew he had no proper right. A foreign potentate has thought fit to nominate him to an archbishopric deriving its title from an English locality. To his elevation to his new ecclesiastical dignity no one is justified in objecting. It is, no doubt, in the power of the head of the Roman Catholic Church to exercise his patronage in the elevation of men to the offices of bishops and cardinals at his own discretion. But to attach to such dignity the name of a locality on British ground, is to usurp functions belonging only to the Crown of these realms. It is quite true that this composite dignity is but titular; but still that title is stolen, without Royal permission, from the prerogatives of Her Majesty. And against its usurpation not only does the Constitution of England, but the law of England, deliberately enacted to meet the very offence committed, unequivocally protest. Of course no one acquainted with the policy or ambition of the Church of Rome expects her to renounce that theory of universal sovereignty which the Bishop of Rome, in days "when men slept," was allowed to adopt; but all right-minded men would expect that an Englishman, living under the protection of British law, and professing some amount of loyalty to his Sovereign, would have respected the indulgence and toleration which were the experiences of his daily life. It is neither upright, honourable, nor dignified—it were out of place with Rome to say that it is not generous—for a man to dress himself in titles which he wears only through sufferance, and of which any popular movement, setting in action the powers of the law, might in a day deprive him, and to revel pompously in assumptions of which a prosecution might strip him. Legally, he has no right to the name he bears; constitutionally, the Pontiff of Rome has no right to bestow it; and loyally, as a subject of the English Crown, no man of true religious principle would accept it. At least, the high authority which wrote, "Let every soul be subject unto the higher powers," would have given no sanction to the pitiful plagiarism. And if the self-styled Archbishop of Westminster, by trespassing on the forbearance of Protestant England, excited against himself and his adherents some violent outbreak of popular indignation, such as that which occurred in former days, we see not with what consistency or decency he could appeal for protection to the law, whose provisions he has arrogantly disregarded.

It is impossible to read the Pastoral of Archbishop Manning without tracing in it that same eloquence of style, and beauty, if not force, of language with which we were familiar, long since, from the pen of the Archdeacon of Chichester. We seem to be sent, in recollection, to those volumes of sermons which found their way into so many families, and found often a response in many a Christian heart. One great difference can we at once detect between the Sermons and the Pastoral; for the former breathed as much of holy love, and elevated devotion, and spiritual desire, as does the other of bitter sarcasm and polished, masked invective. In his delineation of his own church, every one can see by contrast implication, the caricature of the Church of England. It had been more dignified in the Archbishop to have restrained himself from the language of insult directed against a Church whose orders he once wore, and whose sons once revered him. But we must bear in mind the deteriorating process through which his spirit must have passed since those days. If the "tree be known by its fruits," Rome has little reason to rejoice over her work. Granted that a so-called enlightenment has led him to reject the faith he once upheld, is there not such a thing as "speaking truth in love," of rebuking error "weeping," and of reasoning with the blinded solemnly, as was done when the Sermons were preached? Not that we would be understood as saying that those utterances of Dr. Manning were ever found, by their warmest admirers, to be what evangelic expositions of God's truth ought to be; for every man of religious discrimination saw, and thousands of no discrimination instinctively felt, that amid all their religious beauty, they wanted sadly the two great central truths, of man's utter fall, and Christ's way and power of restoration. Something there was in these discourses which carried our minds to Massillon and Fénelon, and the many divines of the Church of Rome, who conceived that man was rather a disordered machine, capable of reformation and re-adjustment, than a lost creature requiring to be re-made and saved. Too much there was in them of the power of religious discipline to rear up a respectable superstructure on an unsound foundation, and too little of the transforming power of the Cross, and of the Spirit's regenerating grace triumphing over radical corruption. But, let the defects of doctrine be what they may, they exhibited the same grace of style and happy selection of pointed terms which we recognize in the Pastoral. That Rome could hardly take away. The man of literary refinement remains, though the man of Christian love has disappeared. It is no wonder that it should be so. The spirit of Rome, from Encyclical to Pastoral, from Bulls to Allocutions, has ever been one of arrogance and denunciation.

There is one statement in the Archbishop's Pastoral which,

from its mingled truth and error, deserves especial notice. It is evidently Dr. Manning's impression, that a current of repentant conviction has set in, which is destined ere long to expand into a tide of conversion to Romanism. "Multitudes," he tells us, "who are separated from the Catholic Church and actively opposed to it, are daily becoming conscious of its presence, of its voice calling them to faith, of its doctrines; above all, of its unity in the midst of the divisions, and of its expansion in the midst of the advancing dissolution of all other religious systems." "There is a wide-spread reaction from the traditions which the blindness and deafness of religious prejudice has (*sic*) so long propagated." As to the "unity and expansion" of the Romish Church, on these points we shall have occasion presently to make some remarks. Just now, our business lies with this boast of a tendency on the part of the multitudes of "dissolving systems" to connect themselves with her. There can be no doubt that, of late years, many in this country have been so far won by the blandishments and attractions of Rome, as to transfer their allegiance from the Protestant faith to her's. Whether that faith, in which these perverts have so long lived, deserves to be styled "the traditions propagated by the blindness and deafness of religious prejudice," is a point on which we shall have presently to dwell. But we mistake much if Archbishop Manning be justified in his hopes, that those comparatively few departures from the faith are fairly to be regarded as symptoms and harbingers of an extensive change. The Bible, which is not the Rule of Faith in the Church of Rome, is too well known and too extensively circulated for that. And the spirit of free inquiry which is abroad, so unmerciful to mere assumption, and so disposed to penetrate to the grounds and principles of all things, is not one which is likely to receive as infallible the unproved dogmas of any system. If we might venture to speculate on the principal causes which have led to the perversions of the last few years, we should say that they were the results mainly of infidelity and excitement—the one leading to painful unsettlement of mind, and the other producing that morbid craving for novelty, which a versatile discipline and a dramatic service are calculated to meet, and for a while satisfy. The inquisitive temper of the age, refusing to be contented with such revelations as God has been pleased to give, has given birth to a demand for demonstration, where demonstration cannot, from the nature of things, be afforded; and after free thought indulged to dangerous limits comes scepticism, and after scepticism the mists of infidelity. That men should recoil from the misgivings of their own creation, and be reluctant to cast themselves into a vortex of eddying currents, to be caught, tossed, and carried they know not where, is but to say that the human mind

abhors the vacuum of uncertainty. And to say that, sooner than resign itself to the darkness and dissatisfaction of believing nothing, it would prefer to believe anything, is but to say, that man instinctively confesses that without guidance he cannot live. It is just at this point that Romish assumption steps in. It undertakes to find for man a faith; it contracts, if only he will blindly resign himself to her, to find him a path, and deliver him over to salvation. And there can be but little doubt that many there have been who have exchanged the simplicities of revelation for the perplexities of unwise conjecture, and have thought themselves into such dizzying uncertainty, as to be thankful to any guide who will undertake to lead them, through mists and crags and crevasses, to some region of apparent safety. But Dr. Manning cannot but be sensible of this, that of all foes to a religion that makes such enormous demands on man's blind trust and uninquiring credulity, there is not one so formidable as this very spirit of free thought. For he must well know, that its critical, opinionative, and irreverential temper is utterly opposed to an unreasonable religion. No doubt, some there are so constitutionally religious, or so naturally timid, that they had rather be idolaters than atheists. But these are the tens, not the millions. The hard-headed metaphysical Rationalist is not likely to become a slave to Church dogmatism. He will look with cold curiosity on rites, scan with analytic sharpness doctrines utterly irreconcilable with reason, question the rights of any but God, any book but the Bible, to dictate to him; but he will not become the slave of Rome. Could she convince him that "she knows what she means, and means what she says," he might possibly become her disciple; but the Archbishop has but calmly to contemplate the keenness of thought in France, the independence of thought in Germany, and the downright intelligence of England, to arrive at this conclusion, that Rome may gain a few sceptics—devout in spite of their scepticism—and attract a few weak-minded mystics; but that, in these days, her system and assumption can have no large hold on thought and information.

We are, besides, sure that many of these recent perversions may be traced to an equally questionable cause—that love of novelty and excitement which is ever found linked to a highly luxurious condition of society. In no age, perhaps, has the love or the passion for the fine arts, for decoration, for costume, for ornament, been carried to a greater excess than in this. Our intercourse with the continent, the impulse given to manufactures, architecture, painting, ornamentation, display, refinement, create of themselves an appetite for the sensuous and scenic, such as, in religion, Protestantism could not allow itself to gratify, but which it is part of the policy of Rome to stimulate. An eastern potentate offered rewards to the inventor

of a new pleasure; and the worn-out men and women of fashion—irreligious and unspiritual in the scriptural sense of those terms—crave for amusement even in the house of God. To such, the priestly dress, the rolling incense, the faintly-murmured prayers, the ever-changing attitudes, the chant stealing from latticed or curtained crypts, the romance of the confessional, the mysterious virtue of absolution, the easy penance, and the gift-bought masses, are irresistibly attractive. But in all this, what has reason or solemn religious sense to do? So little, that Rome dreads nothing so much as inquiry, recoils in alarm from nothing so much as reason daring to think on her mysteries. In very truth, her disciples are forbidden to think. That, the proudest faculty of man, they must surrender to others. The Church thinks for them. The rising doubt must be strangled in its birth; the anxious misgiving must be exorcised; the earnest inquiry must be arrested on the lips. What have they to do with thought? Thought is the birthright of men. Rome's disciples are slaves.

There is, however, another paragraph in the Pastoral, which it amazes us that a man of Archbishop Manning's knowledge and foresight could have given to the world. On one of two things he must have calculated—either that the English world cared very little what he wrote, or that English ignorance was so general, that he might safely venture on falsehood. The latter we believe to be the fact. It shall not, however, be our fault if the pretentious imposition be not reduced to the condition of the "*bipes implumis*" of logical detection.

"Since the end of the last century there has been a profound awakening of the minds of men. Men are looking about for a guide in the way of salvation; for a teacher to whom they can entrust their souls; for a Church which knows what it means, and means what it says; for a hierarchy which is not divided; for a keeper of Holy Writ who guards every jot and every tittle of the Sacred Books; for an interpreter who does not contradict himself; for pastors who, day by day, in all the world, absolve sinners in the confessional for a religion which is one and the same in every place and in every nation under heaven," &c.

Now, there is no possibility of mistaking either the spirit or the meaning of this passage. It is intended to insinuate that we are utterly destitute of the many excellencies which Rome claims for herself; and it is, therefore, a challenge by contrast and implication. We have no reason, and certainly no inclination, to decline it; however we may venture to express our unqualified amazement that a man of Dr. Manning's intelligence ventured on the utterance of it. Possibly he may have thought that, in the cloud of words complimentary to his own system, the attack on our's would be undetected. Possibly he may have thought that the slender sprinkling of truth

to be discovered in its sophisms and mis-statements would have passed unnoticed. If these were his tactics, he will find them to have been miserably false. We cannot allow him to claim for his Church either unity or infallibility, or a sound rule of faith, or outspoken truth, or the right of ministerial absolution, without demanding from her, or—what will be infinitely more satisfactory and accurate—from facts and history, the proofs of these unsupported assumptions.

When Archbishop Manning asserts that in his Church is found “a religion one and the same in every place,” he puts forward a boast of the unity which is said to be a mark of his Church. There is, no doubt, a unity which is equally the object of Divine prayers as of Apostolic inculcation ; for when our Lord begged for His followers “that they all might be one,” He asked for that which Paul sketched in the words—“One Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God and Father of all, who is above all, and through all, and in you all.” With so many of the elements of unity, men have at least the materials of the nearest approach to harmony that, for a permanency, this world can hope to see. Joined to the same Saviour, guided by the same Spirit, taught by the same Word, looking for the same salvation, and expecting the same home, the Church of Christ on earth ought to be one. We say nothing of uniformity throughout the various sections of which Christendom is composed, for there may be much substantial unity where there is but little of uniformity. But that this is rather a state to be hoped for than expected, the entire history of the Church declares ; for God’s most beneficent intentions have constantly been marred by man’s perversity. Our Lord chose twelve, and “one of them was a devil.” The Apostles founded at first a single Church, and ere long it was rent by schism. Corinth promised fairly, and in a few years was divided into parties. Paul and Peter, on a point of discipline involving doctrinal considerations, openly disagreed. And as for the history of the early ages, the simple fact that the treatises they produced were, for the most part, controversial and antagonistic, sufficiently proves that unity, though desired and aimed at, had not been obtained. Nevertheless, through all the contentions of the Church, there were still certain grand elements both of constitution, discipline, and association, which held the adherents of the Gospel together. Would that, for the sake of the Church and the world, that unity were more perfect ! But in making these admissions, we may be told that, in truth, we are but pleading the cause of the Church of Rome, and supporting the very pretensions we impugn. And so should we be doing, if Rome had it in her power to present a unity such as that we contend for, spiritual, spontaneous, and scriptural ; or, in a word, the only unity deserving the title, a unity of in-

telligent free men, and not that of slaves held together by superstition, ignorance, terror, and compulsion. Archbishop Manning must have overlooked the tale of many a page of history, and the revelations of many an "antiquated controversy," when he claimed for his Church a Christian unity; or, if he has not forgotten them, he must have calculated largely on the ignorance of those for whom he wrote. Has he forgotten the fierce disputes on the imposition of the new dogma of the Immaculate Conception, and the long-maintained, and not yet healed, strife between the Cismontane and the Ultramontane sections of his Church on the question of Infallibility? Has he so far forgotten his history, as to be unaware of the several schisms which rent the Church, when Urban VI. and Clement VII. struggled for the Papedom; when Benedict XIII., Gregory XII., and Alexander V., anathematized each other, and each one anathematized the adherents of the others, in their pious zeal to grasp the highest dignity of the Church? Has he forgotten that, some years subsequent to the display of this cordial unity, no fewer than four candidates for the tiara appeared, each warmly supported by a crowd of zealous partisans who deafened Christendom by their unseemly clamours and rancorous vituperations? Dr. Manning speaks of a "divided hierarchy" in the Church of England; but where does her history at any time exhibit such open and scandalous division as this? But what need is there to appeal to these schisms in the Papedom, and these doctrinal contentions, when the blood-stained annals of Rome, and the records of her persecutions, lie before the world as incontrovertible contradictions to her claim of unity? The cruelties which followed the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, the massacre of St. Bartholomew, the crusades of Simon de Montfort, the extirpation of the Languedoc peasants by the Duc de Noailles, the extermination of the Irish Protestants in O'Neill's rebellion, the fires of Smithfield, the terrible disclosures of the Inquisition—what are they, one and all, but so many records of thousands doomed to death, because they would not submit to the iron despotism of Rome? We admit that millions there were who saved life at the expense of conscience and convictions; but what is that, in other words, but yielding to a compulsion which they dared not resist, and bending to a force which it was death to oppose? And this is what the Church of Rome calls Unity. As well might she speak of the unity of convicts who are linked to the same chain, or of negroes who are herded in the same slave-ship. An outward compulsory uniformity Rome has no doubt succeeded in effecting; but her uniformity is not the unity of the Bible.

Nor is the Archbishop more happy when he points to his

Rule of Faith, "the teacher to whom men may entrust their souls, the interpreter who does not contradict himself." Has Dr. Manning paused, before he wrote this sentence, to consider what his Rule of Faith is; or is he so excited by his new dignities, as to have forgotten everything but the fact of his usurped title? If so, we must bring him to his recollection. So far from Rome possessing anything approaching to a rule of uncontradictory interpretation, we believe that she possesses no Rule of Faith at all. At least, that is the conclusion to which we are compelled to arrive, after the sifting of her own definitions. The first and second sentences of the Creed of Pius IV., her accredited symbol, solemnly ratified by the decisions of the Council of Trent, are these:—"I most steadfastly admit and embrace apostolical and ecclesiastical traditions, and all other observances and constitutions of the same Church. I also admit the Holy Scriptures, according to that sense which our Holy Mother the Church has held and does hold, to which it belongs to judge of the true sense and interpretation of the Scriptures; nor will I ever take and interpret them otherwise than according to the unanimous consent of the Fathers." According to these Articles, the Rule of Faith consists of two authorities—apostolical and ecclesiastical traditions, and Scripture interpreted according to the unanimous consent of the Fathers. When a Church professes to lay her Rule of Faith before us, surely we are justified to ask for a view of those apostolical traditions. Where are we to find them? In what works: whether dispersed among many volumes, or conveniently harmonized in one? Anyhow, wherever recorded, let us only have access to them; for how otherwise can we form or test our own opinions? But to this reasonable demand the Church of Rome professes herself unprepared to accede. These traditions, we are told, are certain vague and undefined notions, interpretations, usages, which have never been collected or reduced to shape, form, or expression. According to the Decree of Trent, "truth and discipline are contained both in written books and *unwritten tradition*, which have come down to us, either received by the Apostles from the lips of Christ Himself, or transmitted by the words of the same Apostles under the dictation of the Holy Spirit." But how, we would ask, is all this to be ascertained? What is the proof that such rules have been spoken by Christ, that Apostles received them from Him, or that they have been transmitted, in the lapse of many centuries, safely to us? Before we can accept them as things on which our faith is to be built, we are surely entitled to see them, and to know on what grounds they are to be held authoritative. But on these most material points the Church of Rome gives us no satisfaction whatever. She will neither collect, print, nor verify her traditions; and yet she

expects men to receive them. That was not the apostolic demand. "I speak as to wise men ; judge ye what I say."

And if the Rule of Faith becomes, in reference to the first clause of the Creed, altogether shadowy, we are bold to say that it is no less unsatisfactory with regard to the second. To the authority and decision, the truths and revelations, of the Scriptures, of course we bow with reverential and implicit deference. But that is not enough for Rome,—not Scripture, but "Scripture interpreted by the unanimous consent of the Fathers." Again we are driven to the task of distinction, to the duty of demanding explanation. Who are the Fathers? of what age or ages, of what school or complexion of doctrine? There is nothing in the definition to guide us on these points, and we are therefore compelled to take them in the most popular sense, and to suppose that by "Fathers" may be understood the Christian authors of the first three, four, five, six centuries. It matters little for our purpose which of these limits we adopt. But having got these venerable interpreters before us, we find ourselves met by some serious impediments in the way of our unhesitating acceptance of their interpretations. For, unless history is false, some of them were condemned for being, and still occupy a place in the list of, holders of unsound and heretical opinions. Is orthodoxy and heterodoxy the same? If Tertullian were a Montanist, and Athanasius an orthodox Trinitarian, are these men consentient? But beyond this, how are we—the unlearned it may be, the busy, the unapprehensive—to ascertain this "unanimous consent" on which our very faith is depending. The Fathers wrote in languages which all cannot read, in a style that men skilled in Greek and Latin find it hard to construe, and often in such tropical and allegoric language as leaves their meaning very indistinct and perplexing. Besides, learned men have discovered that enormous liberties have been taken with the writings of these men ; so that honest editors have, in some instances, cast out whole volumes of spurious matter, which the craftiness or carelessness of other ages has engrafted on the original treatises. There were no men more fairly honest in their attempts to restore the pure text than the Benedictine editors of the Fathers ; and this is the confession they make :—"There is no class of men who have more injured good study than those who have mixed up the true writings of the Fathers with false ones. . . . Doctrines are obscured, morals are polluted, history falters, tradition is disturbed. . . . The examples are too frequent to be necessary to notice any of them. I will only call to mind the impudence of the Apollonarians and the Eutychians, who, when they had disseminated their own in place of the true and genuine writings of the holy Fathers, so infested the whole Church, that till this pre-

sent day it has been impossible to close and cure this kind of wound." (Ed. in Basil.) Besides, if the way were in every sense clear before us, that we had the expurgated editions in our hands, and were able to read them as though written in our mother tongue, where is a man, in this busy world, to command leisure sufficient or energy sufficient to read, compare, and reconcile the million sentences of writers whose works stand before us in fifty or sixty ponderous folios? Surely this is no Rule of Faith attainable by the masses of men, or attainable by any man. And yet this it is that Rome demands from us—to ground our doctrinal opinions on Scripture interpreted by the "unanimous consent of the Fathers."

But, unfortunately for the truth of the Archbishop's Pastoral, a more formidable difficulty as to this "unanimous consent" lies behind. Learned and patient men have been at the pains of comparing these ancient authorities with each other, and have discovered, that so far from being in harmony as to Scriptural interpretation, they are in irreconcilable discord. We shall not rest this discovery on the authority of any Protestant, lest his verdict should be suspected. But the admissions of such a writer as Cardinal Bellarmine will hardly be questioned. On the Lord's Prayer that author writes,— "Cyril, Ambrose, and Augustin by 'heaven' understand the minds of the saints; others, Gregory Nyssen, Chrysostom, and Bernard, understood material heaven. Tertullian understands 'hallowed,' &c., 'that we may persevere in holiness.' Others refer it to the glory of the name of God, as Cyril, Chrysostom. Some expound 'Thy kingdom come' concerning the reign of grace, as Ambrose. But the truest explanation is concerning the reign of glory, as Jerome, Cyprian, and Augustin." Let us take another illustration from the celebrated text, "Thou art Peter," &c. :—"Cyril expounds it of the immovable faith of the Apostle; Chrysostom of Peter's confession; Augustin sometimes makes the rock to be Peter, and sometimes Christ; and in his Retractions writes, 'I have said, in a certain passage respecting Peter, that the Church is built on him as a rock. . . . But I know that I have often afterwards expressed myself so, that the phrase should be understood to be the Rock which Peter confessed.'" Admirable harmony of interpretation! But perhaps the most striking proof of the utter fallacy of this Rule of Faith lies in a note of the Douay Bible on Rev. xxii. 10 :—"As to the time when the chief prediction should come to pass, *we have no certainty, as appears by the different opinions* of the ancient Fathers and late interpreters." And again, on Rev. xix. 10 :—"St. Augustin is of opinion, that the angel appeared in so glorious a manner, that St. John took him to be God, and therefore would have given him divine honour. . . . St. Gregory rather thinks that the

veneration offered by St. John was not divine honour." And once more, on Rev. xiv. 8 :—"Tertullian says, Babylon is a figure of the city of Rome. . . . But Augustin calls Babylon the city of the devil." Truly we may say of the Roman Catholic Rule of Faith, "Who can decide, when doctors disagree?"

We hope, and indeed believe, that we are not misinterpreting the Archbishop, in supposing him to claim for the Church of Rome, in his Pastoral, that monstrous attribute of infallibility, which is both her strength and her weakness; making her, to all who can believe the pretension, the unerring guide of Dr. Manning's imagination, and at the same time fatally forbidding her to retrace her rash steps, and admit herself to be sometimes mistaken. Possibly, up to the present day, she is persuaded that Galileo was wrong and she right. But it were a bad tribute to the Archbishop's learning to suppose him unconscious of two facts—that the seat of this infallibility has not as yet been determined, and that, let the supposed position of it be where it may, it cannot be proved to be a fact. Possibly it is the force of these recollections which has kept the Church of Rome from dogmatically asserting her infallibility, although she, unofficially, everywhere claims it. We, whether the Archbishop finds it convenient or not to forget it, do not intend to forget, that no question more seriously disturbed the tranquillity of the Church in past times, than that of this centre of infallibility. Is it to be found personally in the Pontiff, or in a General Council duly convened apart from the Pontiff, or in Council and Pontiff acting concurrently? On this question the Church has held, and still holds, contradictory opinions—no slight objection to her claim of unity as far as doctrine is concerned. We should be glad to know, from the eulogist of his Church, to which of these several quarters we are to look for that unerring guidance, on the possession of which he so much plumes himself. It matters little to us to which he assigns the preference; for they are all at variance among themselves. He knows, as well as we do, that Rome is not even at one with herself as to what Councils be general, and therefore infallible; that, while the Church Transmontane affirms the infallibility of Lyons, Florence, and the Fifth Lateran, the other section of the Church refuses to accept them, and adopts Pisa, Constance, and Basle in their stead; that while the Nicene Creed was received as the Church's standard by these Councils, the Council of Trent put them all aside, and adopted the Creed of Pius IV. instead. No decree can be more explicit than that which was passed at the Council of Ephesus, in A.D. 430 :—"The holy Synod decrees that it should be lawful for no one to profess, to write, or to compose any other form of faith than that defined by the holy Fathers, who, with the Holy Ghost,

had been assembled at Nice." And yet that Creed, so authoritatively acknowledged, was deliberately set aside at Trent. We are, of course, aware that the Church of Rome tries to escape from this inconsistency by pronouncing the later Creed to be but "a development" of the earlier; but development is an expansion of an original subject, not the creation of new ones. In the midst of such contradictions, where can there be infallibility?

But it is not in the matter of creeds alone that these contradictions occur. All along the line of Roman history do we find confusion and opposition of the most flagrant character—Popes contradicting themselves, Popes contradicting other Popes, Councils contradicting Popes, and Councils finding verdicts opposed to other Councils. In no one department of so-called authoritative enactments do we discover even a decent semblance of consistent agreement. Some Popes were confessedly Arian, some Montanists; some, as Urban and Clement in the 14th century, the heads of the great Western schism, for years divided Christendom, and demonstrated their infallibility by hurling imprecations and anathemas against each other. Rome and Avignon, the centres of the contending parties, kept up, for the edification of the faithful, an unremitting fire of mutual execrations. Three Popes at the same time (Sylvester, John, and Benedict), occupying respective quarters in the holy city, almost tore the tiara into fragments in their struggles for its possession, or, in the language of the Papal annalist, "a three-headed Beast, rising from the gates of hell, infested in a woeful manner the holy chair." Sixtus V. pledged his infallibility to the accuracy of the Vulgate, and his successor, Clement VIII., defended the doctrine by the peculiar method of pointing out endless blunders in it, and ordering the Clementine edition to replace it. Benedict and Gregory, perpetuators of the great Western schism, threw themselves on opposite sections of the Church for sympathy and support in the maintenance of their respective claims, and gained their respective recognitions in the Synods of Aquileia and Arragon; and the Council of Pisa in 1409 quietly settled the dispute by deposing them both, and forbidding all good Christians, under pain of excommunication, to obey them, or lend them either counsel or favour. In the person of John XXIII. the Church had a prospect of peace, destined, alas! to be soon disturbed by the re-appearance of the old competitors for the Chair of Peter; and, by way of making peace, the Council of Constance arranged, in 1414, that the new Pope should abdicate, on condition of his two rivals disappearing from the field of contest. The condition was fulfilled, but the abdication was evaded; and the Council, discovering the fixed intention of John to consider "possession all points of the law," convicted him of

every crime under heaven, from schism to murder, from perjury to incest, and violently ejected him from his place. We say it deliberately, that we might cover very many pages with histories of this kind, all exhibiting Pontifical abominations, strifes, evasions, intrigues, falsehood, and all, as we think, making it a matter somewhat questionable, whether we can concede to the head of the Roman Church the attribute of infallibility.

We know not whether Archbishop Manning be Ultramontane or Cismontane, whether disposed to lodge infallibility in Councils rather than in Popes. But if the former, we apprehend he will not take much by his selection. There is no more consistency to be found in the one case than in the other. Already we have stated that the Church of Rome has not made up her mind how many General Councils there are, or what Councils are to be held to speak with authority. There is sometimes a peculiar convenience in indecision. But, nevertheless, we who are asked to admit at least Conciliary infallibility, would be glad to have it ruled what elements make up an authoritative Council. We feel the ground unsteady under our feet, and should like to have substance rather than dissolving views to deal with. At one time, a suspicious edict is discovered among the acts of a Council, and forthwith, there must have been some irregularity in its constitution. Either the civil power did not convene it, or the civil power did not endorse it, or a Pope was present or was not present, or some other Council had passed some conflicting decree, which made it indelicate to attribute infallibility to that under immediate review. Seriously, we should be indebted to the Archbishop if he would give us a list of reliable Councils, signed with his own hand, and certified as being, beyond equivocation or evasion, the real exponents of the Church's doctrine. But when we have four different factions in the Church, holding different lists in their hands, drawn up on different constitutional principles, it is hard to ascertain what the voice of the Church is. However, of this there can be little doubt, that many of those Councils, within whose decrees the true doctrine of the Church is supposed somewhere to be found, are in their acts and dogmas utterly irreconcilable with each other. The Council of Elvira, in 305, denounced the worship of pictures, and that of Constantinople, in 754, condemned that of images. Yet the Second of Nice and Trent authorized them by solemn and express edicts. In the long-protracted Western schism, Councils of equal pretensions elected different Popes as Heads of the Church. As the Church owns but one legitimate Head, and contradictions cannot at the same time be true, to which of the elections were men to bow? Nice and Trent ordained creeds totally different from each other; which of these two creeds represents Truth? The usage of the Church,

and the authority of Scripture, gives to the laity the cup in the Eucharist; and the Council of Constance, in 1414, deprived them of it. Where is infallibility lodged? In the authority of Revelation, or in the edicts of a Council? Nay, the very circumstances under which the confirmatory vote at the Council of Trent, respecting half-communion, was taken, is of itself enough to disturb the faith of the most implicit believer in Conciliary infallibility; for out of 146 votes, 29 voted for the restoration of the privilege, 38 against it, 14 temporized, 10 urged delegation for investigation, 24 referred the point to the Pontiff, and 31 to the Bishops. In this "*concordia discors*," where lay infallibility? It were tedious to prosecute the subject further; and to do it, would be only to prove, that with regard to the nature of Ecumenical Councils, their respective claims to be considered authoritative, their acceptance or rejection by different sections of the Church, their mutually conflicting edicts, and their self-contradictory conclusions, no more audacious or impudent demand was ever made on human subserviency, than that which requires the members of the Romish Church to believe in Conciliary infallibility.

We must resist the temptation presented by the Archbishop's Pastoral, to go into several other points open to assault and exposure. The monstrous assumption of the power of priestly magisterial absolution, for which there exists no authority either in Divine ordinance or Apostolic practice; the dogma of the Immaculate Conception—a new article added to the creed of Rome at the mandate of a single man, and a fearful contradiction to the "*semper eadem*" on which Rome has prided herself; the "*guardianship of every jot and every tittle of the sacred books*," including, of course, the Apocrypha—works never admitted into the canon by the Jewish Church, never quoted by Christ or His Apostles, rejected from the canon of inspired Scripture by the most authoritative Fathers, not found in the list of canonical books adopted at Laodicea and endorsed at Chalcedon,—these, and other points, we should gladly investigate, did our limits admit of our doing so. And satisfied are we, that it were no difficult task to prove that they, one and all, rest on no sounder foundation than those we have taken the pains to dissect and expose.

We have no doubt that we may be asked by the Archbishop what we have to show for ourselves in contrast to the boasts of Rome. It is not for us to magnify our Church; but this much we may say—that all the power we claim for her, and all the excellencies we affirm her to possess, shall be real, and not fanciful substances and mere chimeras; that, if we claim unity, it shall not be compulsory uniformity, but the religious union of men who own "*one Lord, one faith, one Baptism, one God and Father of all*;" that if we adopt a Rule of Faith, it shall

not rest on shadowy traditions and impossible consents, but on the revealed Word of God ; that if we acknowledge the existence of an infallible guide, we shall seek it, not in antagonistic pontiffs and irreconcilable councils, but in Him whose promise it is to "guide His people into all truth." We care not to bolster up our system with high-sounding pretensions and proud assumptions, which crumble into ashes in the handling. We want no varying creed, for we have the Bible ; no iron code of dogmas to which we are bound to yield implicit deference, for we have the promise of the enlightenment of the Spirit ; no dramatic mass, for we have "the one offering by which Christ hath perfected the sanctified ;" no priestly absolution, for we can go direct to Him, who has asked us to come, and "has power on earth to forgive sins ;" no indecent or vitiating confessional, when we have the permission of "casting our care on Him, who cares for us." Differences of opinion we may have : it is the result of our liberty of thought and expression ;—independence of priestly despotism we may have : it has come with that freedom of nature and action which distinguishes the sturdy Englishman from the timid or too trustful Italian ;—a divided hierarchy we may have : it springs from that wide toleration which stands between Dr. Manning and a prosecution. But with all our disadvantages—if such they deserve to be called—it is Protestantism that has made England what she is ; and with all the advantages of the Papal system—if such they deserve to be called—it is Romanism that lies at the root of the wretchedness of Ireland, and the decay of Italy and Spain.

ISRAEL IN THE DESERT AND THE HOLY LAND.

1. *"Israel in the Wilderness ;" or Gleanings from the Scenes of the Wanderings. With an Essay on the True Date of Korah's Rebellion.* By Rev. Charles Forster, B.D., Six Preacher of Canterbury, and Rector of Stisted ; Author of "Sinai Photographed," &c. &c. London : Richard Bentley, 1865.
2. *Physical Geography of the Holy Land.* By Edward Robinson, D.D., Author of "Researches in Palestine." John Murray, Albemarle Street, London.
3. *Three Months' Residence at Nablous, and an Account of the Modern Samaritans.* By Rev. John Mills, F.R.G.S., &c. &c. John Murray, Albemarle Street, London. 1864.
4. *The Holy Sepulchre and the Temple at Jerusalem. Being the Substance of Two Lectures delivered in the Royal Insti-*

tution, Albemarle Street, 1865. By James Fergusson, F.R.S., &c. &c. John Murray, Albemarle Street, London. 1865.

5. *Pictorial Journey through the Holy Land: or, Scenes in Palestine. London: Religious Tract Society.*

I. We hail with satisfaction Mr. Forster's "Israel in the Wilderness," the first upon our list. Two years ago, we reviewed his "Sinai Photographed;" and seven years previously, we had given a cordial reception to a former work of his, in which he introduced his theory of the Sinaitic Inscriptions to the world. We could never understand the indifference of the whole critical and periodical literature of England to this profoundly important subject. After a few superficial attempts to answer him, a profound silence has been observed, which, whether it indicates indifference or timidity, is equally discreditable to our public writers. We cannot help suspecting that our periodical literature is deeply infected with the Colenso poison, or the still more subtle delusions of the Bunsen and Stanley school; for if there be any truth whatever in Mr. Forster's theory, he has furnished an answer to all that has been, or ever can be, advanced against the literal truth of what Moses and his inspired successors of the Pentateuch have written, which can never be disturbed. Almost the sole exception is the newspaper *The Press*. In a short but well-written notice of this last work, the editor confirms what we asserted in the two reviews to which we have referred. Instead of repeating our own statements, we will transcribe from *The Press* the article to which we refer:—

"Mr. Forster is known as the enthusiastic and learned advocate of the Hebrew origin of the inscriptions engraven on the Sinaitic rocks. The chief purpose of this book is to confirm, and substantiate by additional evidence, the certainty of that interpretation. The author traces the encampments of the Israelites in the wilderness to those very localities in which the largest numerical quantity of these inscribed rocks is found. He gives the interpretation of these inscriptions; and, according to his reading of them, they relate to events and incidents in the Mosaic history. He further derives additional corroboration to his statements in the Arabic names of the various valleys and mountains, which in many instances perpetuate traditions connected with the marvels of the Exodus. Two prominent features in this volume are the identification of the precise sites of the passage of the Red Sea, and of Mount Sinai. On both points, the evidence adduced is very satisfactory. The identity of the mount, the true scene of the delivery of the Law, is particularly elaborated by the author. He asserts it to be Mount Serbal, and not Mount Katherin, the Sinai of later monkish tradition. The proof of this theory lies in a threefold corroboration: in the correspondence of Mount Serbal with the Mosaic account of Sinai, with the Arabic names of the vicinity (all connected with the events of the tabernacling of the Israelites), and

with the larger number of inscriptions located in its neighbourhood. Mr. Forster asserts that he can identify, by the intervention of the Arabic name, the very particular hill, which was the scene of the Aaronic worship of the golden calf. It is a singular fact, that Indicoeleustes, a traveller in the sixth century, who first records a notice of these inscriptions, attributed them to the Israelites. The very facts and conditions of the circumstances seem to point to them as the authors of these ancient remains. The number of the inscriptions, the care and accuracy with which they are engraven, the hard material of the granite rock on which they are written, imply time and leisure for human labour. Yet the situations in which they are found in the desert are void of all means, under ordinary circumstances, of supporting human life. How, then, can these contradictory requirements be reconciled? How can these laborious engravings in the wilderness be accounted for, unless they be truly the results of the sojourning of that one people, who alone of all peoples can be traced to the wilderness, and can be shown to have resided there under abnormal conditions, and to have had the opportunity at least of perpetuating on those living rocks the memorials of their mercies and deliverances? Mr. Forster substantiates these *à priori* probabilities by the solution of the inscriptions, all of which refer to transactions recorded in the Pentateuch, and by the re-publication of the Arabic names which contain allusions to the wondrous scenes enacted in this territory. No impartial reader can rise from the perusal of this interesting volume without an increased conviction of the veracity of Moses, and of the reality of the stupendous scenes narrated in the books which bear his name."

It is strange, after all, that the discoveries—for such we regard them—made at Mount Sinai, which deeply interest men of such minds as Lords Lyndhurst and Harrowby, the Bishops of Winchester and Ely, and many others, should be thus quietly ignored by those who affect to guide, or at least to represent, the intelligence of England. We are happy to learn, however, that the public has broken loose from its leading-strings. We learn from Mr. Forster's intelligent publisher that there is a call for "more of Sinai" from many quarters, and especially from that class which is not rich enough to purchase costly publications. Instead of an expensive folio, Mr. Forster publishes this six shilling volume to meet this demand. It contains not only the most interesting of the previous discoveries, but other corroborative proofs down to the present time. We can only wish success to Mr. Forster's new work: it ought to find its way into every Reading Club, and every good parish library; and as to those who doubt, or affect to doubt, the veracity of Moses, they are utterly unpardonable if they do not read it with close attention.

II. But let us suppose the Desert crossed, and the chosen people in possession of the land flowing with milk and honey. Now the physical geography of the Holy Land becomes at

once an interesting subject of inquiry. Let us begin with that ancient river, the sacred Jordan. In every winding there lies a history. It has numberless tributaries, and every tributary is consecrated by some wonderful event. For the Land of Promise was a good land; a land of brooks, of waters, of fountains, and depths that spring out of the valleys and hills. The Jordan is formed of several springs, which rise among the hills of Galilee. These expand into the lakes of the Huleh. Then, after rushing down a rocky chasm for several miles, it spreads out into the lake of Tiberias, or sea of Galilee; emerging from this, it pursues a nearly straight course until it is lost in the Dead Sea; its whole length is not far from one hundred and fifteen miles. Although it becomes a considerable stream below the sea of Tiberias, it is remarkable that no boat was ever seen upon its waters until within the last few years. In the Lower Jordan there are several fords. In one of these, where the stream is about forty yards in width, and when the Jordan overfloweth his banks, ten or twelve in depth, John baptized. Two fords dispute the honour of having witnessed that scene of surpassing wonder, when the whole mystery of the Trinity was revealed to the wondering prophet of the desert. Near the ruined convent of St. John is the spot where Latin pilgrims bathe in the Jordan. The Greek pilgrims bathe at the second ford. It is worthy of remark that there has never been a city, town, or village of any note on the immediate banks of the Jordan after it issues from the lake of Tiberias. Nor does it contain any fish except small ones, not worth taking for food; though the lake of Tiberias was celebrated in the New Testament, and still is, for its numerous fine fish of various kinds. It is a peculiar stream in every way. Though below the level of the Mediterranean, it rushes on with a strong current, and has many violent rapids; but even for the passage of the river boats do not seem to have been in use. The English version once mentions a ferry-boat, but this appears to have been nothing more than a raft to carry over the king's household. It was not used by the king himself, nor by his attendants. (2 Sam. xix. 18.) It runs through a shady thicket, which borders it on either side. This was once the abode of lions, which have now disappeared: the thicket still remains. A great number of Wadys, or tributary streams, fall into the Jordan on both sides. Amongst these is the Jabbok. Jacob passed over the ford Jabbok on his way back from Syria. He had crossed the Jordan a weary solitary man, with his staff for his companion: he returned at the head of two bands, the prince of a formidable tribe. Here he wrestled all night with the angel, and the next day met his brother Esau. The Jabbok was the northern border of the children of Ammon, and afterwards of Sihon, king of the Amorites; so closely did these formidable neigh-

hours approach the Promised Land. Moses passed over the Jabbok to subdue Og, king of Bashan. Afterwards the river became the boundary between Manasseh on the North, and Reuben and Gad to the South. Other tributaries are the Arnon, probably the fountain by Jezreel, for it springs up at the foot of the village of Zerín, or Jezreel, where Saul and Jonathan pitched before their last battle. Then comes the water of Jericho, which passes down by the site of the ancient city, and receives the waters of Elisha's fountain, procured by the man of God to sweeten the unwholesome stream. It is now, we are told, a fine brook, draining the whole northern part of the plain, and receiving several side branches from different valleys. It is described as a beautiful stream, fringed with oleanders, and meandering through the rich meadow-like plain till it enters the Jordan. But we must hasten forward, and come to that awful memorial of God's wrath, the Dead Sea, into which Jordan discharges itself, the most remarkable body of water in the known world. The Jordan, with its tributaries, perishes in its foul embrace. It lies below the level of the Mediterranean, and has no escape: a strong evaporation carries off its superfluous water: it is eternally foul and stagnant. It is spoken of by Moses as the Salt Sea, by the prophets as the Eastern Sea; but in the New Testament it is not once mentioned. Its length is forty geographical miles, its average breadth nine miles; not much longer than Loch Eyre in Ireland, or Loch Lomond in Scotland, but more than twice the width of either. The depth has been ascertained by the careful soundings of the United States expedition under Lieutenant Lynch. The bottom of the lake, along the middle, is a deep plain or valley; the average depth of this valley being 180 fathoms, 1080 feet; but at one point they found the greatest depth, namely, 218 fathoms, or 1308 feet. We suppose the risk of remaining long upon its poisoned waters has prevented any discoveries of what may lie in its hidden depths. The Arabs call it the Sea of Lot. Whether any ruins of the guilty cities of the plain lie buried in those mysterious depths, will probably never be known, for its pestilent vapours compel the few who have dared to navigate its waters to hasten their voyage. There is a salt mountain near, containing no particular ingredients, and especially no bromium, which is drained into the sea; and Dr. Robinson thinks it not improbable that the waters of the sea, perhaps in its hidden depths, come in contact with other minerals. It is not true that birds cannot fly over its deadly waters; but it is perfectly true that no living creature can exist in them. The small fish of the Jordan, if carried down into it, die immediately; occasionally, a traveller has reported that he

found shells of snails or periwinkles along the shore; but this was at the north end, where small fish, dead or dying, have been picked up. The snails found in other parts of its gloomy coast have proved to be land-snails. The shells reported have been invariably empty, without a trace of the living animal. It is an awful region—

“Where all death lives,
Life dies.”

We have said enough to show that Dr. Robinson's work is one of the deepest interest. No thoughtful reader of the Bible can fail to be struck with the fact, that in a thousand instances the geography of the Holy Land confirms the literal truth of the New and Old Testaments, while in not one single instance is it inconsistent with them. We would gladly have continued our investigations, under the guidance of Dr. Robinson; but we must return our cordial thanks, and take our leave of him; not, however, without showing, in his own words, how he proves to a demonstration, that the accursed cities of the plain were either built near the margin of the Dead Sea, or lie plunged beneath its waters. We beg the reader's attention to the argument, which consists of a few simple stages. He admits that, in its main features, the Dead Sea and the region surrounding it existed in their deep chasms, long before the historic period, as the terminus of the Jordan. Let this be freely granted; yet the proof that the cities of the plain lay somewhere in this deep chasm is not in the least disturbed.

- “1. Lot fled from Sodom to Zoar, which was *near* (Gen. xix. 20); and Zoar, as we know, was in the mouth of the Wady Kerah, as it opens upon the neck of the peninsula. The fertile plain, therefore, which Lot chose for himself, where Sodom was situated, and which was well watered like the land of Egypt, lay also south of the lake, ‘as thou comest to Zoar.’ (Gen. xiii. 10, 11.) Even to the present day more living streams flow into the Ghôr, at the south end of the sea, from Wadys of the eastern mountains, than are found so near together in
- all Palestine besides. Tracts of exuberant fertility are still seen along these streams, as on this isthmus and round es-Sâpeh; though elsewhere the district around the southern bay is mostly deserted.

“2. Again, in the same plain were slime pits—that is, wells or fountains of bitumen or asphaltum—which appear to have been of considerable extent. The tract in which they were immediately situated is called the Vale of Siddim, probably a depression in the plain; but it was adjacent to the Salt Sea, and was at least near to Sodom and Gomorrah. (Gen. xiv. 2, 3, 10.) The streams that anciently watered the plain still attest the accuracy of the sacred historian; but the pits of asphaltum are no longer to be seen. Did they disappear in the catastrophe of the guilty cities?

“To this question various circumstances suggest an affirmative reply. In the lapse of centuries, the accumulations of bitumen around

the fountains, and in layers perhaps beneath the soil, had of course become great. We read that 'the Lord rained upon Sodom and upon Gomorrah brimstone and fire from the Lord out of heaven; and He overthrew those cities and all the plain;' so that 'the smoke of the country went up as the smoke of a furnace.' (Gen. xix. 24, 25, 28.) This narrative is readily explained by supposing that, in a tempest of thunder and lightning, the accompaniments perhaps of an earthquake, or of some volcanic action, or of both, these masses of bitumen were ignited by the lightning, and a conflagration produced, which not only destroyed the cities, but also consumed and scooped out the surface of the plain itself, so that the waters of the lake, rushing in, spread themselves out over the once fertile tract. This hypothesis is rendered more probable by the fact, that the northern part of this lake has a depth of more than thirteen hundred feet, and by the circumstance, that the masses of asphaltum still occasionally thrown up appear to come from this southern portion of the sea. In this miraculous overthrow of the plain and its cities, Zoar, though near, yet lying quite at the base of the eastern mountains, was readily spared. (Gen. xix. 20, 22.)

"Such, we may suppose, was the method of God's judgment, when, 'turning the cities of Sodom and Gomorrah into ashes, He condemned them with an overthrow, making them an ensample unto those that after should live ungodly.'" (2 Pet. ii. 6.)

"APPLES OF SODOM.—To this same region belong likewise those far-famed fruits

'which grew

Near that bituminous lake where Sodom stood.'

. . . . On arriving at 'Ain Jidy, in 1838, one of the first objects that attracted our attention was a tree with singular fruit, which at once suggested to our minds the famous apples of Sodom. This was the 'Ōsher of the Arabs, the *Asclepias gigantea* v. *procera* of botanists, which is found in Arabia Felix, and also in Upper Egypt and Nubia, but appears to be confined, in Palestine, to the borders of the Dead Sea. There are several trees at 'Ain Jidy; and they are frequent and of large size on the isthmus of the peninsula, and at the south end of the lake.

"The trees which we saw at 'Ain Jidy were six or eight inches in diameter, or from a foot and a foot and a-half to two feet round; the height being from ten to fifteen feet. The tree has a greyish, cork-like bark, with long oval leaves; and, in its general appearance and character, might be taken for a gigantic perennial species of the milk-weed or silk-weed of the Northern American States. Its leaves and flowers are very similar to those of the latter plant; and when broken off, it in like manner discharges copiously a milky fluid. The fruit resembles externally a large smooth apple or orange, hanging in clusters of three or four together, and when ripe is of a yellow colour. It was, at that season, fair and delicious to the eye, and soft to the touch; but on being pressed or struck, it exploded with a puff, like a bladder or puff-ball, leaving in the hand only the shreds of the thin

rind and a few fibres. It is, indeed, filled chiefly with air, like a bladder, which gives it the round form, while in the centre a small slender pod runs through it from the stem, and is connected by thin filaments with the rind. The pod contains a small quantity of fine silky fibres with seeds, precisely like the pod of the silk-weed, though hardly a tenth part so large. The Arabs collect the silk, and twist it into matches for their guns."

The reader will have observed that these apples of Sodom grow in clusters, and that it is on this spot only that they are found in all Palestine. To what else, then, than to this very fruit can we refer the passage,—“For their vine is of the vine of Sodom, and of the fields of Gomorrah; their grapes are grapes of gall, their clusters are bitter.” (Deut. xxxii. 32.) From Genesis we learn that the kings of Sodom and Gomorrah fell by the slime-pits. The pits are gone, but they were near the Salt Sea. The Salt Sea remains, and the bituminous pits have cast their substance into its depths, from whence it is washed up from time to time, and thrown upon the shore. Here, then, the materials were all prepared; and when the wrath of God was at length to be executed, the guilty cities perished under the bituminous storm, “suffering the vengeance of eternal fire”—a fearful warning of that wrath to come, which must one day overtake the impenitent and hardened sinner.

III. From these awful scenes we turn to those of a different character. Passing on His way to Galilee, to which it lay on the direct road, our Lord must needs go through Samaria. We would know something of that strange race, the Samaritans, whom Dr. Stanley describes as “the oldest and smallest sect in the world;” and Mr. Mills adds, “perhaps the most interesting.” They dwell where they have dwelt ever since the time of Nehemiah, in one of the most interesting spots mentioned in the early history of the Holy Land. There Abraham and his grandson Jacob erected their altars to Jehovah. There Israel had paused in their march, to repeat their covenant with God, and to take the blessing and the curse upon them. There stand the two mountains, Ebal and Gerizim. Between them is the narrow valley of Nablous, at the mouth of which are Joseph’s tomb and Jacob’s well. The valley is scarcely a quarter of a mile in width; but the air is so pure, and the effect of the mountains rising abruptly to the height of eight hundred feet on either side is such, that voices are easily conveyed from one side to the other. Here through the night, where far other sounds were once heard, the jackall howls defiance to his unclean and ferocious rival on the other side. To the north of the valley lies a vast plain surrounded with mountains, except, exactly opposite to the valley, there is

a chasm, through which Israel passed on their way. In this plain, and in this narrow valley, the Samaritans dwelt; on Mount Gerizim their temple stood: by that well Jesus sat and taught; there He pronounced those wondrous words, the charter of spiritual religion for all the earth,—“Woman, believe me, the hour cometh, when ye shall neither in this mountain, nor yet at Jerusalem, worship the Father. The hour cometh, and now is, when the true worshippers shall worship the Father in spirit and in truth; for the Father seeketh such to worship him.”

Shechem, the new Testament Sychar, the modern Nablous, lies in the valley at the very foot of Gerizim; all the other towns throughout the whole country round about are built upon lofty sites, to render them more secure; the only reason that can be given for the exception afforded by Nablous seems to be, that it is one of the most ancient cities in the world; that it was first built when the inhabitants were a quiet people, apprehending no danger, and meaning no harm. The city was destroyed during the Roman wars, and rebuilt by Vespasian, who called it Neapolis, of which Nablous is evidently a corruption. Our author says, with reference to the address of Jotham to the people of Shechem (Judges ix. 7—21), that he might have stood on one of the large projections on Gerizim that overlooked the city. At dusk, when the people had all gathered themselves into the city, the din of the town having ceased, and deathlike silence all around, he could have harangued the people from his lofty pulpit, and without any unusual effort have made himself heard by the whole population, and then withdrawn over the mountain. But why was their temple built on a toilsome elevation on the top of Gerizim? Probably in rivalry of the temple at Jerusalem; or the Samaritans may have been infected with the heathen superstition, that mountains and high places were sacred—more sacred than the vale beneath. Anciently there is said to have been a flight of steps to the summit, traces of which may still be seen. It is easy in the valley to fix upon the very spot on Gerizim on which the five tribes stood to bless the people, and upon Mount Ebal the six tribes to curse the transgressors.

“Those who have seen the spot,” says Mr. Mills, “and have examined it, can readily realize the scene. Just where the two mountains approach each other nearest, are the two lower spurs, looking like two noble pulpits prepared by nature; and here the Levites would stand to read. The valley running between looks just like the floor of a vast place of worship. The slopes of both mountains recede gradually, and offer room for hundreds of thousands to be conveniently seated to hear the words of the law. The first time I stood upon that lower spur of Gerizim, the whole scenery struck me forcibly, as

if Divine Providence had conformed its physical features on purpose to meet the requirements of the occasion."

We can notice but a few of the points connected with this land of the ancient Samaritans which distinctly confirm the literal veracity of the Old Testament history. Here, then, in the centre of this sacred valley, stood the ark; here knelt the greatest soldier that ever led an army to battle. Here the Levites on Gerizim read the blessings, and the Levites on Ebal read the cursings, to which the vast assembly responded Amen. "What a sublime sight!" exclaims Mr. Mills; a congregation and a service compared with which all other assemblies the world has ever witnessed dwindle into insignificance. Rome is not more full of the memorials of its ancient glory, than Nablous, both in its scenery, its geography, and the unaltered character of its people, of testimonies to the truth of ancient Scripture. It would be as irrational, or more so, to doubt, after a visit to this spot, whether the Old and New Testament histories, so far as Samaria is concerned, are literally true, as it would, after surveying the Coliseum, to doubt whether Rome were the seat of a great people before the days of Attila the destroyer.

For the people are as unchanged as the mountains and valleys among which they dwell. Two thousand years have altered nothing. Their dress is such as it has been for many thousand years, both men and women. Still, as when Moses wrote, there are seven things which are a defilement, namely, those contained in the Law (Numbers xix. 17). And their purification is nearly what it was. Then the ashes of an heifer were mixed with running water; now running water only is used. The periods during which the defilements last are still the same. They never eat the flesh of any beast that does not chew the cud and divide the hoof, according to the Law. Swine are expressly forbidden. They eat no poultry forbidden by Moses as unclean, nor any kind of fish that has not both fins and scales. When Mr. Mills visited the temple, his attendant took off his shoes, for it was holy ground; and before they entered the synagogue, all showed the same respect to the house of worship, alleging the command of God to Moses as their reason for so doing. They eat the Passover with ceremonies precisely such as Moses commanded, with unleavened bread and bitter herbs, with a kind of rope around the waist, staves in their hands, and their shoes on their feet. They ate it in haste; in less than ten minutes the whole had disappeared. The few fragments that remained were collected, every crumb, together with the bones, were all burnt over a fire kindled for that purpose, and while the flames were blazing, and consuming the remnant of the Paschal lambs, the people returned cheerfully to their tents. The other feasts prescribed by Moses are

observed with the same literal exactness. But here we must pause. That infidelity must be obstinate, or that hardness of heart incurable, which, after a visit to Nablous, can hesitate to subscribe to David's confession—"Thy word is truer from the beginning, and every one of thy righteous judgments endureth for ever."

IV. The fourth book upon our list contains the subject of two lectures delivered before the Royal Institution, on the "Site of the Holy Sepulchre and the Temple at Jerusalem." We cannot well follow the argument from which Mr. Fergusson concludes that the building popularly known as the Mosque of Omar is in reality the sepulchral building which Constantine erected over what he believed to be the tomb of Christ; nor is it necessary for our purpose that we should do so. We wish to express our great satisfaction that such questions have now begun to engage the attention of the polite and fashionable. From the circumstantialia of religion many may be led to a more deep and solemn consideration of its vast importance. What was begun as a recreation may end in a conversion of the soul to God. The site of the ancient temple Mr. Fergusson places outside the Mosque of Omar. The tabernacle in the wilderness was the model of all the subsequent temples. Mr. Fergusson believes that no one could have described it, so as it is described, without having seen it standing. The temple of Solomon was exactly twice its size, that is, about the size of St. Paul's, Covent Garden; if that building had a flat roof, and its interior was occupied by two chambers, surrounded by a range of cells on three sides, it would mechanically very nearly represent the most celebrated building in the world. Mr. Fergusson throws out several conclusions deeply interesting, and, if their truth can be established, of vast importance. We do not venture at present further than to lay them before our readers as briefly as possible. First, with regard to Solomon's temple, he maintains that most of our London churches (such, for instance, as St. Martin's-in-the-Fields) are, both as to dimensions and lithic ornament, larger and more splendid than Solomon's temple. "The truth seems to be, that it was built in the 'Bronze Age' of architecture, which preceded the great 'Stone Age.' Its magnificence consisted in the brazen pillars of its porch, its brazen seats and altars, its cedar pillars covered with gold, and generally in its richness and metallic splendour. Those employed to build it were smiths, not masons; and consequently any attempt to compare it with our modern buildings is absurd, and I am afraid every attempt to restore its features by drawing is equally hopeless. No specimen of the brazen architecture of those days has been preserved, and no representation of it is known to exist." So

we must at least wait a little, before we can hope to realize the appearance of this celebrated building. The temple described by Ezekiel has long perplexed our commentators. It seems to have been taken for granted, that it is to be erected, if ever, in some future age, and then, if so, what becomes of the repeated assertions of all the New Testament writers, that Christ having come, sacrifices are all done away, and that for ever? The strangest opinions have been formed, and the wildest theories, upon no other basis than that of Ezekiel's temple, supposed to be still unbuilt. Now, Mr. Fergusson cuts his way at once, with a facility which seems surprising, through all such difficulties. As to its dimensions, he thinks nothing can be plainer; our ignorance of many of the Hebrew architectural terms renders some of the details obscure; but the outline is perfectly clear; it was the model on which, after the captivity, the temple of Zerubbabel was built. The story of these two temples appears to be this:—During the captivity, the prophet placed on record the sacred arrangements and dimensions of the Temple as they had been revealed to Moses and David, and had been carried into execution by Solomon. To these he added such minor suggestions as subsequent experience may have shown to be expedient, or, rather, as the prophetic spirit that was in him suggested to his mind, and such additions as were requisite to complete the beau ideal of a perfect Jewish temple; and when the Jews returned from the captivity, they carried out this specification and these suggestions to as great an extent as their means admitted, in no instance departing from the sacred model thus delivered to them and sanctioned by the Divine authority. Mr. Fergusson shows this to be the case by minute calculations, for which we must refer the reader to his second lecture. We come to Herod's temple, the most interesting of all; first, because of its greater magnificence; but more than this, because it was here that our Saviour taught; and lastly, because its foundations can still be traced, if Mr. Fergusson be correct; and thus it becomes the turning point of all topographical researches at Jerusalem. The house of the Lord itself was only repaired by Herod, but much was added. It was built across the Tyropean valley; at the end of the bridge which crossed it stood the golden or beautiful gate. The court of the women, and the court of the Gentiles, were now added on a scale of consummate grandeur, to which must be added the wonderful masonry of the terrace wall, still to be seen at the Jews wailing place, the nearest spot to the holy of holies. Josephus tells us that Herod doubled the area of the Temple; but, in fact, he increased it nearly five-fold. The great glory of the outer court was the Beautiful gate or porch. It was six hundred feet long, and one hundred wide, supported by a hundred and sixty-two

columns, bearing some resemblance to the Corinthian order, which divided it into three aisles.

"I know not," says Mr. Fergusson, "what impression these dimensions make on you. Perhaps some of you are disappointed. But recollect, no temple of ancient times out of Egypt surpassed them. The great temple at Palmyra covered about the same area, but was far less magnificent. That of Baalbec was smaller, though, if ever completed, it would have rivalled its splendours. All those of Greece or Rome covered a smaller area, and none were equal in magnificence."

As a frontispiece to the volume, Mr. Fergusson gives us a view of the Temple as it appeared at the time of the crucifixion. It is not a fancy picture, but founded generally upon his studies of a series of Asiatic buildings, beginning with Persepolis, five hundred years before the time of Herod, and ending with the Tâk Kesra, five hundred years after it, and throwing into this that amount of Roman design which must have prevailed at that period. Now, if it be a fact, that the measurements and dimensions are taken from Ezekiel's Temple, it will not be denied that Mr. Fergusson has made out a strong case in favour of his theory. In order to try and realize the whole, he bids us to fancy a building raised on a lofty terrace, and standing in a court surrounded by cloisters and porches;—to imagine these courts approached by ten great gateways, each in itself a work of vast magnificence. We are to suppose this group to be surrounded by another court on a lower level, one side of which is occupied by a building longer and higher than York Minster, and the other three sides by cloisters more magnificent than any with which we are acquainted; and then this vast pile is supported by terraced walls of such grand masonry that even at this day, and in their ruined state, they strike every beholder with amazement. In short, the design of Herod's Temple, says Mr. Fergusson, may have wanted something of that classical simplicity we so much admire in other buildings of an earlier period, and its details may have been more gorgeous than pure; but take it all in all, so complete a building, rising terrace above terrace, and court within court, must have afforded a variety of perspective and a splendour of effect, which, coupled with its dimensions, must have equalled, if it did not surpass, anything we know of elsewhere.

V. We cannot bring our paper to a close without expressing, in a few words, our extreme gratification with the handsome volume published by the Tract Society. It is meant for the drawing-room table, where it need not be ashamed to take its place by the side of much more expensive volumes. It is handsomely got up, and contains excellent coloured engravings. The letter-press, too, is selected from the best sources. The use of such a work is to suggest conversation, or to fill up

those short fragments of time which often occur through the day, and which no wise man will suffer to run to waste. It is very creditable to the Tract Society; and the public ought to know, that it is by the profit gained upon such works as these that it is enabled to carry on its more serious labours in the publication and dispersion of religious tracts and cheap religious literature.

But we are probably still only in an early stage of our geographical and physical discoveries in the Holy Land. The golden fruit which some have gathered is stimulating others; and in a country where it is almost impossible to turn a sod without laying bare a history, and confirming the truth of some passage in Holy Writ, many excellent persons, it may be expected, will devote their energies to these resources. We copy the following from the pages of a newspaper :—

“PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND.—The Archbishop of York has consented to preside at the first public meeting of the members of this fund, established for the purpose of promoting the investigation of the archæology, geography, geology, and natural history of the Holy Land. Among the distinguished persons who have joined the committee are the Dukes of Devonshire and Argyll, the Earls of Derby and Shaftesbury, the Earl Russell, the Bishops of London, Oxford, and Ely, the Speaker of the House of Commons, Sir H. Rawlinson, Sir R. Murchison, the Deans of Westminster and St. Paul’s, Professor Owen, Dr. Pusey, and several Members of the House of Commons. Mr. R. Hanbury, M.P., and Mr. J. Abel Smith, M.P., have accepted the office of treasurers, and Mr. George Grove that of secretary.

WILBERFORCE AND HIS CONTEMPORARIES: SIR ROBERT HARRY INGLIS, BART.; WILLIAM HEY, ESQ.; THOMAS CLARKSON, ESQ.

WE return to Sir Robert Inglis’s life. During his residence, as the head of the Thornton family, at Battersea Rise, after acting for a time as Lord Sidmouth’s private secretary, (Lord Sidmouth being then and for many years in the Home Department, under Lord Liverpool’s Government,) he obtained the lucrative post of Commissioner on a Commission to settle the affairs of the Carnatic, which was connected with the East India Company; and many of us will remember the rooms at the end of Manchester Buildings, in which he was generally to be found. In 1824, just as Wilberforce, warned by repeated and severe illness, was about to leave Parliament, while Canning was pursuing his brilliant course as leader of the House, Sir Robert Inglis entered Parliament for the Borough of Dun-

dalk. By this time his father was dead, and he had succeeded to the Baronetcy. At Battersea Rise, after it had passed under the direction of Mr. Inglis, Wilberforce was a frequent guest. It was there, in 1817, that Southey first saw Wilberforce. Mr. Inglis was often a guest at Kensington Gore. The same year Wilberforce's *Journal* enumerates as his visitors at breakfast, Inglis and Dr. Chalmers. He helps Wilberforce with his just remarks (v. 205, 1823) on the pamphlet he was publishing. He was a visitor when the patriarch dwelt at Highwood Hill; and we find in Wilberforce's *Journal*, while the young Macaulay's fluent and fertile conversation is commented on with delight, Inglis, "extremely entertaining and most kind," receives honourable mention. It was through his persuasion that Wilberforce was induced to sit for his picture to Mr. Richmond, whose genius was then rising into notice: at his table first the painter and the patriarch met, and the skill of the artist, drawn out by the qualities of Wilberforce's mind, triumphed (sure sign of genius) over physical difficulties, and has given us a portrait remarkable for its interest and truth.

From the Borough of Dundalk Sir Robert Inglis was transferred, through the friendship of Vice-Chancellor Shadwell, to the Borough of Ripon, then under the influence of Miss Lawrence; and in 1829, when Sir Robert Peel surrendered his seat for the University of Oxford, after introducing the Bill for Roman Catholic Emancipation, Inglis replaced Peel, after a severe contest. That contest afforded another example of his sunny temperament, for his most attached friend canvassed against him, and by so doing drew down sharp gibes from the affectionate circle of Battersea Rise; but from Sir Robert none. His friend was constantly with him, as dear as ever; came invited or uninvited, always welcome, to his hospitable table; and without a shade of displeasure in Sir Robert's face, continued to report to him the progress of the canvass, and offered to share his post-chaise, that they might travel together to the election. From that time, the public life of Sir Robert Inglis, and his Parliamentary history till his retirement in 1859, are known to most of us. He represented the University of Oxford for nine Parliaments, and the Queen honoured his faithful loyalty by conferring on him, though never in office, the rank of Privy Councillor. His position in Parliament throughout that period was peculiar. In party conflicts he took no interest. In the common movements of political circles he was not concerned. Even with the party, with which in the main he agreed, he declined to act. He refused, when urged, to take any part in those confidential communications, which are incidental and essential to party. A steady Protestant, he did not enroll himself as a member of any Protestant

Association. When the Conservative party split asunder, he refused to join in the councils of the section to which his bias inclined him. He felt that circumstances had placed him in a peculiar position; that he represented a great literary and ecclesiastical confederation; and that, placed on this elevation, it was not desirable to descend into the common arena of strife, and mix in the dust and passions of partisans. But this did not make him unconcerned in any question which arose before Parliament; on almost every question, with an honest desire to do his duty, he gave his vote, and generally his voice. The effects of such a course were at the outset unfavourable to him. A man who stands alone in Parliament, a solitary sentinel, while the two armies are marching and countermarching, pitted against each other, and manœuvring, is regarded as a mar-plot or a traitor. As they advance or retreat, he is generally brushed aside, and often trampled down. He is offensive to both sides: the side which he opposes think little of him, the side which he supports are vexed by his independence. No doubt a man may counteract these defects of position by peculiar qualities, by wit, or sarcasm, or eloquence. He may make himself so formidable, as to establish his power. His shafts, though single, may be sharp. Hanging on the flank of the army, he may fire frequent shots, and inflict severe wounds. His musketry may pick out leaders, and lacerate the ranks. By such a course, though he is solitary, he becomes strong; and assisted by free discussion, and a free press, his speeches become incidents in a debate, and fly on the wings of the wind to every corner of the empire. Hence it is that such speakers have often made themselves so formidable to Governments, that at any cost they must be silenced. A seat in the Cabinet, or a high position in diplomacy or in the colonies, is not too dear a price to pay to get rid of them. But there was nothing of this sort of tactique in Sir Robert Inglis. He had not the gifts for such a line, and assuredly no taste for it. He was a ready speaker, but not racy; fluent, not brilliant; not a man to electrify an audience; unimpassioned, formal, didactic, with a certain regularity in his periods, and a formality in his manner, which took off from the effect of his rhetoric; a calmness in his tone which made you rather esteem the man than admire the orator. Men did not rush in from the library or the kitchen when he rose, or crowd the benches to hear him. When his portly figure and genial countenance appeared on the floor, the white waistcoats at the bar continued to flutter, and the drowsy stagers on the back benches slept profoundly. But if Sir Robert Inglis had had the powers, he would not have condescended to employ them with a view to personal ends, nor would he have ever been induced to attack, or inflict pain. From such courses, as rigorously as

Wilberforce, he abstained. He was often assailed; he had many provocations. O'Connell poured upon him his philippics; Shiel played upon him his jets of ridicule; champions of liberalism did not like his dread of change; the advocates of progress denounced his prejudices. Taunts of bigotry, intolerance, and Pharisaism, were freely poured on him. But these things did not move him: they passed as summer lightning passes over the sturdy oak. He was not wounded by them, and he did not retaliate. The only time we ever saw him moved was not by personalities, but by irregularity. A coarse interruption offended at once his love of order and his sense of decorum. The offence was gross, and, as it sprang from low excess, it deserved censure. He showed on this occasion that, if he did not say severe things, it was from no want of power. Aristocracy of talent, he said, he admired; he felt respect for the aristocracy of birth; but the aristocracy of money he despised.

But pursuing this line of a self-restrained and solitary action, Sir Robert Inglis, discredited at first, earned at length his reward. Like strong plants, his repute grew, slowly, firmly; it bore fruit in his latter days. Little considered at first in the heat of party, he became at length a power in the House of Commons. The House learned to look for his opinion, and to respect it. When he rose to speak, he was at once heard. The measure which he supported was the better for him; the side which he opposed suffered. No doubt his courtesy and kindness helped this result; but these are legitimate sources of moral influence. There were few of eminence on either side who did not style him their friend; nor was it a mere name. They felt to him as friends, and with reason, for they owed him some act of kindness, or some grateful courtesy. They had served with him on Committees, and had there felt both his impartiality and his power; for in the smaller circles of Committees his retentive memory and his various knowledge made him an acquisition. Gradually, as the House saw the deference with which its leaders treated him, they too listened to him with respect. No doubt, on a host of questions which in these stormy days occur, his opinions and those of the House differed widely. They thought him prejudiced and old-fashioned; he thought the majority rash. A chasm lay between his position and the flood of novelties which ran in a troubled current below. Still there were many questions on which both parties could meet, and on which they learnt to appreciate his judgment. And they rejoiced to have among them a man so disinterested and so genial, who mixed in every social circle, and took his part in Parliamentary busi-

ness, and knew more than most men ; and was the associate of men of science and letters, and the liberal patron of art, and the fast friend of men of genius. They found him opening his doors with a kindly hospitality, and receiving at his table men of the most opposite opinions, yet carrying among them an atmosphere of goodness, which he breathed without effort ; unsuspected, because thoroughly genuine ; displeasing no one, because so simple and unassuming. Such a man was valued by them, the representative of a rare but eminent class, on whom the University, who sent him, could hardly be said to reflect honour, but whom it chose as the accurate type of its highest qualities—its scholarship, refinement, and virtues. So it fell out that, when he was selected to preside at Oxford over the Association of Science, every one felt the choice to be appropriate. For, in truth, from the continuity of his literary pursuits, and the excellence of his memory, he possessed upon most subjects competent knowledge. No one, indeed, would compare his knowledge with that of men who had made science their speciality, nor with the marvellous acquirements of Lord Brougham. But the man who had lived in intimacy with Hallam and Palgrave, Professor Owen and General Sabine, Mrs. Somerville and Dr. Whewell, —who had read enough to appreciate their intelligence, and to join in their conversation,—was of no mean acquirements. We remember introducing him to a distinguished astronomer of the North, and spending with him a pleasant afternoon in his observatory. On that occasion, while he delighted the man of science with his pertinent questions and remarks, we observed that he secured the information of the day, and lodged it in one of his copious note-books for future use. In literature it is needless to say that he held an honourable place. Though too much engaged in public life to be himself an author, he walked abreast of the works of literary men. In such conversation as fell from Southey, Macaulay, or Croker, from Walter Scott and Miss Edgeworth and Rogers and Lockhart, from Macintosh and Sir Stamford Raffles and Guizot and Baron de Staël, from Copleston and Blomfield, he took his place, and held it well. In travels, Sir John Franklin and Basil Hall, Fraser and Rawlinson, Barrow and Murchison and Joseph Wolff, found him not only a willing but a well-informed listener. Every one felt that, as one of the leading trustees of the British Museum, none was more competent. Of his knowledge of art we need hardly speak ; for almost every eminent artist was his friend. He was familiar with Chantrey, and Laurence, and Wilkie ; with many who have passed from among us with brilliant reputations ; with others whose genius yet remains to adorn our walls ; of whom there is scarcely one

who would not say that his memory is endeared to him by many acts of kindness and words of courtesy.

For he had that happy art, possessed by few, of making his courtesy attractive by its plain sincerity. The outward manner was the expression of inward feeling; the kindness of the heart shone transparent through the look and smile. It was, indeed, to many a reason for frequenting some social clubs, that they were sure to meet him there. Men hardened by the contact of common society, or chilled by the false show of pretended interest, expanded under the hearty smile with which he welcomed them, his words of discriminating notice, and the pressure of that friendly hand. His sympathy with the young was in him a characteristic. It was worth while to procure an introduction for a youth into his society; he was sure to be remembered. Great men and notable were his guests; but among them you were sure to see some youth unknown to fame received cordially, introduced to distinguished guests, and made to feel himself thoroughly at home. What he did in the more direct exercise of charity, it is not for us to tell. His charities were as large as they were secret. Men who knew some of his largesses, or observed his hospitality, fancied that he was rich. It was not so. The surplus which a Chancellor of Exchequer longs for, and rich men enjoy, was unknown to him. Like Wilberforce, he never had a margin. If he got the two ends to meet, it was all he could do. He spent all he received. A legacy of £1000, left him by a younger friend who knew the demands on his purse, was almost the only spare money he ever had through life.

Such as we have described him he remained: with none of the paternal tastes for the country; nothing bucolic about him; no farmer; not a follower of John Evelyn; not skilled as a gardener or florist,—the only flowers he knew were those which affectionate hands sent him, and which, full blown like his goodness, adorned his button-hole. Men, the haunts of men, the ways of men, the works of men, were his interests.

His rest from Parliamentary labour was sought and found in travel. He had ransacked the Continent. Every city was familiar to him. Its highways and byways were known. For its towns he needed no cicerone. All the objects of interest there, and all their traditions, were known to him. In that capacious memory there were stored more facts than Murray has gathered in his volumes. He remembered all he read and observed. The stages, and distances, and times of travel, jotted down in his journals, stood fixed in his recollection. He could recall to the French postilion, with whip and jack-boots and laced jacket, the hours and minutes which the same stage had taken them years before. In his travels his genial

temper was shown. His arrival at the hotels where he was known was hailed as a jubilee. Mine host and the hostess, the waiters and the ostler, ran out to welcome the *bon chevalier*. Even at the *table d'hôte* he was a presence. Not, like most travellers, confining his thoughts to his party and himself, he acted rather like the entertainer, picking out the best dishes, offering them to the guests near him, and taking pleasure in their partaking of them. The good old habit of thankfulness adhered to him. To the surprise of the guests, he said grace before he sat down. And there was in his manner something which at once kept up dignity, and made men wish to know him. "Est-ce que Monsieur est duc, ou pair?" was the Frenchman's question. The Spanish Don was so delighted with the stately courtesy that resembled his own, that he heaped grateful attentions on him. His secret was the secret of the Christian, to love and honour others as we love ourselves—to consider their feelings as we do our own. Therefore, though a sturdy Protestant, he respected Romish observances. No greedy guide ever opened relics for him, or undrew curtains from pictures over altars, while the mass was going forward or vespers prayers were sung. One indulgence he allowed himself in his travels. Each morning he filled a bag with small coins, and emptied it in the progress of the day. He scattered it among the beggars who gathered round his carriage. Very wrong, we admit, ye economists, and contrary to the dogmas of science. It infuriated his courier. But let us not be severe. He confessed, though he continued, his fault. It was, he said, self-indulgence; a little money made the poor creatures look so happy.

Sir Robert Inglis began his travels in 1814, and continued them till 1853; not indeed every year, but he was abroad more than thirty times. We see him now, in his old-fashioned yellow chariot, passing, with all the appurtenances of foreign travel, up the valley of the Rhone, in the midst of that glorious scenery—chestnut woods and walnut trees, trailing vines and gems of flowers, rocks above and rolling waters below, and far away, flashing in the distance, the peaks of unearthly snow. He sits there, and looks round him, benign with his beaming smile; the heavens change, as they do in that land of storms; clouds gather, and hurricanes sweep across the Alps; blue skies and burning suns give place to drifting mist and driving rain. But whatever changes there are, there are none on that serene countenance. No less cheerful, when hailstorms have driven him for shelter to the inn, and rattle against the misty panes, as when we saw him in sunshine on the river banks. Meet him on the noisy railroad, in the scorching heat and blinding dust of an August day; when everybody else is out

of sorts, he is radiant, with a friendly word for an acquaintance, and kind attentions for all.

In 1834, after suffering from a severe illness, Sir Robert Inglis was recommended to extend his travels. He went, therefore, to the East, starting in July, and only returning in December. Wherever he passed, in this his longest journey, he was received with attention. The governors of Gibraltar and Malta, the admirals on the different stations, the consuls in the towns, paid him the utmost respect. Ashore or afloat, they placed their accommodations at his disposal, and vied with each other in attentions to one whose public character was esteemed. His journal, which we have been permitted to see, marks his exactness and painstaking. Everywhere he collected information, and registered it. Distances and measurements are recorded; in some cases, rough sketches preserve architectural features; and classical quotations, with references to books, show at once his memory and his knowledge. Picturesqueness of description was not his forte; but correct information on various towns of Asia Minor and of Palestine, left to him valuable recollections and a store of interest.

But we must resume and close his history. After eighteen years spent at Battersea Rise, he removed, in 1833, to the house once occupied by Mr. Butterworth, in Bedford Square. He chose this unfashionable quarter partly because it was near many of his friends at the Bar and the Bench, chiefly because he could obtain at a moderate cost a large house in which to store his extensive library, and to provide accommodation for his large circle of friends. In this house few, distinguished at the time either for literature or art, or known within the House of Commons, did not find a welcome. They now look back on pleasant evenings, in a circle which blended wit and wisdom, freedom and decorum. In that house he lived during the remainder of his happy life, disappearing from it during three or four months in the autumn, in order to recruit his strength by travelling in England, Scotland, or the Continent, and leaving behind him his cares and correspondence, returning there to resume his labours after his well-earned holiday. In the House of Commons he continued to rise in repute. The opinions, which appeared extreme and strange in his youth, sat better on the older man; and as they were honestly held, and were never offensively expressed, they never gave annoyance. True, he had no disciples; nor did he affect to be the chief of a section. The generation that was rising, opinions that were changing, found in him no response. He was the oak on the river's bank, which casts on the flowing current the reflection of its immovable stem. But though between him and the rapid generations of politicians, which

rise so quickly and disappear, and which brought, especially after the Reform Bill, new views of public affairs, there was little fellow-feeling—there were established other ties. His influence in social life was great, and grew with his years. No young man who entered Parliament, no older statesman who returned to it, but felt glad to make or renew acquaintance with him. To his house all were admitted; at his breakfast-table or at his dinner, guests met freely, and enjoyed the society. The House of Commons, where he had sat so long, regarded him with affection. When they met after the recess, they looked to his familiar seat, and were delighted to see it occupied. He was an element of the House as necessary as the Speaker in the Chair. Time passed so lightly over him, and left the look and countenance so little altered, that the notice of his resignation came upon all men by surprise. The expressions of regret which poured upon him from every quarter marked the general estimation in which he was held; all felt that there had passed from the House a presence which would long be missed, and that the seat, which he had vacated, might be filled, but not supplied. In the words of Wordsworth—

“ But yet I know, where'er I go,
That there has passed away a glory from the earth.”

In the winter of 1849 he had had a serious illness; but from this he recovered. In January, 1854, he felt his strength impaired; and, acting on the advice of his eminent physician, he retired from Parliament. His friends, though grieved at his retirement, comforted themselves with the hope that rest would preserve his strength, and prolong his days. It was not so; his work was done. Some symptoms in the following autumn occasioned uneasiness. A slight ailment led to grave disorder. Early in the winter of 1854—5, the illness became serious, and to anxious eyes foreboded danger. But by him the issue was regarded calmly. He had been long prepared. He continued his usual pursuits. The literary works which had long interested him delighted him still. A thoughtful work of Sir Cornewall Lewis, lately published, was read by him during the latter weeks of his illness. But the higher theme was constantly with him. As long as his state of health allowed, he might be seen in his usual place in his parish church of Bloomsbury, which then, and for many years, had enjoyed the affectionate ministrations of Mr. Villiers. His satisfaction was observable in his countenance; and the look of delighted interest with which he watched some young persons go up for the first time to the Sacrament greatly impressed the beholders. His social habits remained. He was not able to enjoy general society; but the company of a few friends refreshed him, and they were received with increased cordiality and with warmer signs of affection. He was going his journey

a little before them, and he drew to them more closely as they were about to part for a time. His look, his words, were full of tenderness, thankfulness for God's mercies, peaceful resignation, and an untroubled joy. Such a life it seemed only in keeping should pass away gently. The day which had opened brightly, and had run its course without a cloud, was likely to set in a serene evening. His hopes and his retrospect were alike clear. The decline of strength was gradual, and the decay painless. There was no struggle. It was that mild decay by which Autumn falls asleep in the arms of Winter. That sublime song of elevated piety, the *Te Deum*, in which successive generations of Christians have conveyed to the ear of God their deep yet jubilant adoration, was on his lips at the moment when the last messenger reached him, and bore him from the words of prayer, no longer needed, to the land whose sinless inhabitants, freed at once from pain and death, express their enraptured thankfulness in the language of praise.

In keeping with the humility of his character, he begged that no monument but a plain slab of granite should mark the place of his burial, inscribed only with his name, birth, marriage, and death; and the words of his last will record impressively his simple faith,—“I commend my soul to the mercy of God, through the single merits of Jesus Christ, having no hope, and desiring to have no trust, except in Him.”

Of other friends and coadjutors of Wilberforce we have been urged to make mention. But the life of Fowell Buxton has been written so lately and fully, as to render impertinent any further notice of it. He was brought, in 1818, into communication with Mr. Wilberforce, through his philanthropic interest in the state of our prisons; and he became soon after an effective supporter of the Abolition cause. Mr. Wilberforce experienced his help on many occasions from 1819 to 1824. In 1822 the experience of the veteran was of use to the younger philanthropist, to restrain him from his idea of visiting the West Indies. The same year, Wilberforce entered into closer communication with him, and, as he felt his own infirmities to increase, turned to him as his successor. In 1823 he finally committed the cause to his hands, visited him in Norfolk, and in 1825 selected him to move for the Stewardship of the Chiltern Hundreds. He, however, survived to read Buxton's speech, and learn his triumph in 1833.

Of another friend, endeared to him by years of intimacy in his Yorkshire history, Mr. Hey of Leeds, we must say a few words. Mr. Hey was no less eminent as a philanthropist than as a medical man; and immediately after Wilberforce's change of sentiments, the two friends opened communication with each other on plans of practical benevolence. In 1786, when Wil-

berforce visited Leeds; he became a guest of Mr. Hey's; and he then speaks of his "as a truly happy family, engaged in serving God." In 1790, he was urged by him to repair his strength by a visit to the Buxton waters. He then observed with admiration his friend's habits,—a large professional business, yet his Sunday carefully honoured; his hands full of work, yet the loadstar of his course the love of God. To Mr. Hey he had early imparted his ideas for correcting the abuses of county elections; and to him he first made known the scheme which afterwards took shape in the Association for the Suppression of Vice. He continued to correspond with him in the various passages of his public history; described to him the incidents in the great debate on Abolition in 1792; his anxieties during the stormy season of 1795; his resolution to attend the Yorkshire meeting; and his apprehensions as Pitt's policy became more boastful and more embarrassed in his later years. To him he communicated his dawning hopes in the cause of East India Missions in 1808; his doubts on the propriety of the seizure of the Danish fleet; his sorrow at the scandals of the Duke of York; his hesitation as he began to change his views on the Roman Catholic claims; his alarm after Percival's death in 1812; and his thankfulness on Napoleon's fall. He turns to Mr. Hey for advice when famine falls upon the Yorkshire poor in 1801 and 1803; and he consults him on the introduction of the Conventicle Act by Lord Sidmouth, and is guided by his opinion. Mr. Hey, on the other hand, obtained help from Wilberforce in his various schemes of philanthropy, as when he originated the Society for Assisting Candidates for the Ministry at the University, and when, in 1798, he originated the idea of this periodical, which was finally established in 1801.

William Hey, of whom we thus speak, was born in a village near Leeds, in 1736, the son of a manufacturer, who had married the daughter of a respectable surgeon. He had early chosen the profession of medicine as his. Apprenticed to a surgeon at Leeds, he completed his education in London, and returned to his own town in 1759, to begin his professional course. At a time when religion was little in vogue, he was impressed with its truths, and he pursued from his youth upward a course of blameless morality. He became at length a firm believer in Christian truth; and though his scientific pursuits, which led to his being chosen a Fellow of the Royal Society, placed him in intimate communication with the celebrated Priestley, he maintained with unwavering constancy his religious faith. He was chosen, in 1783, President of a Philosophical Society in Leeds; and his anatomical lectures, delivered in the Leeds Infirmary, of which he continued to be surgeon till his 76th year, were attended by crowds of his townsmer.

His early connection was with the Methodists, from whose preaching he derived good ; but it was the Methodism of Wesley, for he never discontinued his membership in the Church of England. He was warmly attached to the institutions of his country ; and when they were assailed, towards the end of the eighteenth century, he stood forward as their champion. His townsmen insisted on making him an alderman, and twice (in 1787 and 1802) he was chosen mayor. He became the intimate friend of Dr. Jowett, Professor of Civil Law at Cambridge, and of Dr. Milner, the President of Jesus College, and Dean of Carlisle. In 1781, perceiving the growing divergence of Methodism from the Church, he withdrew himself from their connexion, though he retained through life his respect for many of their members. His life was stricken by trial ; severe accidents induced lameness ; sharp illness laid him aside from effort ; the death of some of his children, after they had grown up, brought heavy sorrows, and chequered with many shadows the course of his long life. But he retained the convictions, and continued to taste the comforts, which had sustained his earlier years ; and in 1819, after a short illness, in his 84th year, he died.

Of another person, Thomas Clarkson, whose labours were gratefully acknowledged by Wilberforce, it is fitting that we should speak. The rivalry which has been set up between them, through the biographers and eulogists of each, had no place in their feelings, nor need it have any further notice here. Clarkson's services must not be exaggerated ; but truth forbids us to overlook them. He rendered, at a critical time, effective assistance to the cause of Abolition ; his work was long and faithful ; and though, in the warfare of philanthropy as of nations, our eyes naturally turn to the commander-in-chief, we ought not to forget the man who, whether as a pioneer, or as the quarter-master-general, contributed services essential to the campaign.

Thomas Clarkson was born at Wisbeach, in Cambridgeshire, in 1760, the son of an exemplary clergyman, master of the grammar school in his native town. In this school Clarkson received the elements of education ; was transferred from it to St. Paul's School in London, and found his way at last to St. John's College, Cambridge. Whilst there, the Vice-Chancellor, a warm friend of liberty, offered a prize for an Essay by a B.A. on the question of slavery. Clarkson, who had gained a prize the previous year, resolved to compete ; and in order to qualify himself, he inquired minutely into the circumstances of the slave trade. He obtained the Latin prize for his Essay, and, full of the subject on which he had written, he resolved to translate, enlarge, and publish his Essay.

Just at this time, a small committee of merchants and tradesmen in London, (all of them, except two, being mem-

bers of the Society of Friends) presided over by Granville Sharp, was turning its attention to the subject of the Slave Trade. Struck by the Essay, they encouraged the young author; and as they took pains to circulate it widely, it made a strong impression on the public mind. It had the further effect of introducing Clarkson to those who had already interested themselves in the Abolition cause. For by this time, not confined to London, but spreading through England, a conviction was slowly springing up of the evils of the Slave Trade. At York, Norwich, Manchester, and Liverpool, individuals were found impressed with the importance of the question, and eager to obtain correct evidence; but this evidence it was hard to gain, for the leading merchants in our chief towns were either engaged or interested in the trade. Some of them were ignorant of its horrors; others shut their eyes to the facts. Those who knew them would not divulge them; the captains who sailed the vessels would not speak; those who had retired from the trade were silent, lest they should criminate themselves. In order to reach the facts, a man of indomitable zeal, resolution, and courage was required; and in Thomas Clarkson such a man was found.

Starting in his inquiries, he had first visited Bristol; there, assisted by the Friends, he was at last able to obtain some precise information. Thence he proceeded to Liverpool, where, in spite of threats and some personal danger, he accomplished his object. In both places facts were made known to him, often given by stealth, under cover of night, always accompanied with a promise of secrecy, which made known to him the real character of this baneful trade. But while the mass of facts grew in his hands day by day, the difficulty of obtaining persons to speak to these facts publicly, remained. At length some captains, who had gone into the trade ignorantly, and had left it struck with horror—others, who had gone into it carelessly, but had had their eyes opened by its character—gave their names, and promised to speak. When this stage was reached, in February, 1788, Clarkson returned to London. Meanwhile, the London Committee had been prosecuting their labours. They and Clarkson were independent of each other, though they co-operated, and were often in communication. The pamphlets which were published and circulated by the Committee had begun to tell on the public mind. In Bristol, the local press took up the question; the interest in it spread to the press of Gloucester, Chester, and Worcester. Committees to promote the cause were formed in Manchester and Birmingham; even in Liverpool sturdy advocates of Abolition appeared.

Meanwhile, Mr. Wilberforce, led by distinct sources of influence, had been pushing his inquiries. Through the African merchants, and through the aid of Sir Charles Middleton, he

had collected valuable information in 1786 and 1787. Mr. Latrobe had brought him some facts. To these, in the autumn of 1787, were added the facts which Clarkson had collected. Wilberforce assisted Clarkson to obtain further evidence through the Treasury. A month before Clarkson's return to London, Mr. Pitt had been enlisted in the question by Wilberforce; and after the Premier had heard and weighed Clarkson's evidence, he summoned the Privy Council to examine, as a Board of Trade, the state of our commerce with Africa. The case being now so far advanced, Mr. Pitt (Wilberforce being laid aside by illness) brought the question before Parliament in May, 1788; and the result, on the motion of Sir W. Dolben, who had personally examined the slavers in the Thames, was an Act regulating the number of slaves according to the tonnage of the vessel. This was the first step in the road of Abolition. In the evidence collected by the Privy Council, Clarkson was of service, both in giving evidence and procuring witnesses; but as the case was still imperfect, Clarkson, at the request of the London Committee, renewed his travels through England; and by indefatigable labour, assisted by Wilberforce and by local parties, he accomplished his object. Thus by these various modes a mass of evidence was collected, and reported to the House in the spring of 1789; and on the 12th of May, backed by Pitt, Fox, and Burke, Wilberforce began that memorable campaign, which ended in Abolition. To help on the cause, Clarkson was sent to Paris; and on his return he further assisted it by getting and giving evidence before the Select Committee of the Commons. During the long struggles, Clarkson was strenuously engaged; he hunted up witnesses, and brought them forward; he collected and circulated information, and in this useful labour his energy and untiring zeal rendered eminent service. We need not wonder that, under these continued labours, his health should at length have given way; and in the autumn of 1794 he was compelled to relinquish his work, and to retire from the scene.

That, in the course of these exertions, Clarkson committed no mistakes—that his vehemence did not sometimes run into heat—that his political opinions, which were strong, did not at times mar and check the Abolition cause—we will not undertake to say. But that his motives were pure, that his zeal was great, and that his exertions were both unwearied and effective, admits of no doubt. Therefore most fitting it was that, when, in the spring of 1823, the Anti-Slavery Society was formed, Clarkson as well as Wilberforce should be enrolled as its vice-presidents. On its anniversary, in 1830, the two old friends and long fellow-labourers met; and they met without a shade of rivalry, with entire esteem for each other. Clarkson proposed that Mr. Wilberforce should take

the chair as his natural right, entitled to it as the "great leader in our cause." Wilberforce, in taking the chair, said that he "could not have been called to it by any person more dear to me than by my valued friend and fellow-labourer, Thomas Clarkson;" and he gracefully reverted to the days "when we began our labours together, or rather when we worked together, for he began before me." Clarkson survived to accept the office of president of the Anti-Slavery Convention, which met in June, 1840. That Convention had for its object to establish the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, and to proclaim a crusade against slavery all over the world—never to cease while slavery survived. In that Convention were assembled the veteran champions of the Abolition cause, and notable men from all parts of the world. Fowell Buxton and Dr. Lushington were there, and Brougham, strong in sympathy, though kept away by shattered health; missionaries from the West Indies appeared, who had toiled and suffered in the warfare which at length had closed; Abolitionists from the United States, where the battle was yet to be fought; delegates from France, who had vindicated their principles in the Chamber and at the Bar. There also was Joseph Sturge, who had now for many years devoted himself with energy to this cause. The assembly was held in Freemason's Hall, on a bright summer day in June, and over it was chosen to preside the aged Thomas Clarkson, bending under the weight of above eighty summers, but still fresh and immovable in his unbending purpose. "I myself can say with truth," had been his answer to the invitation, "that though my body is fast going to decay, my heart beats as warmly in this sacred cause, now in the eighty-first year of my age, as it did at the age of twenty-four, when I first took it up." The scene has been given us in picturesque language by the great painter Haydon, who attended to find materials for an historical picture, and found that the reality moved and touched his heart.

When the meeting was full, Joseph Sturge entered, and said that Thomas Clarkson would soon be there; but begged that, as his infirmities were great and his nerves weak, no tumultuous applause might greet his entrance. "In a few minutes," says Haydon, "the aged Clarkson came in, grey and bent, leaning on Joseph Sturge for support, and approached with feeble and tottering steps the middle of the Convention. Immediately behind him came his daughter-in-law (his son's widow) and his little grandson. Many had never seen the old man before, and all bent forward eagerly to observe him. Aided by Joseph Sturge and his daughter, Clarkson mounted the chair, sat down in it as if to rest, and then, in a tender, feeble voice, appealed to the assembly for a few minutes' meditation, before he opened the Convention.

The venerable old man put his hands simply to his forehead, as if in prayer, and the whole assembly followed his example. For a minute there was the most intense silence I ever felt. Having inwardly uttered a short prayer, he was again helped up, and bending forward and leaning on the table, he spoke to the great assembly, as a patriarch standing near the grave, or as a kind father who felt an interest for his children. Every word he uttered as from his heart; he spoke tenderly, tremulously; and, in alluding to Wilberforce, acknowledged his decay of memory in forgetting many other dear friends, whom he could not then recollect. After urging the members to persevere to the last till slavery was extinct, lifting his arm and pointing to heaven, his face quivering with emotion, he ended by saying—"May the Supreme Ruler of all human events, at whose disposal are not only the hearts but the intellects of men—may He, in His abundant mercy, guide your counsels, and give His blessing upon your labours." There was a pause of a moment, and then, without an interchange of thought, or even a look, the whole of this vast meeting, men and women, said, in a tone of subdued and deep feeling, "Amen, Amen!"

Such was the scene which met the painter's eye, and this the moment which he chose for his picture. He had not been conversant with such scenes; he had never witnessed a public meeting of strong emotion; but he tells us that, among all the tragedies he had witnessed on the stage, and the deeper tragedies of our suffering life, he had never seen such emotion as that which was called forth by these few simple words. Women wept; men could not check, though they shook off, their tears; and the "Amen!" sounded in the painter's ear as the "death-warrant of slavery all over the earth."

At the next meeting of the Anti-Slavery Convention, in June, 1843, Clarkson was unable to be present; but still strong in mind, he dictated an address, reviewing their progress, and urging them to go on: "for the same Power which blessed the beginning will not withhold His support from the end; and therefore I now say, Farewell, and in that beautiful word I include my prayer for the blessing of God on all that concerns you, both temporally and spiritually." This was the last effort of his public life; he survived above three years, and died in September, 1846, in his 87th year, having only kept his bed a week. There was a brief struggle as life and decay met; but finally he resumed his habitual calmness, and died in peace.

JOTTINGS ABOUT THE VICAR OF BEXLEY IN KENT. (1737—1770.)

To the Editor of the Christian Observer.

Bexley, May 30, 1865.

DEAR MR. EDITOR,—In your number for June, 1862, the Rev. F. A. Melleeson drew attention to a curious incident in the ministry of one of my predecessors in this vicarage, the Rev. Henry Piers. And in a note to myself, he obligingly intimated that I might perhaps be able to follow up his narrative by further particulars concerning the same individual. Such particulars are contained in the following notice, and as they serve to illustrate the religious state of that day, it may be you will not object to give them a place in your periodical. But more especially they may appear to you desirable to be permanently preserved, as evidence that, while the Wesleys and Whitefields of that period “went *everywhere* preaching the Word,” there were some quiet, true-hearted, and enlightened sons of our Church who preferred to dwell among their own people, and there nourished souls committed to their charge, in the sound evangelical and spiritual doctrine of our Liturgy and Articles and Homilies.

Your constant reader,
THOMAS HARDING.

THE Rev. Henry Piers, “sometime Student of Trinity College, Dublin,” held first the curacy of Winwick, in Lancashire, and afterwards became vicar of Bexley, in Kent, in August, 1737. As to his *religious* views, his own account is given in the preface to his sermon on “Gospel Repentance,” published 1744. He there tells “the inhabitants of the parish of Bexley in Kent” :—“As there be some of you, my brethren, who demand a reason of the change in my conversation and preaching since the two first years of my ministry among you, when I was, (I speak it with regret, and to my shame,) because a man-pleaser, accounted a good preacher; I am willing to answer you in this particular. After that I had passed near fifteen years of my ministry in the spirit of slumber—or as one of you told me, ’twas a minister’s business to soften the harsh things that were said in the Bible; and yet still (or rather, *therefore*) in credit with that people who loved to have it so: after I had a still longer time, even of a child, continued to receive the grace of God in vain,—after I was well-nigh lost in Deism, or bare natural religion,—in a word, after forty years of my life spent in seeking happiness *out of God*, and good-

ness in myself,—it pleased God still to bear with me; to strive with me yet longer, and to send to me His servants, John and Charles Wesley, who startled me out of my golden dream into some knowledge of myself, in the filthy dungeon of my own heart. This new view of myself occasioned a change in my conversation and conduct. And, soon after, it pleased God to give me a concern for you also. In order to this, it pleased God to impress upon my heart some few texts of Scripture, which occasioned as remarkable a change in my preaching to you; some of which in particular were these—Ezek. iii. 17—19; Ezek. ii. 7; 2 Tim. iv. 1—3; 1 Cor. iv. 2; Matt. x. 33; Acts xx. 26, 27; Heb. xiii. 17; Gal. i. 10. From mere ethic harangues, from dead, barely moral declaimings, my discourses to you became plain enforcements to flee from the wrath to come, earnest persuasives to repentance, affectionate, awakening, and zealous calls on you to know your own hearts; and, for this end, to listen to the voice of the Son of God, and the teachings of His Spirit; kind, though weak, admonitions to feel the misery of having lost the image of God, and to groan under the damnation of sin and unbelief, while it may be removed in this day of grace: in a word, ‘the foolishness of preaching.’ Now have I intended all this, in order to beget in you (working still together with Him, planting and watering, and looking up to Him who alone giveth the increase) a sense of your want of the Gospel; or in order to bring you, when made thus sensible, to Christ.”*

Agreeably with this summary narrative, Mr. Piers’ intimacy with Mr. John, and chiefly with Mr. Charles, Wesley appears from the published diaries of both those brothers. It began through their connection with Mr. Charles Delamotte, who went out with them to Georgia, October 14, 1735, and whose family lived at Blendon Hall, in the parish of Bexley, and to whose brother William, while an undergraduate afterwards at Cambridge, Mr. Charles Wesley was a means of great religious benefit. With Mr. Piers the communications of Charles Wesley, after his return from America in 1736, were very frequent and serious. As early as Mr. Piers’ induction into Bexley Vicarage, it appears, by a record in the Registers in his own handwriting, “Mr. Ingham preached in Bexley church, August the 14th, 1737;” and again, “Mr. Westley, 7th ye 11th, 1737,” and “Mr. Westley, November the 13th, 1737.” But thenceforward fuller entries appear in Mr. Charles Wesley’s diary. “Sun., November 13th, (1737). I preached at Bexley on the love of God.” “Thur., January 5th, 1738.—I made frequent visits this month to Blendon. We were joined by Mr.

* Mr. Piers’ “Account of Money Collected at the Sacrament,” from Aug. 28, 1737, to Sept. 2, 1739, shows

an increase from 16s. 7d. to £3. 8s. 0d. No weak evidence of the influence of his altered preaching.

Piers, the minister of Bexley, who delighted in every opportunity of conversing, singing, and praying with us." "June 9th.—In riding to Bexley (from Blendon) with Mr. Piers, I spake of my experience with simplicity and confidence, and found him very ready to receive the faith. We spent the day in the same manner. He listened eagerly to all that was said, not making the least objection, but confessing it was what he had never experienced. We walked, and sang, and prayed in the garden. He was greatly moved, and testified his full conviction, and desire of finding Christ. 'But I must first,' said he, 'prepare myself by long exercise of prayer and good works.'," "Sat., June 10th.—In the morning lesson was that glorious description of the power of faith, Mark xi. 22—24. We pleaded this promise (at Blendon) in behalf of our seeking friends, particularly Hetty and Mr. Piers. He came with his wife. The day before our coming, he had been led to read the Homily on Justification, which convinced him that in him dwelt no good thing. Now he likewise saw that the thoughts of his heart were only evil continually, forasmuch as whatsoever is not of faith is sin. He asked God to give him some comfort, and found it in Luke v. 23, &c. This was the very miracle, I told him, from which God had shown His intention to heal me, and it was a sign of the like to be done by him. We prayed *after God* again and again; and asked him whether he believed Christ could just now manifest Himself to his soul. He answered, 'Yes.' We read him the promise made to the prayer of faith. Mr. Bray bade me speak some promise to him authoritatively, and he should find Christ make it good. I had not faith to do it. He made me pray again, and then read Psalm lxxv. I felt every word of it for my friend, particularly verses 2, 4, 5. Seeing the great confidence of Mr. Bray, and the deep humility of Mr. Piers, I began to think the promise would be fulfilled before we left the room. We prayed for him a third time, the Spirit greatly helping our infirmities; and then asked if he believed? He answered, 'Yes,' the Spirit witnessing with our spirits that his heart was as our heart. Bray said, 'I know of a truth, that Christ is in you.' We were all filled with joy, returned thanks, and prayed for a blessing on his ministry; and then brought him down in triumph. The day was spent in prayer and conference. Mrs. Piers was, with all ease, convinced of unbelief." "Sun., June 11th.—While Mr. Piers was preaching upon death, I found great joy in feeling myself willing, or rather desirous, to die." "Tues., June 13th.—Mr. Piers was sent for to a dying woman. She was in despair, 'having done so much evil, and so little good.' He declared to her the glad tidings of salvation, that, as all her good, were it ten thousand times more, could never save her; so all her evil could never hurt her, if she could repent

and believe. She calmly passed into the heavenly Canaan, and has there brought up a good report of her faithful pastor, who, under Christ, hath saved her soul from death. These were the first fruits of his ministry; and I find him strengthened thereby, and more assured that the Gospel is the power of God unto salvation to every one that believeth." "Sun., October 8th.—I preached at Bexley, 'all under sin:' finished my sermon in the afternoon. The people very outrageous." "Mon., October 9th.—I walked with Will. to Bexley, where my sermon has occasioned a great uproar." At this time Mr. John Wesley only rarely visited Bexley; but his diary shows that he was there on April 3rd and 25th of this same year.

Shortly, however, a little relapse is noticed in the good vicar. Mr. Charles Wesley observes:—"Wed., November 8th, (1738).—At Bexley, Mr. Piers, through fear of the world's threatenings, had left off the meeting on Wednesday night." "Sun., November 12th.—Mr. Piers refused me his pulpit, through fear of man, pretending tenderness to his flock. I plainly told him, if he so rejected my testimony, I would come to see him no more." This rebuke seems to have taken effect, for we read afterwards:—"Sun., January 28th (1739).—I preached on 'the three estates,' at Bexley. Some went out of church; and more in the afternoon, while I expounded 'Woe is unto me if I preach not the Gospel.'" "Sun., February 25th.—I preached 'Justification by Faith,' at Bexley. In the beginning of my discourse, about twenty went out of church. They were better pleased with (or, at least, more patient of) me in the afternoon, while I preached on 'the woman at our Saviour's feet.' Faint and spent at Blendon, I revived by exhorting above two hundred of the poor." "Sun., May 13th.—I was enabled to discourse from the prodigal, at Bexley."

But now the scene takes a higher range. In an account of the Offertory collections at Bexley church, in Mr. Piers' own handwriting, it is entered,—“Collected at a Communion on Whit-Sunday, June 10th, 1739. (Mr. Whitefield preached.)” The sermon was on “The indwelling of the Spirit the common privilege of all believers,” from John vii. 37—39, and was published the same year. Again this entry follows:—"Collected on Trinity Sunday, June 17th. (Mr. Whitefield preached.)" And in the Register of Baptisms it is recorded:—"1739. Ebenezer Blackwall, an Anabaptist, baptized by Mr. Whitefield, June 17th." But now Mr. Charles Wesley has noted in his diary:—"Tues., June 19th.—I was at Lambeth with Mr. Piers. His Grace expressly forbade him to let any of us preach in his church; charged us with breach of the canon. I mentioned the Bishop of London's authorizing my forcible exclusion. He would not hear me; said he did not

dispute. He asked me what call I had? I answered, 'A dispensation of the Gospel is committed to me.' 'That is, to St. Paul; but I do not dispute, and will not proceed to excommunication yet.' 'Your Grace has taught me, in your book on Church Government, that a man unjustly excommunicated is not thereby cut off from communion with Christ.' 'Of that I am the judge.' I asked him if Mr. Whitefield's success was not a spiritual sign, and sufficient proof of his call? He commended Gamaliel's advice. He dismissed us; Piers, with kind professions; me, with all the marks of his displeasure.* Notwithstanding this interdict of the Archbishop's, however, the following entry stands in the Register of Bexley:—"Anna Mason, Mary Start, and Hanna Start, all baptized by Mr. Whitefield, August the 12th, 1739." About the same time, also, is to be placed Mr. Whitefield's sermon, "An exhortation to the people of God not to be discouraged in their way by the scoffs and contempt of wicked men." It was published in 1739, as "preached in Mr. Delamot's yard at Blendon Hall, near Bexley;" for he notes in his diary:—"Read prayers, and assisted in administering the Sacrament at Bexley church. Many came from far, and expected to hear me. The pulpit being denied, I preached in the afternoon in Justice D.'s yard, to about three hundred people; and in the evening, at Blackheath, to upwards of twenty thousand, on these words, 'And they cast him out.'"—(Philip's Life and Times of Whitefield, under date 1739, p. 93.) Mr. Charles Wesley's preaching at Bexley, however, seems to have been checked; and not until after a year's interval do we even meet again with entries like the former in his diary; but this then recurs:—"Tues., June 10th (1740).—I rode with Maxfield to Bexley, and was greatly comforted with my brother Piers. The weak stand when the strong fall. In spite of all the *still* ones, he had held fast the truth, neither forsaking the ordinances, nor denying his *weak* faith. I went thence to Blendon, no longer Blendon to me. They could hardly prove themselves to be barely civil. I took a hasty leave, and with a heavy heart, weighed down by their ingratitude, returned to Bexley. Here I preached the Gospel to a little flock, among whom the grievous wolves are not entered." Mr. John Wesley also records in his diary:—"1740, Monday, 22 (September).—Wanting a little time for retirement, which it was almost impossible for me to have in London, I went to Mr. Piers', at Bexley; where, in the mornings and evenings, I expounded the 'Sermon on the Mount;' and had leisure during the rest

* The Archbishop was Dr. Potter. His "Discourse on Church Government" was published in 1707. The

vicarage of Bexley was, until very recently, a Peculiar of the Diocese of Canterbury.

of the day for business of other kinds. On Saturday, 27th, I returned."

In the publication of "the Journal of the Rev. Charles Wesley, by Thomas Jackson," it is remarked in a note (vol. i. p. 302),—"There is a chasm of Mr. Charles Wesley's journal, from September 22nd, 1741, to January 2nd, 1743." But three entries in the baptismal register of Bexley supply incidental notices of some of his movements and whereabouts in this interval. "1742. Mar. 27.—Anne Wood, an Anabaptist, was baptized by Mr. Charles Wesley, by immersion." "Mar. 30.—Sarah Barnes, an Anabaptist, was baptized by Mr. Charles Wesley, by immersion." "Edward Clark, a Quaker, was baptized by Mr. Charles Wesley, the 7th of December." In this interval also occurred the visitation sermon which Mr. Piers preached at Sevenoaks, on Friday, May 21st, 1742, and of which an account appeared from Mr. Malleson in the *Christian Observer* for June, 1862 (pp. 466—469). It went through five editions. But of its composition, and the incidents at its delivery, the following graphic details are given by Mr. Jackson, in his life of Mr. Charles Wesley:—"To a certain extent, Mr. John Wesley was answerable for the sermon; for he had been requested to revise it before it was delivered. Hence the following notice, in a letter to Charles, dated May 17:—'I think of going early in the morning to Bexley, and correcting Mr. Piers' sermon.' This, it will be observed, was four days before the sermon was preached. Between the delivery of the sermon and its appearance in print, the pious author addressed a letter to his friend Mr. John Wesley, containing a description of the scene which occurred in the church at Sevenoaks. It is dated May 24th, 1742. The following is an extract:—'I found the beginning of my discourse listened to gravely; but the things that I took for granted seemed matters of novelty to most of them. The division was received with shrewd looks, hems, indignant smiles, and laughter. As the tragical scene arose—that is, as the doctrines of their church were laid before them—the dislike increased in loud whispers, changes of countenance and position, and other symptoms of uneasiness; some having been heard to say, "The man is mad, crazy, a fool!" till coming to my third head, to inquire whether these doctrines were preached, whether we had such tempers and led such lives, the Ordinary could bear no longer, beckons to the apparitor to open his pew-door, and to the minister of the church, who sat in the desk under me, to bid me stop; who, putting up his head to the pulpit cushion, said something so cowardly that I could not hear. After this, the Ordinary or Chancellor desires me to dismiss the people with the blessing, "for there was enough." I took no notice, but went on with my discourse. Away he sweeps his clergy (except one or two who

had the face to hold out to the end), and collects their procurations, while I finished my discourse to an attentive lay audience. After I had done, I went to the Chancellor's court, a place within sight and hearing of the pulpit, to show them that I was not ashamed of the Gospel. But having nothing to do there, I (who in the morning was honoured with his right worshipful coach) went on foot to my inn, attended by about twenty of my friends who came from Bexley. After he had ended his court, he came to his inn, and sent for me very civilly. When I came, I was surprised to find him as complaisant as in the morning. He makes me a compliment of my procurations (a favour always granted to the preacher), and tells me "he liked my sermon *exceeding well*, but that it was too long; and then entering upon a third head he found inconvenient with my business." "Sir," said I, "you seem not to know that the sermon, together with the prayers of the Church, is the most important part of the business of the day. As to the objected length of my discourse, it is altogether a pretence; for I was but about fifty minutes in all, and you interrupted me when I had not preached above thirty-five. Sir, I must tell you, you have done what you cannot justify." I found he had nothing to say, and do believe that he heartily wishes he had not done what he did, for fear the sermon would appear in print." (Jackson's Life of Charles Wesley, vol. i. p. 3.)

When Mr. Charles Wesley's diary is again resumed, this is the first entry in it:—"Sunday, January, 2nd, 1743.—I rode to Bexley, and discoursed in the church from Luke i., 'Blessed be the Lord God of Israel, for He hath visited and redeemed His people.' God gave me to speak in mild love, and some of the most rebellious began to melt into convictions." And under date "Tues., February 1st," he mentions Mr. Piers' company with him on occasion of a visit to the cells at Newgate. In the end of the year, he again "rode to Bexley," on December 24th; and on "Christmas-day, read prayers, and preached, 'Glory be to God in the highest,' to a people who now have ears to hear,"—another proof of the beneficial effect, surely, of Mr. Piers' labours among his own flock. Again, on "Mon., December 26th," he notes,—"I spent four days between Wilmington, Willing, and Bexley, preaching the Gospel." And on "Sunday, January 1st, 1744.—I rode to Bexley, and expounded the character of Wisdom. (Prov. iii.) God, as it seems, is turning the heart of this people back again. A surprising change I find in walking the streets. Nothing but kind salutations, instead of my usual reception with stones and curses.

On April 11th of this year, "the day appointed by His Majesty for a general fast," Mr. Piers preached at Bexley the sermon which he afterwards published on "Gospel Repent-

ance," from Luke xiii. 3, from the preface to which extracts have been already given. In the course of it he complains of those "who procure *delicious morsels* to take off the pain of fasting; who, after an early breakfast (perhaps in bed, or not in common form), dine, it may be, two or three hours later than usual, on the best fishes and the richest sauces." He exhorts his people,—“Let us no longer deceive ourselves (as I have done in my natural, unawakened state, when I was alive without the Law) in thinking that repentance consists in a bare sorrow for sin;” and adds, after quotations from the Homily on Repentance,—“You see, my brethren, if I may be thought worthy to lay before you the doctrines of our own Church, so full of unction—I, who am one of those who are invidiously called a *sect* distinct from, and disaffected to, the Church as by law established; for no good reason that I know, but that we are remarkable for raising from oblivion and contempt those evangelical doctrines of the Reformation, which some of her clergy, though so readily subscribed, preach not, but rather the contrary, and show their dislike to, in reviling us for reviving indifferent matters—matters of speculation (such as *justification*, and *sanctification* or *regeneration*), which have happily slept, as they say, for many years.” To this remark he also appends the following note, in which a curious allusion occurs to one result of his own Visitation sermon at Sevenoaks:—“What an instance of this disaffection to the doctrines of our Church have we lately had among *us* of this diocese, when a clergyman of the Church of England, at a general visitation, could tell his brethren (and it is to be feared he took it for granted that they were all of his opinion) that justification and regeneration, in ‘comparison of moral works and the fundamental truths of Christianity, are but *questions and strifes about words*, which profit not, but to the subversion of the hearers.’ But I can almost excuse him, when I consider that he did it, I won’t say ignorantly, but in good nature, to comfort his afflicted brethren, who were much offended at a rude discourse on the occasion before.”—(See Mr. Piers’s Sermon, preached (in part) before the Dean of the Arches, &c. 2nd edit.) In the conclusion of the sermon, Mr. Piers appealed to “warnings God has given this infidel and unbelieving, and therefore profane, people;” and says—“And as for signs on earth, has there not been a general awakening all over the land for these last five or six years? A critical time for England, as I have observed elsewhere,” (referring to the preface to a sermon preached at Bexley, entitled “Christ born that we may be born again”). “Perhaps the last offer of the power of the Gospel! If embraced, how Christian may we become! If rejected, how soon may we expect to share in the judgment of the once beloved (while faithful) Asian Church! how soon may

we look to have our candlestick removed from us, and the very form and name of Christianity (which are yet left) quite taken away from us !”

In the end of the summer of this year, Mr. Piers was seized with an alarming illness, of which, and of his recovery from it, Mr. Charles Wesley gives the following account:—“Tues. August 23rd.—I rode to Bexley, and found my friend on a sick-bed, but full of peace and comfort.”—“Thur. August 25th.—I was sent for to Mr. Piers, who lay a-dying in convulsions. I prayed for him first with a friend, who said, ‘If he is not dead already, he will not die now.’ I got to Bexley by three. My brother had recovered his senses about the time we were praying for him. I was much comforted by his calm resignation; and in prayer saw, as it were, heaven opened, having seldom had greater freedom of access.”—“Fri. September 2nd.—News was brought me again that Mr. Piers was dying. Next morning I found him more than conqueror in a mighty conflict he had had for eight hours with all the powers of darkness. ‘Now,’ he told me, ‘I shall not die; but live, and declare the works of the Lord.’”

In Mr. George Smith’s “History of Wesleyan Methodism,” the following quotation is given from Wesley’s Works, Vol. viii. p. 300:—“In 1744, I wrote to several clergymen, and to all who then served me as sons in the Gospel, desiring them to meet me in London, and to give me their advice concerning the best method of carrying on the work of God.” And then it is added,—“This Conference was held at the Foundry in London, and began on Monday, June 25th, 1744. There were present John Wesley; Charles Wesley; John Hodges, Rector of Wenvoe; Henry Piers, Vicar of Bexley; Samuel Taylor, Vicar of Quinton; and John Meriton, a clergyman from the Isle of Man.” Mr. Piers attended none of Wesley’s Conferences but this first.

Mr. John Wesley notices in his diary,—“Tuesday, 14 (July, 1744).—Mr. Piers rode over with me to Shoreham, and introduced me to Mr. Perronet. I hope to have cause of blessing God for ever for the acquaintance begun this day.” And on Friday, August 24th, Mr. Charles Wesley, in giving his account of his brother’s sermon at Oxford, “Scriptural Christianity,” mentions:—“After tea, I walked with my brother and Mr. Piers and Meriton to St. Mary’s, where my brother bore his testimony before a crowded audience, much increased by the racers. Never have I seen a more attentive congregation. They did not let a word slip them. Some of the heads stood up the whole time, and fixed their eyes on him. The Vice-Chancellor sent after him, and desired his notes, which he sealed up and sent immediately. We walked back in form, the little band of us four; for of the rest durst none join himself to us.”

"On Sunday, the 16th of March, 1745-6," Mr. Piers preached a sermon (which he afterwards "published at the request of her father"), "in the parish church of East Wickham in Kent, at the funeral of Mary Godden, late of Wellend, in that parish." The text chosen by Mrs. Godden, was Job xxviii. 28; and the subject of the sermon was accordingly, "True wisdom from above, or Christianity the best understanding." In the course of his sermon, Mr. Piers, as usual with him, makes frequent appeals to the authoritative documents of the Church of England; and on the mention of those "who have hitherto told you that this *Scriptural Christianity* is cant, enthusiasm, Methodism, or melancholy madness," adds in a note, "Read Mr. John Wesley's sermon, so call'd, preach'd before the University of Oxford, Aug. 24, 1744."

The next year he published another sermon, "preached in the parish church of Bexley in Kent, on the 9th of October, 1746, the day appointed by His Majesty for a general thanksgiving for the suppression of the rebellion." The text of this sermon was Psalm cvii. 2, and it is entitled, "Religion and liberty rescued from superstition and slavery. great subjects of thanksgiving." A copy of it is in the British Museum.

Again, in the following year, Mr. Piers published a "Sermon preached at Bexley in Kent, on Wednesday, the 17th of February, 1747-8, the day appointed by His Majesty for a general fast; as also to a congregation in London, some of whom have found, and others seeking, salvation from sin through faith in Jesus Christ." The title of the sermon is, "Infidelity the ruin of a people; or, Unbelief the damning sin;" and its text, Heb. iii. 18, 19. To the sentence in this sermon, on page 8, "For it seems religion is established among us," Mr. Piers attaches this note:—"Blessed be God! this is true (in a good sense) in our Scriptural Liturgy, Articles, and Homilies, as far as *the letter* can go. But where is *the spirit*? Where is the *life and practice* thereof? But, indeed, are the Scriptures themselves, from whence they are derived, of greater weight among us? Now, what an argument, by the bye, is this of their Divine original—that they rise and fall with the Scriptures themselves!"

"On Wednesday, June 24th, 1761, Mr. Piers preached, in the parish church of Bexley," a sermon, which he also afterwards published, on "Restoration of all things begun by the Spirit of Repentance; or, Man's return to God, his re-entrance into the kingdom of Heaven, together with the doctrine of the Millennium," from Matt. xvii. 11, 12. This sermon he prefaced with a dedication to the Archbishop of Canterbury—"because," he says, "I judge it a matter of concern to let your Grace know as well what I preach as what I do in my parish, in answer to the Articles of Inquiry lately

sent throughout your preachers." And in a note, page vi., he "for once" takes upon himself "to dictate," and says:—"Let them (the polite modern preachers) thus preach, and not declaim; and instead of railing at Dissenters, and Separatists of any kind, let them preach the sense and spirit of the New Testament, and of their own *subscribed* doctrines; and then I will answer for it there will not be one Dissenter for twenty. Schism and conventicle will drop dissention, and Methodism will return to their appointed pastors; then the offence given, together with the pretence of 'seeking Gospel doctrine elsewhere,' being removed, peace, concord, and unanimity will flourish in the Protestant Church." From the body of this sermon the following extract will show its character sufficiently:—"Till man is through this ministry—through the baptism of repentance—shown to himself, he is blind both to his own state and to God: Till the Law has worked wrath, (in order to the converting his soul), he can neither feel his malady, nor seek life. Till he laments himself as tied and bound with the chains of his sins, he seeks neither freedom nor redemption. In a word, till, by the reproving Spirit of God, he is convinced of sin—of its malignity, *hell!* of its wages, *death!*—he is in a state of utter ignorance, as well as servitude. His health is sickness, (for indeed there is no health in him); his freedom is licentiousness, if not slavery; his happiness is misery; his life is death. What a propriety, then, what a fitness to my case, says the awakened sinner, is there in the Gospel, as it implies glad tidings! What wisdom, what sweetness, what love, (says the soul that is come to itself), is there in the name Jesus! What a blessedness, to see things as they are—to have this blindness of heart removed! What a blessedness to know as I am known, that I may seek for relief; not to talk unconcernedly of sin, but to feel it in brokenness of spirit; to see that I am lost and undone without the Saviour, and that he came to seek and to save such; for when alive without the Law, when whole, I needed not the physician; but now that I am sick, I can say with the happy Apostles, "We have found the Messias!" He is precious unto me! I hunger and thirst after righteousness; the desire of my soul is to his name—Jesus!—Saviour! And the believer, the anointed of God, being thus reprov'd of the Holy Spirit, of sin; and seeing now, with grief, what destruction, alas! he has brought on the earth through his sin—seeing this *outward* evil, as well as *inward*—sickness and pain, guilt and death, terror and damnation, on himself; and lamenting this *temporal* as well as *spiritual* ravage on nature and creature, he rejoices in the common Saviour; he exults in the approaching restitution of all things: and with all others who are seeking redemption in Israel, and waiting for the kingdom of God; he addresses the

outward, the inferior, creation:—We will make haste to lay hold on Christ, &c., that *ye* also, on whom we have brought all these evils, may be saved, &c.; and having thus vindicated Thy cause, O Jesus! do Thou glorify Thy Gospel! And having concluded the whole fallen race in unbelief and sin, that Thou mightest have mercy upon all; having (on that account) fulfilled Thy unsearchable dispensations to both Jews and Gentiles, do Thou pull down the kingdoms of the Beast and of the false Prophet; do Thou make all things new, &c. Let there be no more death, for sin is no more; neither sorrow, nor crying; neither let there be any more curse nor pain; for the former things, impaired by sin and Satan, are passed away!" In a note in this part of the sermon, Mr. Piers speaks out against prevalent inhumanities—"Bull-baiting, cock-fighting, throwing at cocks, and above all, prize-fighting, are unbecoming a *man*, much more a *Christian man*." And in another note (page 25) he drops this gentle hint:—"It is much to be lamented that some there are among the M——sts,* as well as particular Baptists, and other Predestinarians and Antinomians, who separate *faith* from its *priests*, and so part asunder those things which God has joined together." To the sermon a "postscript" is appended, two notes of which are very observable: one, in which Mr. Piers remarks:—"The people of this *reformed* church should know that their homilies, articles, and liturgy are the very marrow of the Gospel; that, besides the weight of the Scriptures, they have the authority of King, Lords, Commons, and Convocation, to make them venerable:" and the other, in which about himself he states,— "In the ministration of this heavenly (the Baptismal) office, the author is quite *unpolite*, as he follows the practice of the serious ministers of old, who, in the *stipulatory* part thereof, stood as stiff as a pillar to receive the engagements of the sponsors; and, not like our polite moderns, bespeak the evasion thereof with a courtly bow!"

Mr. Piers published three other sermons, all preached at Bexley:—"John Baptist's office continued in all ministers of the Gospel," 1758; "Victory and Plenty great subjects of thanksgiving," 1759; and "Thanksgiving for a plentiful harvest," 1760. Mr. Piers also published "Two letters in defence of our present Liturgy against the Authors of 'The expediency, yea, necessity of altering our present Liturgy;' and of the 'Free and Candid Disquisitions,'" I cannot find the date of this publication, not having seen any copy of it; but it must have been before 1757.

The following entry in the Register of Burials brings these jottings to their close:—"1770. Jan. 30.—The Rev. Mr. Henry Piers, Vicar of y^e Parish 33 years." No stone marks

* Of course, evidently *Methodists*.

his resting-place ; but we know what it would have testified from him ; for Mr. John Thorpe, the antiquarian, has preserved in his "*Castumale Roffen &c.*" the following epitaph, "composed," he says, "by Mr. Henry Piers, the late Vicar," in memory of Mrs. Elizabeth Davis, who died in her 20th year, June 7th, 1764 :—

"Mortua jam loquitur :—

Gustavi Vitam, placuit non Vitula ; Fugi :
Dixit enim Christus, Vita perennis Ego.
Nec Lux, Vita, Salus, miseris heu ! Tempore durat ;
Christus in æternum Lux mihi, Vita, Salus." *

POETRY.

"IN CHRIST."

In Thee, O Christ ! 'tis mine to be ;
In thee salvation mine to see :
In thee by faith, in thee by birth,
I am no more the child of earth.

In thee is wisdom for my guide :
In thee my soul is sanctified :
In thee I find my righteousness :
In thee redemption I possess.

In thee how blessed 'tis to be ;
For thus I am from bondage free :
Free from the Law, and free from Death :
Free from thy fears, and all beneath :

Free in the Spirit's sealing grace :
Free in the Father's smiling face :
Free from the world and all its chains :
Free from its forms, prescriptions, pains :

Free hence to serve thee, I shall be,
In sweet and blessed liberty ;
Free as the saints that sing above,—
My only Law, the Law of love.

STEPHEN JENNER.

The Vicarage, Camberwell, July 2, 1865.

- * "She, being dead, now speaketh:—
With life's first taste disgusted, off I fled ;
For, 'I am life eternal,' Jesus said.
Light, Life, and Health—to wretched man how frail !
Me Light, Life, Health, in Jesus will not fail !"

CORRESPONDENCE.

[WE have been favoured by a Christian lady with a number of original letters written by worthies of the last century, who were eminently blessed in their ministry, and which have never yet seen the light. There are some from John Newton, others from Berridge, several from Mr. Bull, the eminent dissenting minister. Berridge was a man of great humour and some eccentricity, but devoted to his Master's work. All these excellent men seem to have been possessed with the same spirit. They were absorbed in the work of the ministry; there is an intensity in their devotion to it which no language but their own can describe. The correspondence may sometimes betray their weaknesses; but perhaps they are not the less valuable on that account. When the history of the Church of England during the last century shall be written, these historical materials will have their value. We begin the series, which it is proposed to continue from time to time, with a letter from the venerable Newton to the Rev. W. Rose, then Vicar of Beckenham, Kent.—ED.]

"MY DEAR FRIEND,—I am aiming to leave off wishing; and, indeed, I see but little in this poor world worth wishing for, if a wish could procure it. Yet it would have gratified me if I had seen you when you called, because I love you.

"Our times for meeting at Beckenham do not coincide. I have not been from home yet this year. But I am now, if the Lord permit, (and if my curate, who has been ill, and is amending, is able to take my place), upon the eve of a journey to Southampton.

"I have been engaged for more than two months to Paul's Cray, but have not yet found opportunity to go, nor am I sure that I shall be able. But if I can I must. It is a call of duty to confirm the Word, and strengthen the hands of dear Mr. Simons, by preaching to his people. But I am so much taken up, that I can seldom command a day or two to follow my inclination of visiting my friends. My visits are chiefly confined to the sick and the sorrowful.

"The sands in my glass begin to run low; I am within three weeks of entering my seventy-second year. And though my health is remarkably good—I think never better—yet I have reason to expect some change, and, perhaps, a sudden removal, every day. Much of my time has run to waste. It ought to be my chief care to redeem and improve the little uncertain remainder, and to account every hour a talent. Indeed, I have lived long enough for myself. I have seen an end of all the perfection this world can afford. For in my own judgment, and in my own way, I have been as happy as the possession of my own desires could make me. *I have been*; but it is all now past, like the remembrance of a dream when we awake. On the other hand, I have as little reason as any one to be weary of living, for my situation is in all points comfortable. My wants are all sup-

plied. My dear Miss Catletts is the best substitute for her dear mamma that the nature of the case will admit. I have many kind friends—domestic peace, affectionate and faithful servants. And I bless the Lord I have a large, attentive, peaceful, and thriving auditory. We have cheering tokens of the Lord's gracious presence in our assemblies, many exemplary individuals among them. More than a few I hope have been awakened, and the good work seems to be still going forward.

"As I have reason to hope the Lord makes me acceptable and useful, I would be thankful that my life is prolonged, especially as my old age is not burdened with sickness or pain; nor are my faculties sensibly impaired.

"In short, since the memorable year '90, my situation has been remarkably tranquil, and I have scarcely met with anything that deserves the name of a trial. Considering what I was in Africa, and what the Lord has done for me since, my case seems an *unique* in the annals of the Church.

"How I have run on about self! But it is to you, and I believe you will bear with me. One line has drawn out another, insensibly. I may now say with the Apostle, 'The time of my departure is at hand.' I trust I can also say with him, 'I know whom I have believed,' &c. May I be enabled to add likewise, at the close of life, 'I have fought the good fight; I have finished my course; I have kept the faith; I live with my eye fixed upon that Crown of Righteousness, which the Lord has promised to all that love his appearance. I daily anticipate the solemnity of a dying hour. The transition from all that I have seen and loved here, into an unseen, untried, and unchangeable state, will be very serious and important. But I am encouraged to hope that when I pass through the dark valley, He will be with me. Then I need fear no evil. Everything short of this appears to me, *now*, *lighter* than vanity.

"Though we seldom meet, I give you full credit for the continuance of our old friendship. It is still warm and flourishing on my side.

"Give my best love to Miss Catletts, to Mrs. Rose, and Miss Rose. May the Lord bless you and yours, and me and mine, with the best blessings.

"I am your affectionate and obliged,

"JOHN NEWTON."

14th July, '96.

REV. EDWARD IRVING ON "GRACE AT MEALS."

To the Editor of the Christian Observer.

DEAR SIR,—The following notes of an address or sermon on "*Grace at Meals*," were taken down by me from the Rev. Edward Irving, at his chapel in Newman Street, as far as I can remember, in the year 1833.

It seems to me not unlikely that they may interest the readers of

the *Christian Observer*, and accordingly I write them out from the original pencillings which lately came under my notice.

FRANCIS TRENCH.

Islip Rectory ; July, 1865.

"Ye honour the Lord when ye take heed to yourselves that ye do not sit down to the food, which He gives you to sustain life, without a thankful remembrance that it cometh from the Lord. Our hands may be strong to till the ground, and to raise from it our bread ; but it is the Lord who giveth to our arm strength, to the earth its fruitfulness, and to the food its power to nourish us. Our heads may be filled with knowledge, and others in return for the labour of our heads may bring to us money in abundance ; and thus we may obtain means to provide our tables ; but it is God who giveth us that knowledge, that intellect, or that ingenuity, through which we are thus supplied. And that same God could make us in a moment (as He made Nebuchadnezzar) idiots, and helpless as a babe. Or do we possess fields and houses, or other sources, whence our wealth flows in upon us ; it is only by the pleasure of the Lord that we have such things, when He might have made us, as He hath made so many others, poor wanderers on the face of the earth, or like Lazarus at the gate of Dives, instead of enabling us to fare and live sumptuously. Forget not, therefore, whatever be your lot, whether you are rich or whether you are poor, that it is the Lord who provides for you day by day, just as much as when He shed forth manna from heaven on the Israelites—just as much as when He fed the Prophet Elijah by the brook Cherith, or when the five thousand were fed from a few loaves and fishes. But ye forget these things, because your faith is weak, and ye delight but little in the Lord's doings, and your remembrance of His mercies, though daily renewed, is faint. Did men think and consider as they ought to do, should we ever see Christians sitting down to their meats, and omitting the holy practice of saying grace for that which God spreads before them ? Should we ever see them muttering a few words in a disrespectful tone and posture, instead of speaking with that reverence which is due to Almighty God ? No ! These things could not be. He who studies to do all to the glory of God will be glad of these daily opportunities, that he may return thanks unto Him who filleth all His creatures 'with food and gladness.' He will rejoice to show a good example unto those around, whether they be scoffers or devout, whether they be godly or ungodly men.

"The table is a matter of daily recurrence. Much time is spent at it. People meet there who, perhaps, meet little at other times—tares and wheat—vessels made to honour, and vessels made to dishonour—the good and the bad, who, without some necessity bringing them together, would probably be disinclined to meet together at all. Much sin on the one hand, much edification on the other, may be there. Mighty was that curse of David—'Let their table be a snare unto them !' The table is full of snares. Some there overcharge themselves with drink or surfeiting ; some forget what self-denial means ; and though they do not absolutely eat or drink, as man would hold it, to excess, still they indulge so freely, that they could not retire to prayer or open their Bibles with lively attention and delight.

Some, too, make the table a scene of impropriety by conversation of an indecent kind, and by mockery of those that are good, and of all true religion; while others, less wicked in these ways, but not free from condemnation, sit still and hear that which is wrong, while they ought to rebuke it, or quit the table at once. Many show themselves thus to be cowards in the cause of Christ, or ashamed of their profession, or forgetful that God is a jealous God, who bids His people to depart from the evil, and come out from among the wicked ones, and confess Him before men. And God tells them that 'evil communications corrupt good manners,' and that light should have no 'fellowship with darkness.'

"The table, too, is often a scene of uncharitableness. Dives fared sumptuously every day, and thought nothing of the beggar at his gate. So there are many, who take much thought for themselves what they may eat and what they may drink, but take no thought for the poor and destitute around them, and squander large sums on their luxury and delicacies. And some are discontented at their poor and mean fare, though sufficient for them, and all coming from the hand of God. They murmur at its scantiness, and envy those who may be better off than themselves. Therefore I charge you all before the Lord to repent of all former neglect, and to sanctify the Lord God at your tables, and seek His blessing on them with thankful hearts and the voice of reverence."

NOTICES OF NEW BOOKS.

A Charge delivered to the Clergy and Churchwardens of the Diocese of Worcester. By Henry Lord Bishop of Worcester. June, 1865. London: Rivingtons. 1865.—No one, we should think, can read this Charge without recognizing in it the hand of a painstaking and conscientious bishop. It is a document of unusual fulness; occupying fifty-two pages; without any waste of time or of words. More than twenty different topics are handled in it; some of them at considerable length; and in the whole tone and spirit of the Charge there is apparent a sincere desire to speak with tenderness, prudence, and consideration.

We cannot be expected, obviously, to yield an unreasoning assent to all that is said on all these twenty different topics; nor can we find space to discuss a single Episcopal Charge at such length as the separate consideration of all these topics would require. For the most part, we go with the bishop; while on two points at least,—the Burial Service and the Oxford Declaration,—we should have liked some modification of the opinions given. But the most important passage in the whole document is one which we can cite with entire satisfaction. It touches on "the question of the day," and it is expressed with that clearness and decision which becomes increasingly necessary:—

"Among the questions of religious interest, upon which the minds of men are

fixed, I need not say that the question of the Divine authority of the Bible has created the liveliest apprehensions in the hearts of men of simple faith. All other questions sink into insignificance compared with that which touches the security of the foundation upon which we have been accustomed to rely. We have been deeply pained and shocked at what men have said and written of the Bible. It is impossible to abstain from condemning with indignation the irreverent language with which efforts have been made to shake the faith of believers, or the self-confident arrogant tone of statements respecting the historical truth of Holy Writ, which, never of more than doubtful authority, the progress of discussion has shown to be unfounded. The questions, however, which have been raised respecting the authority of the Bible, have taken a deep hold of the minds of thinking men; and if no satisfactory answer be given to them, the discussion of them may die away, but a spirit of uncomfortable doubt will linger where all ought to be full of light and joy.

"It has been said that our Church does not speak with sufficient clearness about the authority of Holy Writ; and some colour is supposed to be given to the statement by the Judgment in the recent prosecutions to which I have referred. And yet to one who weighs what is said upon the subject in our Articles of Religion and in our Book of Common Prayer, it would seem to be abundantly clear that our Church declares the Volume, which we call the Bible, in its integrity, comprehending all the Canonical Books of the Old and New Testaments, to be the Word of God, and that it uses those books throughout to draw from them as Articles of Faith things necessary to salvation.

"Our Church does not indeed lay down any doctrine about the way in which the several writers of the sacred Books were enabled to communicate the Word of God; nor does it declare what use is to be made of Holy Writ for any other purpose than the regulation of religious faith and duty. But our authorized formularies seem to me to express a clear judgment that the whole Bible is the Word of God, and that Christians are bound to use it, in what relates to faith and duty, as an authority from which there is no appeal.

"In the Twentieth of our Articles of Religion the terms, 'God's Word written,' 'Scripture,' 'Holy Writ,' are applied clearly to the Volume comprehending all the Canonical Books.

"In the ordination of a deacon the candidate is asked, 'Do you unfeignedly believe all the Canonical Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments?'

"In delivering the Bible to a candidate for the priesthood, the Bishop is directed to say, 'Take thou authority to preach the Word of God.'

"Can there be a doubt whether the Church, which uses such language and imposes such conditions, does thereby declare the Bible in its integrity to be the Word of God? Those who say that the Bible *contains* the Word of God, seem to use such language to imply that the written words may be separated into two parts; one which expresses the mind and will of God, and another which is simply the utterance of the human writer, and out of which nothing can be gathered respecting religious faith and duty. Our Church makes no such admission, but requires her ministers to take the whole volume and to use it to instruct the people in matters of faith and duty."

This judgment is of the more value, since it is found united with various counsels of a very tolerant kind. For instance, at p. 35, the bishop says,—

"I feel strongly that it is not the part of the Clergy to discourage free inquiry or to deprecate the application of the best natural powers of mind to the investigation of questions of spiritual and religious interest. 'What harm,' said Cranmer, 'can gold catch in the fire, or truth in discussion?'

"If, indeed, I were in doubt, or had any misgivings about the claims of revealed religion to our devout acceptance, I might, perhaps, think it consistent with good policy and prudence to try to stifle inquiry and to persuade men to take for granted what might be found unable to stand the scrutiny of intelligent investigation. But, because a long life of thought, in which I thank God that I have enjoyed more than usually favourable opportunities of thought, has satisfied my inmost spirit that the claims of revealed religion, as professed and taught in the Church of England, are of unimpeachable validity, I cannot think

it consistent with good policy and prudence, or with the due dignity of truth, to deprecate the free inquiry of intelligent and educated men, or to cast the ready stigma of infidelity upon every statement which appears to go beyond accustomed limits.

"It will be an evil day for the Church, and if for the Church then for the realm, of England,—an evil day, I will venture to say, for the interests of morality and religion every where (for the position taken in the world of thought and letters by our Divines has gained respect for the Church of England every where), if the clergy of our Church do not show themselves equal to the occasion; if our ranks are not recruited by men of well-trained powers of intellect; if we do not prepare ourselves, one and all, as we have opportunity, with a due sense of the importance and responsibility of the work, to lead the religious thought of men of education and intelligence."

We readily concede all this, when coupled with the safeguard which we have already given;—that the Bible is, throughout, God's word, and therefore not to be affected by any reasonings of men, whether "scientific" or "philosophical." Here lies the grand difference;—whether "science" is to be the queen or the handmaid; whether it is to judge, and, possibly, to condemn, Revelation; or to submit to its teachings. And on this fundamental point we are glad to have the Bishop of Worcester distinctly with us.

The Gospel in Type; or the Evangelical meaning of the Hebrew Ritual. By the Rev. J. Ridgeway, M.A. Seeley & Co. 1865.—We can recommend this work with great confidence to our readers. The subject has been often handled by learned and able writers. But it is so rich in lessons of doctrine and practice, that it can afford to be treated of again and again. Mr. Ridgeway has discussed it with great ability, and a sound and discerning piety. His style is impressive and lively; his remarks are appropriate, and often new; and we are sure that no one will rise from the perusal without a fuller understanding, and a warmer interest in this important part of Holy Writ.

A Voice from the Fireside. By Mary Elizabeth Miller. Aylott and Son, London.—Mrs. Miller points out the defects in the present system of education for young ladies, and shows how much more necessary it is for them to be acquainted with home duties than to learn half the so-called "accomplishments" which are forgotten or neglected as soon as they leave school. The author touches on many subjects concerning home life, besides that of education. The chapter on "Home Duties," and that on "Fast Young Ladies and Over-Dress," may be studied to advantage both by mothers and daughters, and we doubt not they may both learn a lesson from it. Mrs. Miller's remarks on dress are very true:—"Depend upon it, a ladylike person will always appear a lady, be she dressed ever so simply; and, on the other hand, nothing can make an ordinary, common-looking woman look more common, more ordinary, than over-dress!" All very good; but all may be comprised in one sentence,—*"Ye are not your own; ye are bought with a price. Therefore glorify God with your bodies and your spirits, which are His."*

The Idle Word. Short Religious Essays. By Edward Meyrick Goulburn, D.D. Rivingtons, London.—Perhaps no part of Christian duty is so much neglected at the present time as the government of the tongue. Few people seem to realize the words of Scripture, that "By thy words thou shalt be justified; and by thy words thou shalt be condemned." We rejoice that

at last the subject seems to be gaining attention. It is a subject of momentous importance, and cannot be too seriously considered. If we think for a moment of the immense amount of mischief which is done in the world by a few "idle words" spoken thoughtlessly and without consideration, of the characters ruined, the peace of families destroyed, and the incalculable injury done, we shall at once admit that the subject is one of the greatest importance to us all.

The purpose of these essays is clearly explained in the first chapter. Dr. Goulburn tells us that it is on the important subject of conversation that he "feels more and more that one of the greatest hindrances to personal piety—that which eats out the heart and soul of true religion—is an unrestrained and unchastened exercise of the tongue. That if people could but be persuaded to banish from their lips empty talk (talk relevant to nothing in particular, gossip about their neighbours' concerns and arrangements and the like), and to have only such speech as was instructive or amusing (for words of innocent humour and wit are surely not idle words) a vast amount of moral and spiritual mischief would be swept away as so much rubbish out of the world, and men would be introduced by the effort into the atmosphere of holiness, as finding themselves unable to effect such a clearance without constant mindfulness of the presence of God."

Dr. Goulburn writes with elegance, power, and much deep feeling. But on doctrine he is obscure, or we fail to perceive his merits. One thing he seems still to want, a clear sense of the reality of the believer's personal union with Christ Jesus, and of our "completeness" in Him.

PUBLIC AFFAIRS.

THE Elections have just closed; both Conservatives and Liberals have suffered severe losses, and made unexpected gains; but on the whole the character of the future Parliament will not be materially changed. Now that the contests are over, two things strike us: the moderation of the candidates, and the violence of the people. Men of extreme opinions have not met with acceptance. On questions affecting the welfare of our old institutions, Liberals, where not compelled to speak, have been discreetly silent. On matters of reform and progressive improvement, Conservatives have spoken as men always in favour of removing proved abuses. The return of Mr. Newdegate for North Warwickshire, as the popular candidate, gives us great satisfaction. It shows that wherever candidates will boldly avow their Protestantism, they will be treated with respect. It should be remembered that in North Warwickshire there are to be found, a cathedral church, with its Roman Catholic bishop and hierarchy; the Oratory under the control of Dr. Newman, (both in Birmingham); and, within a few miles of these, the College of Oscott, second in magnificence to no foundation of the kind beyond the precincts of our universities. The influence of these institutions is, of course, widely felt, even amongst those who have no immediate connection with them. The return of Mr. Newdegate under such circumstances is a triumph to the Protestant cause. The heart of England is sound.

The conduct of the people, or, to use the proper term, the *rabble*, has been everywhere disgraceful. Noise and clamour were the slightest and least offensive obstructions; every speaker in turn was silenced by the mob, and not unfrequently lawless rioting took place. Lives were lost, and nothing but a strong force of policemen, and in some instances even the presence of the military, could restore order. It was the same, we observe, all over England. Rioting such as it was supposed would never recur, has vied with the worst enormities of the electioneering system in the old unreformed boroughs. And these are the class from whom our electoral body is to be reinforced; these are the six-pounders of our future constituencies! What they may become under a better system of really Christian education, we do not undertake to say; at present the experiment appears to us full of mischief; and these scenes of uproar have had, we are persuaded, their influence in convincing many whom no arguments had reached.

The trial of Constance Kent, charged upon her own confession with the murder of her younger brother, Francis Kent, five years ago, at Road, under circumstances of almost incredible wickedness, took place at Salisbury on the 21st inst. The heart, we are taught, is deceitful above all things, and desperately wicked; and yet, in this instance, the crime was so atrocious, and the motive—mere spite against a step-mother—so utterly inadequate, that the mind shrinks from the reception of the wretched girl's confession, and takes refuge in almost any other possible conclusion. Certainly there are thousands who do not, and probably never will, believe the dismal story of her guilt. Nor is her confession to be received without the greatest caution, though, as she pleaded guilty, the learned judge felt that he had no alternative but to pass upon her the last awful sentence of the law. Her case is surrounded with difficulties. She first appeared before a London magistrate, supported by Mr. Arthur Wagner on one side, and Miss Graeme upon the other. Constance Kent had been for some months the inmate of a Retreat at Brighton, differing, it appears to us, in little but the name from a Romish nunnery; and Mr. Arthur Wagner, as its Spiritual Superior, informed the magistrate that notwithstanding the oath he had just taken to tell "the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth," he would not violate the "seal of secrecy" under which he had received the wretched girl's confession. Miss Graeme made a similar protestation. And thus the case stands. It seems that we shall never know what pressure was put upon the poor girl's conscience, or how far her reason was disturbed by the austerities of a conventual life. And yet upon this the value of her confession depends. We hoped to have had the question as to the "Seal of Confession" cleared up upon the trial; but no witnesses were examined. The mystery which hung over the case remains, and if it were not for the light shed upon it from other quarters, it would still be a question whether this seal of secrecy may be pleaded, as some ultra-Tractarians and Romanists tell us that it may, in the face of an English court of justice.

This is not a question to be decided by our views of churchmanship; it is a question of law. If the law should prove to be a bad one, (and we should think it extremely bad if it allowed the course of justice to be impeded by any qualms of conscience as to

the seal of secrecy,) let us by all means endeavour to get the law amended. But our first duty is to ascertain the state of the law as it now stands.

And in this inquiry we shall derive the greatest assistance from a treatise lately published by a professional gentleman, as well as a good scholar, who has evidently devoted much time and diligent research to the subject.* Of course our canons of 1604, the 113th of which touches on Confession, can have no weight in a court of justice, simply because they are not law. This, however, goes but a little way towards the clearing up of the difficulty. The canons on the subject which were in force in this country before the Reformation, by the well-known proviso in 25 Henry VIII. cap. 19, and by 1 Elizabeth, cap. 1 and 10, are still to be used, as far as they are not contrary to the laws, statutes, and customs of this realm. The question for consideration is, how far these ancient canons have been modified or repealed by subsequent enactments, so that it becomes necessary to trace the course of legislation since the Reformation. And in so doing, some light may be obtained incidentally, not only on the subject of the old canons, but on the true construction of our own Protestant authorities, such as our rubrics, the absolutions in the Prayer-book, and the invitation given by the minister in the notice of the Communion and the Canon of 1604. This laborious work Mr. Shaw has undertaken. His arguments appear to us convincing, and indeed unanswerable. For them we must refer to his own pamphlet. The conclusions at which he arrives are to our minds perfectly satisfactory. We quote his words:—

“It is submitted, therefore, that if the preceding inquiry has been rightly conducted, we are led to the following results:—

“That private confession in the Church of England is permitted, as of occasional and exceptional utility, not recognized as of general obligation, or even as of general advantage.

“And, consequently, that any such encouragement of confession as tends to make it a matter of duty, or even a customary and usual rite, is not in harmony with the view of the Church on the subject.

“That ‘auricular confession,’ meaning thereby the practice previous to the Reformation, as then carried on under certain well-known canonical rules, is repudiated.

“And, consequently, that in the cases where private confession is permitted, it is not to be deemed that the ancient canonical rules are, as a matter of course, to be imported into the question; but that guidance is rather to be sought from the spirit and tenor of the Prayer-book and Homilies.

“That what is technically called a full confession is not to be required, nor is there any sufficient authority for a practice of stimulating confession by questions tending to suggest to the party sins of which he may by possibility have been guilty, but of which he does not accuse himself. For such sins could hardly form a part of that actual ‘grief’ or ‘trouble’ which he is encouraged to open in order to obtain relief.

“And generally, that if such treatment should be employed as to lead to an impression in the mind of the party that he is under some religious obligation to enumerate as many of his sins as he can by any effort of memory recall, there would seem to be a direct contravention of the Homily, and an attempt to bind a man to ‘the numbering of his sins.’

“The general intention of the Church would seem to be, that confession is to proceed from, and to be limited in its extent to, some special spiritual trouble in the breast of the person in question.”

* A Brief Inquiry into the Law of the Church of England with respect to Private Confession. By Benjamin Shaw, M.A., late Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. Third edition. London: Rivingtons. 1865.

It is supposed that the unhappy girl will not suffer the extreme penalty of death; but of this, when we write, we cannot speak with certainty.

This painful subject suggests another. Four of the accomplices of the assassin of President Lincoln have been hanged at Washington. We in England have no sympathy with assassins, and, to say the truth, not much pity for them. For the sake of America herself, we regret that the trials were held by a military commission—an alarming precedent, now that the civil war is over. We think, too, that mercy might have been shown to Mrs. Surratt, who was executed as one of the conspirators. The testimony of one of her fellow-sufferers exonerated her from any guilty participation in their crime; and were it otherwise, the plot in which she was said to have been engaged had failed, and no life was lost.

The accounts we continue to receive give a deplorable description of the Southern States. On every side the spectacle of havoc, misery, and utter ruin appal the visitor. The blood of nearly a million of men has watered the earth, and the bones of thousands bleach upon her plains. The righteous hand of God has fallen most heavily on Virginia; for here the greatest enormities were practised—here the horrible system of raising slaves was carried on. But, in a less degree, all the lately Confederate States bear the features of one of the most dreadful of civil wars. It was always foreseen that the work of reconstruction would be more difficult than even that of conquest. But one glorious result is the fruit of all this—American slavery is at an end. The Gordian knot is cut; the problem which for half a century has perplexed politicians and philanthropists, is solved. Through seas of blood emancipation is achieved at last. It was not sought by the North; it was resisted to the last moment by the Southern States. To God alone let the praise be given. The true-hearted emancipation band in the Northern States will heartily join with us in this acknowledgment. Their language will be that of the Psalmist,—“Not unto us, O Lord, not unto us, but unto Thy name give glory, for Thy mercy and for Thy truth’s sake.”

Before another of our numbers will appear, the harvest will have closed; and although not so abundant as was expected before the drought in June, it will still, taken as a whole, be beyond an average. We must go on, we suppose, from year to year expressing our regrets that we have no proper thanksgiving service for the harvest. It is the more disgraceful to us, because there is really nothing to hinder it—nothing but our strange unwillingness to move until clamour forces us to do that in haste which would have been done far more wisely in a season of repose. What is to hinder our bishops, or a commission appointed for the purpose by the Queen, from issuing a form of thanksgiving for the harvest, to be used in all churches and chapels within Her Majesty’s dominions on a certain day—say the last Sunday in October? It would stand on precisely the same ground with the special services lately removed from the Prayer-book—viz., a royal proclamation; and that compliance might be universal, as well as for other reasons, it should be appointed to be used on Sunday rather than on any other day. The week following might be the fittest in the year for harvest-homes; and the services of the Sunday would have a hallowing effect upon “the joy of harvest.”

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ON THE 51ST AND 118TH PSALMS.

In tracing the topography of Jerusalem in the March number of the "Christian Observer," we were reminded of the 51st Psalm; and of the very illogical way in which it is dealt with, in consequence of the concluding verses containing a petition, or rather the expression of confidence, that God would build the walls of Jerusalem. This, it is said, proves that this psalm was written about the time of Nehemiah; treating the claims of David to be the author as of no weight whatever.

We certainly should have thought that the character of the first seventeen verses was far too marked and strong, and the whole of them too appropriate to David, and to the great sin so indelibly connected with his memory—the matter of Uriah the Hittite, 1 Kings xv. 5—so that no one would ever have dreamed of taking up the two last verses as inconsistent with his authorship of the whole. Still less could we have supposed that the suggestion, that no part of the psalm was his, could ever have occasioned a doubt on the point even in careless readers of the Bible. But as it has happened otherwise, though we hope only in a small degree, we venture to point out the internal evidence (overwhelming, as we think) that David was the author of the whole of this psalm.

1. The author of this psalm was a devout man. The whole psalm shows it.

2. He had grievously fallen into sin. This appears fully from the psalm itself.

3. He had been a devout man before his fall; for he prays, "*Restore unto me the joy of Thy salvation.*"

4. He had been guilty of murder, blood-guiltiness of the

most heinous kind ; the one word " blood-guiltiness," and the depth of his repentance, prove it.

5. Notwithstanding the law did not allow such an one to escape death, even by fleeing to one of the cities of refuge ; and notwithstanding God had said (Ex. xxi. 14), " If a man come presumptuously upon his neighbour, to slay him with guile ; thou shalt take him from mine altar, that he may die ;" the psalmist's life was spared. It is impossible to read the psalm without seeing this ; but the prayer, " Make me to see joy and gladness, that the bones which thou hast broken may rejoice," is inconsistent with a life cut short in punishment.

6. He was forgiven. The pervading penitence of the whole psalm is almost equalled by a joyous confidence perpetually rising through it, which springs from the sense of forgiveness. " According unto the multitude of Thy tender mercies, blot out my transgressions," is not the language of despair. The same idea meets us in verses already quoted, and elsewhere, as we go through the psalm, till we come to the burst, " O Lord, open thou my lips, and my mouth shall show forth Thy praise ! For thou desirest not sacrifice, else would I give it."

Now, is there any man in Scripture of whom these six things can be predicated except David ; or any sin of his to which this psalm can allude, except the one to which it is generally referred ? Do we read of any devout man but David being guilty of murder ? or of any eminently devout man but him falling into grievous sin, and being restored in the way which this psalm indicates ? It is obvious that only one answer can be given to these questions. As to any other instance in the Bible of murder so committed and pardoned, as this psalm brings before us, it does not exist. Nor does such repentance of a devout man who has sinned and been forgiven, exist elsewhere in the old Scriptures. Solomon sinned and fell, but we are left in doubt of his restoration ; and though we may have hope, he did not in his old age sing aloud of God's righteousness, or show forth His praise. Manasseh was wonderfully converted, but he was a terrible reprobate until his repentance. Perhaps Hezekiah's fall, when he showed his treasures to the ambassadors from Babylon, is the instance of sin and penitence which comes nearest to the sin and penitence of David ; but how inadequate for the occasion of this psalm, and, in the peculiar character of the crime, how different from the crime which this psalm expressly mentions. So hard is it to find any period of history but this part of David's reign to which this psalm can refer.

But there is one additional proof, most complete and striking. The peculiar character of the repentance expressed in this psalm is what we all feel—" Against thee, thee only, have I sinned, and done this even in thy sight." But this inner view of sin is not discovered or disclosed for the first time

in the psalm; we find it before in David's confession to Nathan—"I have sinned against the Lord." Could there be a crime more injurious to man than murder? This is the crime in the psalm and history; yet in both the strong point of the confession is, that a sin has been committed against God. This one thought occupies the writer's whole soul. It is David in the history who so expresses his contrition for murder—can it be any other than David in the Psalms? Is not this alone enough to fix the authorship and the date of the psalm?

We should have thought that the deep repentance expressed in the first seventeen verses would have been recognized at once as in such complete accordance with the case of David alone, that his authorship of the psalm could not have been considered open to question because of the two last verses. Why should the point and the wonderful appropriateness of so much the greater portion of the psalm count for nothing against the appearance of the want of suitable reference in two verses? For at the most it is only this *appearance*; which *may* arise from the facts not being recorded, or *may* be the result of our own want of discrimination. This is a question which surely carries its own answer. And we certainly should not have thought that the comparison would have sustained the idea that this psalm was written by any one but David.

However, in tracing the topography of Jerusalem, we find a few words to offer on these two last verses. It is said (2 Sam. v. 9), "And David built round about from Millo and inward,"—round about and inward, the building was extensive. And (v. 11), "Hiram, king of Tyre, sent messengers to David, and cedar trees, and carpenters, and masons (hewers of the stone of the wall, margin), and they built David an house." These extensive buildings, and the palace for the king, which (Lewin's Siege of Jerusalem, p. 238) were on the eastern tongue or wedge of land, would certainly require a wall for their defence. Perhaps it will be said this is a conjecture; we think it an obvious and necessary conclusion, arising from the necessities of man; but at any rate it is as reasonable an inference, at least, as that the psalm was written in the time of Nehemiah. However, Josephus (Antiq. VII. 3. § 2) says,—"David made buildings round about the lower city; he also joined the citadel or upper city which he had taken, to it, and made it one body; and when he had *encompassed all with walls*, he appointed Joab to take care of them." So that it is historically true that David built the walls of Jerusalem, and this act of his furnishes as pertinent a point of reference for the two last verses of the 51st Psalm, as his sin and repentance do for all the rest of it.

We can ascertain the date of David's fall and repentance within four or five years, and the whole of that period would

be just the time at which he would be building the walls of Jerusalem. David reigned thirty-three years after he took the western hill, or Zion. If we can find Solomon's age when he became king, and deduct that number from thirty-three, we shall be brought back nearly to the date of David's repentance, which took place whilst the first child of Bathsheba was living. Solomon was not more than a young man when he ascended the throne; the only question is, whether he were still in his youth. But, on the whole, we think it plain he had got beyond that time of life; for his son Rehoboam was a year old when Solomon became king. (1 Kings xiv. 21, and xi. 42.) And the whole of Solomon's conduct at the beginning of his reign is of such a resolute and unflinching character as proves that he had attained to confirmed manhood. The occasion on which David said that Solomon was young and tender occurred before even Solomon was associated with David in the kingdom. (1 Chron. xxii. 5, and xxiii. 1; and xxix. 1.) And at all events (xxix. 23) he reigned some time afterwards with his father. We are not informed in the Bible of Solomon's age at his death. But we cannot be far from the truth if we consider that he was from about twenty to twenty-four when he became king alone. David's repentance, therefore, would be from nine to thirteen years after he had made himself master of Jerusalem. And it seems plain that he began to build the city and his palace almost directly after the capture of the place; for (2 Sam. v. 12) immediately following the mention of David's building, and after noticing Hiram's sending the messengers, it is immediately added, "And David perceived that the Lord had established him king over Israel." At the end of from nine to thirteen years, the walls would be in progress, or the necessity for them would be felt; and it was in the interval of those four years that David wrote the 51st Psalm.

We cannot help hoping that these suggestions will relieve any person who may have been disquieted by the small idea that the date of the 51st Psalm was the time of Nehemiah, by showing the aptitude of the two last verses, as well as of all the rest of the psalm, to the time of David.

But is this all? We think not. The congruity of these two last verses with the rest of the psalm has not been perceived; and that, in fact, is the only thing which has led to any question. What, we are disposed to ask, has God's building the walls of Jerusalem to do with David's sin and pardon? When we find that David was building or preparing for the walls of Jerusalem at the time, the difficulty is somewhat removed. But is not the introduction of the work at the end of the psalm most apposite; if we think that, as David's sin in numbering the people brought down upon them, according to the principles of the divine government over the Jews, heavy calamities, so his earlier sin

had stopped the walls, or the preparation for them, until his repentance? But when he was forgiven, he looked for God's blessing on this national undertaking.

Although the mention of building the walls of Jerusalem is a turn one might not have been prepared for, yet still we have always felt there was a sympathy and connection between the two last verses of the psalm and those immediately preceding; it was, however, a matter of nicety to express it, or even to trace it, before perceiving how suitable and natural it was to introduce the building of these walls. There is an alternation of sorrow and joy, of contrition and gratitude, all through the psalm, which would be left incomplete without the two last verses. The first seven verses are penitential; then the eighth verse begins the burst of delight—"Make me to hear joy and gladness, that the bones which thou hast broken may rejoice." The ninth, tenth, and eleventh verses are again penitential; but then follows, "Restore unto me the joy of thy salvation." In the fourteenth verse the psalmist acknowledges his blood-guiltiness. But the 15th verse is,—“O Lord, open thou my lips, and my tongue shall show forth thy praise.” The next verses we must examine more closely. “For thou desirest not sacrifice (16th), else would I give it: Thou delightest not in burnt offering.” No sacrifice or atonement had been presented by the law for adultery or murder; it was unavailable—which introduces the confession so universally felt—"The sacrifices of God (17th) are a broken spirit: a broken and a contrite heart, O God, thou wilt not despise." David's personal sacrifice being then inadmissible, but the emotions of his mind, as exhibited in the contrast we have traced all through the psalm, requiring still an outlet in thanksgiving, he turns to the sacrifices of his people, and to a natural blessing on account of which they can be offered. We believe that we are right in saying that all the laws of Hebrew poetry require that this psalm should not end without an expression of thankfulness to complete the alternations of sorrow and comfort exhibited in every other part of it. And we really feel that, if, after David had three times risen to a sense of his pardon, the psalm had concluded with that most touching confession, "A broken and a contrite heart, O God, thou wilt not despise," David would have failed at the last in realizing the forgiveness which had most surely been granted; and his spirit would not have responded to the goodness of God to him. But then, as without shedding of blood there is no remission, and there was no sin offering appointed for his sins, he turns to offerings in which his individuality is not prominent for the opportunity of partaking of the sacrifices with joy.

We really think it is clear beyond any reasonable doubt that David was the author of the 51st Psalm, and every verse in it, soon after the death of Uriah. A careful reader of this psalm

will, we are sure, find many other allusions to this prominent part of the history of David. But we are careful to bring forward only those which are of real weight. We turn with delight to the psalm as the voice of contrition and of joy in repentance. It is certainly one of the most read of all the psalms. Bishop Blomfield used to read it every night. It is the cry of a sinner when first awakened to the sense of sin; it is the expression of his experience as he advances in the heavenly life; it furnishes to the end of his days his favourite words for pouring out his repentance, his hopes—and more than hopes—of forgiveness, his desires after purity and holiness, his joy, and his praise. It reminds us of prayer in Montgomery's beautiful lines:—

“Prayer is the simplest form of speech
That infant lips can try,
Prayer the sublimest strains that reach
The Majesty on high.

“Prayer is the contrite sinner's voice,
Returning from his ways;
Whilst angels at the sight rejoice,
And say, Behold, he prays!

“Prayer is the Christian's vital breath,
The Christian's native air,
His pass-word at the gate of death;
He enters heaven with prayer.”

If we add a few suggestions, with the view of showing the relations of this and other parts of Scripture, we hope they will be looked upon as suggestions, and not as part of the argument as to this psalm; but it is always useful to notice how passages may relate to each other.

We all know the difficulty of getting on with public works without good organization. Solomon's great buildings were accomplished by the labour of the people that were left. (1 Kings ix. 21.) Where did David, then, find hands for building the walls of Jerusalem? May not this be the way in which he dealt with the captives of Ammon just after his repentance? It has often been suggested that, instead of putting them to torture, the text properly means that he made them work with saws and axes, and at the brick-kiln; and we believe there is no doubt that this sense would be quite in accordance with the Hebrew. We know that this employment of these prisoners would have been useful at this very time, and that is an additional reason for adopting this view of the text.

As it is often impossible to raise a tune for want of the keynote; so in translating ancient authors it often happens that for want of catching the object of a passage, when the words or

context do not give it prominence, it is rendered confusedly, or in some measure at random. The text just referred to is probably an example. And we cannot but feel interested in seeing whether any of the suggestions of this paper would be supported by the original text, and by identical words or parallelisms, which would not obtrude themselves, but might be detected by those who are familiar with the Hebrew.

The connection, in different psalms, of the writer's sin and misery, with delight or relief in the works of God, which, if one may so speak, are of a public nature, is so frequent, that if it had been traced, no difficulty need have occurred as to the last verses of the 51st Psalm. The 19th Psalm affords an example which no doubt many have felt. "The heavens declare the glory of God"—what has that to do with sin? After the words, "The judgments of the Lord are true and righteous altogether. More to be desired are they than gold, yea, than much fine gold : sweeter also than honey and the honeycomb," and in another verse to the like effect we find the contrast, "Who can understand his errors? cleanse thou me from secret faults." This is the same contrast as in the 51st Psalm, only changing the order. But there is a much more striking illustration, namely, the 102nd Psalm. Here, too, the psalmist (a man apparently of a different age from David) is under the deepest depression,—“My days are like a shadow that declineth, and I am withered like grass.” (v. 11.) But his comfort (v. 13) is, “Thou shalt arise and have mercy upon Zion, for thy servants (v. 14) take pleasure in her stones, and favour the dust thereof.” And this consolation and contrast is apparent in most parts of this psalm. In the 51st and 102nd Psalms there is exactly the same peculiarity; the deepest personal distress and depression is alternated and cheered by the assurance that God will have mercy upon Zion, in which assurance the personal suffering is lost. And this is not more singular in the earlier than in the later psalm. Why, then, should it occasion any difficulty or surprise?

In considering the latter verses of the 51st Psalm, we have been led to connect that psalm closely with the 118th.

We think we have the means of fixing the date of the 118th Psalm with a good deal of certainty. In reading the history of David's reign, it appears that his capture of Jerusalem was, at some distance of time, followed by a succession of foreign conquests. They are enumerated in the eighth chapter of 2 Samuel. But they appear only as victories over many nations separately, and without danger to Israel. But not long after, when his ambassadors had been treated with ignominy by the children of Ammon, they hired men of four other nations, and came up with such forces that Joab saw that the front of the battle was against him before and be-

hind; and it was under no ordinary peril that, when he had divided his army, he exhorted his brother—"Be of good courage, and let us play the man for our people and the cities of our God." And after that peril was over, another campaign with fresh auxiliaries was undertaken against David. We may well believe that dangers like these made a deep impression upon the people of Judea and their king. And we do not read afterwards of any foreign wars of David. But in the 118th Psalm we find passages which are exactly in keeping with these feelings of David and his subjects; they cannot refer to any other event in his reign; and this psalm can hardly belong to any other period of Jewish history,—"All nations compassed me about, but in the name of the Lord I will destroy them. They compassed me about, they compassed me about, they compassed me about like bees. Thou hast thrust sore at me that I might fall, but the Lord helped me." (vv. 10 to 13.) Uriah was slain in the siege of the capital of the children of Ammon, so that the 118th Psalm was written about the time of the 51st. It could not have been written in the interval between the separation of the ten tribes and the captivity, as the use of the word Israel in the second verse will, we think, satisfy every one who will look at the word Israel in a Concordance. And although some verses in this psalm would be very appropriate to Hezekiah, and his deliverance from Sennacherib, and his restoration from illness; yet 2 Chron. 32, after verse 24 mentioning his sickness, in verse 25 it is added:—"But Hezekiah rendered not again according to the benefit done unto him."

The 118th Psalm was plainly composed (as has been often noticed) for a joyful procession to the house of God, in which the king, the house of Aaron, and the people took part, and responded to each other; and hence, perhaps, the threefold allusion to the dangers from which the king and nation had been delivered. We have often read over this psalm, appropriating the different passages to the different persons and classes in the procession, with great interest, and we recommend it to our readers. Here we can only ask them to tolerate us whilst we point out those passages which seem to us to bear on the 51st Psalm. We take the procession, in which the 118th Psalm was sung, as formed soon after the capture of the city of waters, and when David's walls of Jerusalem and his palace had all been completed.* We think there are allusions to all these, and to David's sin. "It is better to trust in the Lord than to put confidence in man," (v. 8,) or "in princes," (v. 9,) is an apt allusion to David's treatment of Uriah. Then for seven verses is the triumphant thanksgiving for the destruction of the nations which had encompassed them. In

* As to his palace, see the 30th Psalm.

verses 17 and 18,—“I shall not die, but live, and declare the works of the Lord. The Lord hath chastened me sore; but He hath not given me over unto death”—we need not point out the recognition of David’s position when he wrote the 51st Psalm. “Open to me the gates of righteousness” (v. 19), and the “gate of the Lord (v. 20), into which the righteous shall enter,” are exactly the expressions for the completion of the walls of the city by setting up the gates. There seems also an allusion to these gates in our Saviour riding into Jerusalem (see v. 26), which would show the reference was to them. And David did not build a house for the ark; all through his reign it continued under curtains; the gates, therefore, were not the gates of that house, but of the city. The stone which the builders refused is a manifest allusion to some great contemporaneous building, on which we cannot help requesting our readers’ patience presently. It will be seen how expressive they would be if uttered whilst the procession might be passing near the house of David. We might possibly apply the words, “Blessed be he that cometh in the name of the Lord” (v. 26), to Nathan, if it were not for the prophecy which we know they contained of the Messiah; but when we come to the words, “Bind the sacrifice with cords, even unto the horns of the altar,” we confess we feel it is the completion of David’s wishes when he said,—“Build thou the walls of Jerusalem. Then shalt thou be pleased with the sacrifices of righteousness, with burnt offering and whole burnt offering; then shall they offer bullocks upon thine altar.” And it was this burst which led us first to see how intimately the 118th Psalm was connected with the 51st.

In the 118th Psalm we meet with that remarkable prophecy or type, “The stone which the builders refused is become the head stone of the corner. This is the Lord’s doing; it is marvellous in our eyes.” We are all familiar with the way in which our blessed Lord quoted these words, adding,—“Whosoever shall fall on this stone shall be broken, but on whomsoever it shall fall it will grind him to powder.” Words of awful import, and attended with difficulty, on which we hope to be enabled to throw some light.

We think we cannot be wrong in adopting an idea which has been often expressed, that in the course of the erection of some building a stone was refused, and afterwards, in a way of which we can say nothing but that it was the Lord’s doing, was placed in the position of importance for which it had been originally intended. The building was obviously a large or public building, from the mention of the builders who refused the stone—they were numerous, and apparently master builders, to which an allusion seems made in 1 Cor. iii. 10,—the building was, therefore, one engaging public attention.

This typical event happened a little before the date of the 118th Psalm,—“It is marvellous in our eyes.” The event which then took place is referred to in various passages of Scripture. We find it in Isa. xxviii. 16,—“Therefore thus saith the Lord God, Behold, I lay in Zion *for a foundation a stone, a tried stone, a precious corner stone, a sure foundation.*” A passage which, together with the expression “the head of the corner,” in the Psalms, requires to be considered in connection with the awful and mysterious words of our Saviour, of which possibly they may furnish some explanation.

The idea of the stone being the head stone, is vividly expressed by Zechariah iv. 7,—“And he shall bring forth the head stone with shoutings, crying, Grace, grace unto it.” The other allusions in Acts iv. 11, 1 Cor. iii. 10, Eph. ii. 20, 1 Pet. ii. 4—8, need not be quoted at length.

These peculiarities are, therefore, inseparably united in this stone; it is a corner stone, a head stone, and yet a foundation; on which we venture to offer a few observations.

We think, too, it is plain that the stone was of surpassing size and weight, or it could scarcely have been suitable for a foundation. In 1 Pet. ii. 8, it is alluded to as a rock. Wherever it was placed, it must have been of beautiful material, and no doubt exquisitely wrought. Mr. Lewin gives this account of such stones used a little later, (p. 127),—“The most ancient stones display the finest workmanship, and are attributable to the Tyrian artisans employed by Solomon.” But David also had, as we have seen, Tyrian workers in stone.

We cannot imagine how the stone could be a foundation, if it were at the top of a house or residence. And although the Jews were accustomed to walk on the roofs of their dwellings, yet our Saviour’s expression of falling on the stone seems rather to imply falling down some height. But, in fact, such a stone was not likely to be placed in such a position; for the upper part of the wall of a house, when strong and thick enough to keep out the weather and support the roof, is injured, and not strengthened, by a stone of great weight or size, which it would be difficult or impossible to introduce into the upper part of a wall (where it is always of reduced thickness), and which, if introduced, would overload the wall beneath. It is not likely, therefore, that the stone was placed at the top of any residence.

Nor is it likely that it would be at the top of an angle in the city wall, for that is not a point requiring to be so strengthened. No one ever heard of the extreme edge of such an angle being battered by ram or cannon. And besides, the top of the city wall would only be the top of the wall covering the rampart, on which a stone of the first importance would hardly be bestowed. So that we must seek for some other building into which the stone we are considering could fitly be introduced.

But if the building, in the progress of which the stone was rejected, were the palace of David, we think we can show peculiarities in it which would remove these difficulties. And we are rather directed to David's royal house from the 144th Psalm, v. 12, in which there is another allusion to the beauty of the rejected stone,—“That our daughters may be as corner stones, polished after the similitude of a palace.” And need we point out how suitable this occurrence in building David's palace would be, when regarded as the type of Him who was to be of the house and lineage of David. And it is very likely that the miraculous elevation did not take place for some time after the temporary stone had been first placed in its usurped position—not at least until all Jerusalem would be astonished at the change.

Josephus mentions that Hiram sent architects to David; so that there would be a probability that the Tyrian or Assyrian style of building would be adopted, and that was to raise a terrace to increase the height and effect of the palace, even though it might not be necessary to do so from the nature of the ground.

We may perhaps make out the locality of the house or palace of David at Jerusalem with accuracy. Mr. Lewin, p. 238, shows sufficiently clearly that it was on the eastern wedge or tongue of land called Ophel. And one of the passages which he much relies on shows us whereabouts on the hill it was. In Nehemiah's description of the circuit of the walls after they were completed (xii. 37), he tells us,—“And at the fountain gate (above Siloa's brook), which was over against them (as they came across the Tyropæon valley), they went up by the stairs of the city of David (iii. 15), at the going up of the wall, above the house of David, even unto the water-gate eastward.” It appears, from the whole account of the procession, that these were places which they came to one after another. Soon, therefore, after passing the house of David they arrived at the water-gate, *i.e.*, at the immediate vicinity of the Temple. (Lewin, p. 313.) So that David's palace was close under the Temple platform. It was even (looking east or west) with the palace of Solomon, which was also part under the same platform, but lay to the west of that of David.*

Knowing, then, the locality of the palace of David, we find a peculiarity in the ground. Mr. Lewin (p. 137), in his journal of his visit to Jerusalem, says,—“I looked down upon the gardens of El Akra, at the south of the Haram

* It is surely interesting to be able to trace what walls of Jerusalem were built by David. Zion, or the western wedge, was well fortified when David took it. But he built on the eastern wedge, and (Josephus says) enclosed it with a wall. The northern part of this wall would be in the way

when Solomon built the Temple; but the wall now running along the heights of the eastern wedge, or Ophel, seems to be fairly traced to the time of David, and he also built the lower wall across the Tyropæon valley, for Josephus tells us he joined his wall to the older fortified part.

(or Temple platform). Here anciently stood the palace of Solomon. Naturally there must have been a pretty sharp descent of the hill in this part, but the rectangular space, now occupied as a garden, has been artificially levelled by an embankment, supported by a massive wall, on the south; which," p. 267, he adds, "appears to have been about fifty feet high." Robinson gives the same altitude. This platform was rendered necessary by the slope of the ground, and therefore would be necessary also for the palace of David, which lay, as we have seen, on the same slope. And it is also proved by the passage from Nehemiah, that the palace of David did lie on the slope; for the Jews, making the ascent, were above the palace of David after they had passed the going up or rise in the walls, which therefore showed the ancient state of the ground on which the palace of David stood.

It was necessary, therefore, that a platform or terrace should be raised for the foundation of the palace of David, and we think that the typical corner stone was the corner stone of this foundation. It would satisfy all of the peculiarities suggested by the various texts. It would be a foundation, and yet the head of the corner; it would, as we shall see, admit of an easy application of the words of our blessed Saviour; it was part of the dwelling of David, the ancestor of our Lord.

This stone ought also to have been large and massive. Every stone in the facing of such a terrace might be of the utmost dimensions, and the nature of the work would admit of the largest stones in every part. But the corners would require (we speak after consulting those professionally acquainted with such undertakings) stones of more than usual weight, whilst the largest and best of all would be selected for the top of the corner.

This therefore we think was the position of the stone which became the head of the corner: it was the corner stone of the raised foundation of David's palace. It would elucidate the declaration of our blessed Lord, "whosoever shall fall on this stone shall be broken." He would, by falling on it, be carried over the edge of the terrace, and suffer, by a fall of perhaps fifty feet, the fracture of limbs or more vital parts. But on whomsoever it should fall, it would no doubt, from its size and weight and height, grind him to powder.

But the meaning of our blessed Lord may be discovered by considering the parable He had just spoken. It was that of the husbandmen who, after beating, killing, or stoning their Lord's servants, when their Lord sent His own Son, said, "This is the heir; come, let us kill him, and let us seize on his inheritance;" and then cast him out of the vineyard, and slew him.

We read this passage too much as history; but when the parable was spoken, the sin of rejecting the Saviour had not

been completed by His death, and the intimations were prophetic. When our Lord, therefore, wished to make the Pharisees feel that He knew the evil they were meditating, of rejecting Him, He at once took up the ancient type, and joining it to the parable, exhibited in a strong light the act which the type foreshadowed. Possibly the people did not catch His meaning; but of the Chief Priests and Pharisees it is said, "They perceived that He spake of them."

We purposely avoid entering upon the spiritual meaning of the denunciation which concludes the words of our Saviour, except to notice that beyond doubt it includes this meaning, that as to those who displaced this stone from the position appointed for it by God Himself, and imitated the conduct of the husbandmen who caught and cast out and slew the Son, the stone would fall upon them and grind them to powder.

If the 51st and the 118th Psalms both in fact relate to the same period in David's history, and we take them in connection with the 30th, the parallelisms of which are very striking, we may indeed say (to borrow a classical expression), "What a trilogy."

HISTORICUS.

WILBERFORCE AND HIS CONTEMPORARIES :
WILLIAM PITT.

WE cannot bring ourselves to close the review of Wilberforce's Friends without a notice of that eminent person, with whom for many years Wilberforce was closely connected. In truth, there was no one, beyond the circle of his family, for whom Mr. Pitt entertained the regard that he had for Wilberforce. Harry Dundas, afterwards Lord Melville, was more connected with him by official relations; Mr. Rose, so long his financial Secretary, was bound to him by close allegiance; Mr. Canning was attached to him as his disciple and ardent admirer; Lord Grenville was for many years his colleague; Mr. Addington, while Speaker, was his intimate friend: but, except Mr. Eliot, his brother-in-law, no one lived with him so intimately as Wilberforce, or enjoyed his entire confidence. The others were his political associates; but Wilberforce was his friend. Nor was that friendship abated by political events, as happened to so many of his associates. Lord Grenville was, in the later part of Pitt's life, estranged from him. During Pitt's retirement, their intimacy became less cordial; and on Pitt's return to office, Lord Grenville was his opponent. The separation between Pitt and Addington is well known. Even Lord Melville, when he started an intrigue to unite the divided sections of the party under a third person as Premier, received from Pitt a reply

of cutting indifference. Recounting the conversation to Wilberforce, Pitt said with a smile, "I had not the curiosity to ask what post I was to hold." But neither office, nor retirement, nor restoration to power, affected the relations between Pitt and Wilberforce. Their intimacy lasted, unbroken, from the time they both entered Parliament till Pitt's premature death. Once only it was endangered by political difference on the French war. But while this difference produced antipathy against Wilberforce in the followers, it did not shake the regards of their chief. He felt it, indeed, keenly—so keenly as to cost him, what was then unprecedented, a night's rest. But the difference soon passed, and the intimacy was restored. To him alone Pitt opened his confidential plans, both of finance and general policy. While Canning, Grenville, and Dundas could not penetrate his thoughts at Walmer, to Wilberforce they were laid open. For a man so self-contained as Pitt, this confidence is singular; for, though he had warm affections, and for his relatives cordial sympathy, to the world at large he showed great reserve. From the world he stood apart; and looking down on it from his solitary eminence, he felt and was alone. But with Wilberforce he was always open as he had been in youth; and we cannot therefore omit William Pitt from the circle of Wilberforce's friends.

It was long the wish of Wilberforce to write Pitt's life. We cannot wonder that the intention was not fulfilled. He was busy in important works till age and infirmity drove him from Parliament, and through life his disposition was not fitted to a continuous task. Besides, he was too near the period, the incidents too fresh, the actors too near him, the close of the life too tragical. During the conflicts of party, Pitt's character, as was natural, received little justice. His opponents hated him for the transcendent powers which banished them from office, and kept them out of it for twenty years. His associates were busy in concert with him while he lived, still busier when he was gone. They had no leisure from the strife of politics to sit down and retrace the story of their departed chief. But justice has at length succeeded to unfairness. The character of Mr. Pitt is at last known, first through the sketch of a writer of a different party, Lord Macaulay, who employed his genius to clear away the mists of prejudice, and do justice to a reputation much maligned. Now Pitt's biography has been written by Lord Stanhope, who had an hereditary claim to the duty, and who brought to the congenial task his usual accuracy and candour as a historian. But while the public life of Mr. Pitt has thus been written so as to leave nothing to be desired, there remains to us a different task—to describe him as he was in private life, and to sketch, however feebly, his portrait in the gallery of Wilberforce's friends.

It was in the year 1780 that Pitt and Wilberforce entered Parliament and that their intimacy began. They had known each other at Cambridge; but they lived there in different sets, and their acquaintance was slight. When they met in Parliament, their acquaintance was favoured by circumstances. Pitt was then a young and poor barrister; Wilberforce had the command of fortune, and his villa at Wimbledon supplied a place in which Pitt found recreation and rest. For Pitt was fond of the country, and at no time robust. Thus the intimacy arose, to which, in the outset of these sketches, we have referred. Those who judged of Mr. Pitt from his manners as a minister, did not truly appreciate the man. The incident given in Napier's *Memoirs* presents a truer picture. The distance at which he kept his colleagues (even such colleagues as Lord Castlereagh and Lord Hawkesbury) disappeared within the circle of his family, and gave place to the kindness which showed itself, with the young in buoyant spirits and sportive frolic, with older associates in playful conversation; for of jest and repartee he was a master. This disposition remained even in his later years, when, enfeebled by illness and harassed by cares, he had reasons enough to be morose. But even then the mind unbent itself readily in familiar companionship with the young and the witty. How much more in those brighter days, when fishing with Wilberforce at Wimbledon, or joining him in his pleasant garden, he expanded without restraint in the exuberance of his natural gaiety. In truth, distant as Pitt was in his official manner—and who can wonder, when we know the race of harpies who swarm round a Premier?—and shy before strangers, he was full of jest among the companions of his hours of freedom. None more genial in conversation, none more prompt in repartee, none more gentle of temper or tolerant of difference. In the gladiatorship of wit, none more successful. In that pleasant season, when he used to meet Addington and Dundas, the Duchess of Gordon, and Fergusson of Pitfour, in familiar intimacy, the broad humour of the Scotch laird, and the broad Doric of the Scotch Duchess, called forth all his powers. Then he threw off care, and became once more a boy. "Where have you been this long time, Mr. Pitt?" said the Duchess of Gordon. "Have you been talking as much nonsense as usual?" "At least I have not heard as much, Duchess!" "Come, Jekyll," said Pitt, after a passage of arms with that famous wit, in which Pitt had foiled him, in the lobby of the theatre, "here is my carriage. Let me set you down." "No need," was the answer; "you have done that already!"

What Pitt was in literature, those, who enjoyed his intimacy, knew. He had studied at Cambridge, under the directions of his celebrated father, who was bent on developing the powers of the remarkable boy. His studies had been interrupted by

the weakness of his health ; yet such was his quickness, that he learnt more than most men ; and, forgetting nothing, he became so good a scholar, that Greek remained to him through life a familiar language. Lord Grenville used to say that he envied Pitt his classical knowledge more than his political eminence ; for, while he himself read Greek daily through life, and Pitt seldom opened a Greek volume, he found him a better scholar than himself. And this fact came out incidentally ; for when Lord Harrowby (no mean scholar) was engaged with others in examining a hard passage in Thucydides, and, puzzled by it, they agreed to refer it to Pitt, he translated it without a moment's hesitation, though he had not opened the book for twenty years.

Of his quickness in grasping political subjects it is needless to speak. Adam Smith found him master of the difficult science which he had set forth. The deputations that went to him, whatever was their topic, discovered, from his questions, that he had mastered the subject in hand. His eloquence, always stately, became at times transcendent. His speech on the slave-trade was pronounced by competent judges, by Fox and Grey, Wilberforce and Windham, to have been a marvellous display of eloquence. When he dilated on the future of civilized Africa, his peroration of twenty minutes was sublime like that of a man inspired. His speech on the coalition in 1783, and on the murder of the king of France ; his burst of eloquence in following Sheridan on the mutiny of the Nore ; his speech against peace in 1800, and for peace in 1801 ; these have been pointed out by competent judges as unprecedented in their power and effect. Not less remarkable were his financial speeches, those on the French treaty, and on the budgets of successive years ; the latter less noted indeed because so frequent, but not less notable for every quality of eloquence. The speech which he delivered when he returned to the House in May, 1803, has been spoken of as electrifying in its power ; Fox said of it, that if Demosthenes had been present, he must have admired, and might have envied. But the effect on this occasion was partly due to the anxiety felt to ascertain his opinions, and the eager desire of two hundred new Members to hear the famous orator, whom they had not yet heard. His speeches, which succeeded this, were probably more eloquent ; those especially in which he thundered against Addington's policy, when assailing his government in the spring of 1804.

But what we are more concerned with now, is the character of the man. Nothing can be more beautiful than his attention to his mother ; in the pressure of business, through his struggle with the Coalition, in the contests on the Regency, in the formidable troubles at the end of the last century, she was never forgotten. Constant letters to her or her companion marked his affection. His love for his sister

was strong ; his grief at her death intense. His sorrow, at the death of his brother-in-law Eliot, exceeded (Rose said) all he had ever witnessed. His temporary estrangement from Wilberforce cut him to the quick. Affections so warm were accompanied by a life of blameless purity. In an age and amongst statesmen remarkable for viciousness, his life was pure. Gambling was then a passion. It was the usual diversion at the Clubs. Fox contracted by gambling enormous debts. Gambling was sanctioned by princely examples. The young Pitt touched cards, tasted their allurements, and threw them down. He was capable of strong affection ; his attachment to Miss Eden was sincere ; but in the licentious habits of the age he was never involved. It was this rare virtue that, contrasted with the habits of his great rival, led to his popularity in his struggle with the Coalition, and to the confidence felt in him through life both by the king and the people.

Viewing him dispassionately, we notice other features. The habits of political men in those days offered a contrast with our own. The differences between parties were wide ; the language, which opponents allowed themselves to use of their rivals, was scandalously strong. Fox abused Lord North with scurrilous vehemence ; when Mr. Addington was Premier, his letters characterize that amiable statesman as a low, vile fellow. For Pitt, who had every fault a man can have in the eyes of his opponents—young, upright, able, likely to keep them all their lives out of office—there was no invective which was held to be too strong. Turn to Pitt's language, and you find it a singular contrast. In his private letters, as in his confidential conversation, hardly a bitter word escapes him. The single remark applied to Lord Grenville, who had cruelly disappointed him, that he would make that proud man "feel that he could do without him," shows emotion, but also his self-command. He sought high office ; he liked it ; he felt he could be useful in it. He was conscious of the shortcomings of Addington's government ; but he proved, by his long retirement, and his refusal to promote or tolerate intrigues, that he would not purchase office by a departure from his own lofty self-denial. He hit his adversaries hard in debate ; but, after the asperities of the debate were over, he retained no rancour. He felt none against Fox ; he sought to unite with him under Lord Shelburne ; he would have acted with him in the same Cabinet in 1804. He wrote Fox's name on his own list as Foreign Secretary, when that post was only second to the Premiership. No doubt he demanded the Premiership as his right ; and with reason, for he had no equal in finance, in council, and in debate ; and the consenting voice of England proved it by calling him to the helm in 1804.

In an age, when falsehood was common, he was sternly true. His anxiety for purity in the public service was shown by his uniform actions. He gave away a great sinecure, when he himself was poor and about to be driven from office. He refused another sinecure, when he was out of office and oppressed by debt. It was with difficulty that the king persuaded him to take the Wardenship of the Cinque Ports: it was a new thing to see the king entreating the Premier's friends to help him in overcoming Pitt's lofty disinterestedness. He refused again and again the splendid offer of the merchants (whom his policy had enriched) to give him a largess such as Fox took from his friends, and Grattan from his admirers, and in our days Cobden. It was an age of jobbery and corruption, yet against all jobs Pitt set his face. To his patriotism Wilberforce has done justice; and the praise is deserved; for Pitt loved his country with a passionate attachment. Wilberforce does not exaggerate the case, when he represents him as ready to lay down his life for England. In fact, to his labours his life was sacrificed. Not less signal was his humanity. In this respect he and Fox were alike remarkable. The severities practised in the Irish rebellion were odious to Pitt. Wilberforce records his look of expressive indignation when an Irish lawyer in the Lords attempted to justify them. Humanity made him the eager advocate of the abolition of the slave trade. He was slow in receiving the evidence of its horrors; but once convinced of these, he was resolved to put them down. The Court was against his views; great part of his cabinet, his ablest colleagues, more than half his party. But he was immovable. The generous sympathies of Fox were indeed equally cordial. But Fox had not the same obstacles, nor had he the restraints and difficulties of office.

Pitt's resolution to introduce to Parliament the Roman Catholic claims, which shipwrecked his government, arose from his honourable feelings. He had committed himself in favour of the Romanists during the struggle for the Union; and he would redeem his word, though it cost him office. Only when he saw the effect of the proposal on the mind and health of his sovereign, he then resolved not again to introduce the question into Parliament.

When we observe Pitt in his retirement from office, we perceive his superiority. Very different from other statesmen, who, when driven out of office, set to work at once to intrigue for their return; very different from Walpole, who found his retirement intolerable, Pitt, while he lived at Walmer, thoroughly enjoyed himself. He became an eager farmer; the best gentleman-farmer, said Sir Charles Middleton, he had ever seen. He became an eager volunteer. He raised a regiment; he mustered and drilled 3000 men; he set on foot judicious projects to defend the Kentish coast from the

threatened French invasion, he raised gunboats, he improved fortifications, and found in these various duties an absorbing interest that fully occupied him. He did not care for months to enter the House of Commons. He made for himself also, by his domestic affections, the wholesome interest of a family. His kindness to his nephews, thrown off from their natural protector, was characteristic of the man. He wrote to them, he counselled them, he entered into all their difficulties, he offered them a home. Himself a confirmed bachelor, he received into his house his niece; and changed his habits, in order to place over his household a clever but eccentric girl.

Such was the man, and certainly his fortunes were as rare as his qualities. Fortune, capricious fairy, lavished on him not only golden gifts, but dazzling opportunities. He was born in the purple of politics, the son of a statesman, the most distinguished and popular in England. Brought up by this eminent man with care, guarded from evil with tender solicitude, (a contrast to the unhappy training of Fox,) his mind was developed by classical and mathematical studies, which were pursued by him at Cambridge for an unusual length of time with intense delight, under great advantage, and the oversight of an able tutor. His command of words, and his power of action, were developed under the instructions of his father, himself a finished actor, and the first orator of his age. Thus educated, the youth learned the practice of our debates, and the habits of our public life, by diligent attendance in its two great schools, the two Houses of Parliament. His health, which was naturally feeble, was strengthened by regimen; and he entered Parliament, as he joined the Bar, at the early age of twenty-one. His first speech, made without preparation, at the call of his friends, raised him at once into the front rank of orators, and recalled to the House the voice and gestures and eloquence of Lord Chatham. Placed thus on an elevation from which most men would have fallen, he kept his place by universal consent, and for twenty-five years electrified the House of Commons with masterly displays of finished eloquence. Hence, whilst most men have to work their way in Parliament from obscurity to notice, and to pass through subordinate offices to the higher posts, Pitt alone vaulted at once to the summit. Within a year and a half from his entrance into Parliament, he became Chancellor of the Exchequer, and leader of the House, (at the age of twenty-three); refused the Premiership before he was twenty-four; and, accepting it at the age of twenty-four, after he had sat less than three years in Parliament, he held this envied post for seventeen years, through the most critical passages of our history, with growing authority; and he laid it down against the wish both of the Sovereign and Parliament, of his own accord, from scruples which some may lament, but which all must admire.

Thus fortunate in the early part of his life, he was not less distinguished at its close. For, after he had resigned office, and the hurricane of war and danger returned, he was recalled by the voice of the nation, was replaced in the post of Premier, and as Premier he died,—“*Felix opportunitate mortis.*” For to him even the dangers of the times were opportunities. They supplied him with a field for genius. The period from 1780 to 1806 is one of the most critical in our history : a complete change in our commerce ; an organic change through a legislative union with Ireland ; a financial change in our taxes and currency ; a revolution in the state of Europe ; a great European war ; the madness of the king ; the rise and growth of the empire of Napoleon. Nor should we forget that the French Revolution is chiefly remarkable, because it introduced a change in European opinion, which altered then, and still affects, the policy of nations, the existence of dynasties, and the habits of the people. In place of the old systems, whether of despotic power or constitutional government, it introduced principles, till then unknown in Europe, borrowed from the United States, and forced into the heart of the Continent by France, which had the widest influence over the European mind. These principles, which spread, swift as the cholera, over Europe, imbued an influential party in England, and were by them eagerly propagated. Denounced by the philosophy of Burke, they were confronted by the policy of Pitt. The conflict was stormy and hazardous, but Pitt unquestionably was the leader of the opposing force.

We are apt to forget how he was trained for this combat, and to what causes he owed success. We should remember that his success was due to his principles as much as to his powers. His father had been intensely popular, not from his eloquence alone, but from his lofty patriotism. Directed by this great example, as well as by paternal precept, Pitt entered Parliament a resolute reformer. His reform principles were openly avowed, and they drew on him the opposition not only of the king's friends and the Tories, but of the aristocratic Whigs. For the Whigs disliked and feared the principles of economy and Reform.

But of all the virulent enemies of these opinions, the most determined was the king. George III. was a singular compound. He had some talents, and many good qualities. He was orderly, attentive to business, domestic, moral, and upright. He started with great advantages. He came to the throne a youth ; and he had the promise of a long reign. He had the good fortune to be born and bred in England ; and England, sick of the Germans, hailed him as a born Englishman. He had the habits of an Englishman ; he spoke and wrote the English tongue ; he rode well ; he was a sportsman ; he was a keen farmer. He was simple in his tastes, and fond of his wife and his children.

He had no learning ; but the world is not learned. He had no refinement ; but the world is not refined. He affected the life of a plain, straightforward yeoman, who rose early, dined plainly ; worked hard, went early to bed ; was homely in his ways, familiar in his talk, kindly in his notice of the middle class and the poor. If he liked to gossip, and ask any one he met a multitude of questions, people liked him all the better ; for the habit showed that he was sociable, hearty, and did not give himself airs. No doubt he had strong prejudices ; he was self-willed, obstinate, and narrow-minded ; but these are the faults of English farmers, and of a great many besides farmers. All these habits tended to make him popular. But he threw away this popularity by one grand mistake at the outset. He had had knocked into his head, while he was a child, a scheme of government which it took years and disasters to knock out of his head. It was impressed on him that the Crown had been the slave of two great parties in the State—the Tory gentry, and the Whig aristocracy : that these parties had bullied the sovereign, and had forced him to select his Cabinet and the officers of his Court from their own ranks. The new project was, that the king should be his own minister, and should rule in spite of party. So he began by sending Mr. Pitt adrift, who was the nation's idol, and by substituting for Pitt Lord Bute, who was not fit to be a court chamberlain. Lord Bute soon fell by his own incapacity, and then the king had to take his ministry from one of the old parties whom he dreaded. But this sharp lesson failed to teach him wisdom. He set to work in spite of it to carry out his favourite scheme in a new way. He could not name his own Minister, nor choose his Cabinet ; but his idea was to form a party within Parliament, that should enable him to thwart and trip up his government, and to traverse or defeat his Parliament. Hence sprung the party of the *King's Friends*—a party new to England, and odious ; for of all things the English hate a secret cabal. So on the Cabal and the King there was rained down a pelting storm of indignation. Burke thundered on it on the right, and his thunders grazed the throne ; Pitt scorched them by the lightning of his eloquence ; Churchill lashed them in verse ; Junius pilloried them in prose. The king and his friends became a by-word, at once hated and despised. Under this cloud of obloquy, augmented by the American war, George III., defeated in his schemes, and at last deserted by his minister, Lord North, was forced at length to swallow the distasteful ministry of the Whigs, and, among all the Whigs, the man whom he disliked the most, Charles Fox. It was in this condition, to which he had brought himself by his own obstinacy, that the king entered on his conflict with the Coalition Ministry in 1782. His way of fighting the battle was characteristic. The ministry were all-powerful in the Commons, and had in that

- House a parliamentary majority. So he set on foot an intrigue ; employed a vain peer, not his responsible minister, to conduct it ; influenced the House of Lords by an unconstitutional message ; and by a majority in that House, always offensive to the Lower House, he upset, by a sudden stroke, the Bill on which the hearts of the Commons were set, and the Cabinet which had proposed it. Of all his many blunders, this was the most serious. The fury of the Commons knew no bounds ; and they had just reason for anger. They had been thwarted in their strongest wishes, and they were bent on revenge. Then it was that, dimly perceiving his danger, the king turned to Pitt, and sued him with abject entreaty to come to his help ; and Pitt consented, and took up the contest. He saved the king, in the only way in which, in our constitutional government, a statesman can help his sovereign—by withdrawing him from the battle, standing in front, and sheltering him. When the combatants looked each other in the face, the aggrieved majority found that they had no longer to do with their blundering monarch and an odious clique, but with a responsible minister, young, able, and determined. On him, therefore, fell the anger of the majority, but on him also were fixed the eyes of the people. And by this time the people had learned to know William Pitt. He had been only three years before their notice, but there was hardly a man, from the Land's End to the Pentland Frith, who did not know and admire him. He was the son of their old favourite ; and he had proved himself worthy of his sire. His eloquence was famous ; his administrative powers, tested by office, had been proved equal to work ; and he was as eminent in financial management as in oratory. He was a stripling in years, but he was a king among men ; and standing in his rightful place, he shielded and covered the throne. In occupying this place, it was evident that he was the master, and that the king and his clique had succumbed. For Pitt had been asked once before to take office, and had refused. He now accepted it on his own terms ; and his character and his antecedents were guarantees that his terms provided for an independent and self-reliant policy. It was plain to every one that the king had given way. Pitt had held, during his short public life, every principle which the Court disliked. They were in favour of the war with America ; he was against it. They were for the influence of the Court, he had spurned it. They were for Lord North and his corrupt practices ; he had refused to coalesce with Lord North, and had sided with Burke. They were for sinecures, and he was opposed to them. Nay more, he had proved his sincerity ; for when a sinecure was in his gift, and he was urged to take it, he had put it sternly from him. Economy was needful, as Burke had shown ; but the only guarantee for economy was Parliamentary Reform. And Reform was odious to the King and the Court, as well as to

both the sections of the aristocracy. Pitt alone upheld it; pressed it; brought it forward again and again; and this course showed his motives, his uprightness, and his resolution. The people noticed this; they had watched his conduct, and had made up their minds on his character. At length they had the man they wanted, for this man was now their Premier.

This was a great change, not of men only, but of policy. The long battle with their self-willed sovereign was over; the king had put himself in the hands of his responsible minister; and that minister a purist and a reformer. From this moment the unpopularity of George III. ceased, and a revulsion of feeling set in, which lasted for the remainder of his reign. Loyalty, the natural sentiment of the English people, rose high on the crest of the wave. Then the good qualities of their king came into view, and were remembered. Men compared him with the English nobility, and saw that he was better than most of them; with other kings—with the selfish ambition of Frederick the Great, with the vile scandals of Louis XV.—and they felt his superiority. No doubt he had prejudices; but all men have some faults. At one strong prejudice of his they did not wonder. He disliked Charles Fox, but there was a reason. Fox's life had been scandalous, and his scandals had disgusted even the cynic Walpole. His talent and his convivial powers were used to attract and seduce the young; and thus he had drawn into his circle the Prince of Wales, and in that circle the Prince's passions were inflamed and his morals debauched. No wonder that the king did not desire as his confidential adviser the man who had outraged his best feelings as a father. At that moment the India Bill was the talk of the country. The people could not understand it. It was complicated and obscure. But this they heard confidently asserted, and by no less a man than Dr. Johnson, that, if the Bill passed, it would make Fox's party lord it over their sovereign; and that it was a fight between the sceptre of George III. and the tongue of Charles Fox.

At length they saw the king surrender himself into the hands of a minister who was in every point a contrast to Charles Fox. He was no jobber; he had never sat in a Cabinet with jobbing Tories, or played high at Clubs with worthless gamblers. He was as firm a reformer as he was pure in morals. If he was ambitious, what then? He had shown himself, like his father, the first man in the House of Commons, and worthy of the first place. If he was proud, they liked him all the more; for he was proud against the Court and the aristocracy, and he was proud because filled with a noble purpose to serve his country. So Pitt became Premier, and the most popular minister since the days of Chatham. His popularity lasted long; from that spring-day in 1784, when he drove from Berkeley Square to the Guildhall, to receive the thanks of the City and its freedom, among admiring multitudes; all through the days of peace; all

through the conflicts of the regency; all through the series of his free-trade measures, by which he beat the Whigs and won the hearts of the merchants; through the fury of the revolutionary outbreak; till slowly, and with reluctance, he plunged into a costly war. That war, with its debts and dangers, took much from his popularity. The stringent measures, to which he resorted, detracted even more from it. But his ability in carrying out the Irish Union somewhat restored his popularity; and when peace came, and a weaker ministry took the helm, his absence was felt. Hence, when the public dangers increased, and when war became inevitable in 1804, the nation loudly demanded his restoration to office; and, as the "pilot that weathered the storm," in the words of Canning and Walter Scott, as the "saviour of Europe" in the language of the Lord Mayor of London, he was again hailed by multitudes on his way to the Mansion House, who took the horses from his carriage, and drew him up Cheapside, with as frenzied admiration as had greeted him in the early days of 1784.

When, therefore, we follow Pitt into the gallery of statesmen, and assign him his place among them, we say without hesitation, that in that proud array of distinguished politicians he stands pre-eminent and alone. But now that we are settling his position in a different group, we reverse our judgment, and, comparing him with the little figure who was its centre, we award him a lower post, both in fortune and service. Wilberforce had set before himself three objects for his public life; 1st, the freedom of the negro slave; 2nd, the introduction of Christianity among the various races of our empire in India; 3rd, the proof, by example, that a public man may serve his country actively in Parliament, yet follow the rule of his conscience and the will of the Supreme. These objects were pursued by him, and all of them attained, in a life of long and diligent service.

Pitt also had set three objects before him: for we accept the impartial testimony of Wilberforce, and reckon him a genuine patriot. He sought to serve his country by a threefold service: first, by preserving peace, and carrying out the work of peace, development of our finances; extension of our commerce; economy in the application of public money. This object he followed diligently, and for ten years attained. But in this object he was at length foiled. Disastrous circumstances forced him into a great European war; that war blew economy to the winds; heaped on our shoulders a load of taxes; left us a crushing debt; brought our great Bank to bankruptcy, and crippled our trade. Driven by these dangers from the arts of peace, Pitt had, for the last ten years of his life, to unlearn the lesson he loved, and to study the uncongenial art, how to develop the resources of war. And that war, widening in its proportions, terrible in its disasters, baffling while it mocked him with

visions of peace, so harassed his closing years, that it filled him with regret and dismay; and at his death he left his country wrapped in clouds of darkness, swept by a hurricane of conquest, the conqueror relentless as Attila, with ambition boundless as his power.

Pitt's second great object was Reform: reform in the administration of government, which was wasteful and venal; reform in the representation of Parliament, which was incomplete and debased. These objects he sincerely desired; in the last he failed. For, intrigued against by his colleagues, outvoted by his party, thwarted, and at last baffled, by events, he saw the hope of parliamentary reform vanish like a dream. He was hardly more successful in administrative reform. Pure in his own practice, spurning with a lofty disinterestedness pension and place, he saw himself, through the carelessness of his ablest colleague, involved in an inquiry which brought discredit on his government, and covered himself with obloquy; and he, who longed to make his government pure, was so encompassed by dangers, so pressed by party division, so assailed by the revolutionary mania, that he thought himself bound to buy support at any price, and to ward off opposition by gifts, which in Ireland took the shape of bribes, and by such a load of peerages and places lavished on his English supporters as we cannot now look back upon without regret and shame. He had a third object (for he was sincerely humane): he wished to make his administration known by the Emancipation of the slave. He stimulated his nearest friend to undertake the question; he himself undertook it in his absence. He made for this his most eloquent speeches; he pursued it with sincere earnestness. He prosecuted it in spite of king and court, and colleagues and party; yet he failed. The object, on which he had set his heart, was not carried through his long ministry. He had to leave the victory and the honour to his opponents. Thwarted by his ablest colleague, deserted by a large section of his party, baffled by selfish interests which he despised, harassed in his last years by overwhelming official business, he gave to this great cause such a divided and ineffectual help, that he was suspected of being lukewarm and insincere. Thus, with all his genius, his rare powers, and singular opportunities, the three objects of his public life were all frustrated, and failed. Can we wonder that he sunk in his prime, prematurely worn out; can we deny that the broken stone, which covered his remains in our great Abbey, was a suitable symbol of broken hopes and a shattered life? Retracing that life now with the calmness of history, we find it a great tragedy; an outset of brilliant promise, marvellous powers, great events, stirring adventures;

a fortune that soared to the zenith ; then a sudden collapse, and a mournful end.

How was it, we ask? Whence came the final blow? Pitt entered Parliament on the 23rd January, 1781, when he had reached his 22nd year; he died on the 23rd January, 1806, in his 47th year. In early life his health was delicate; but the weakness of his constitution seemed to have passed away under a careful regimen. For years he conducted public business in office, and in the House of Commons, through the most critical times, against the ablest opponents, with unabated power. The labours of Sir Robert Peel, when he resumed office in 1841, were as severe perhaps as Pitt's, but he had not the same difficulties to contend with. He had not to provide for the incapacity of the sovereign; nor to meet the horrors of the French revolution; nor to check the contagion of Jacobin principles; nor to confront the dangers of an European war, urged on by the genius of Napoleon, the most ambitious conqueror and the greatest captain of his age. Yet Pitt bore these labours for a time without injury; the best evidence of this is, that his sleep was not disturbed. We remember to have heard, that returning, after an enormous amount of labour, from a late debate, to Dundas's villa at Wimbledon, Pitt went to bed, and Dundas locked the door of his room that no one might disturb him. The Premier slept so soundly, that when Dundas entered his room, at a late hour in the following afternoon, he was still asleep, and was awake, as they feared he might suffer from want of food. The first time his sleep failed him was when Wilberforce opposed him on the question of the French war, in 1794; and this shows rather the sensibility of his heart than the weakness of his health. But there followed after this a strain which was sufficient to upset any constitution. For the effects of the French revolution, the mutiny of our seamen at the Nore, a European war, complicated negotiations, the Italian conquests and the rapid rise of Buonaparte, the attempt at peace with France and its mortifying failure, a smouldering disaffection in Ireland ending in rebellion, the tedious negotiations for effecting the Irish Union, were all compressed within a space of ten years. No wonder that Pitt's health began to feel the strain. His first serious illness was in 1797; from that time his health became uncertain. His habits also changed for the worse. The port wine, which was prescribed to him in early life by his medical advisers, told more upon him. Early hours were abandoned; late hours of rising became his habit. When he was released from office in 1801, it might have been hoped that his health would be restored. Yet it was from this time forward, in the following winter, and in the summer of 1802, that his attacks of illness became more frequent. The Bath waters were resorted to by him. When he

appeared in the House of Commons, in May, 1803, an accurate observer describes with painful minuteness the ravages of illness on his physical powers. No longer that grand face, which Gainsborough painted, or the Pitt who was seen by the sculptor on the slopes at Windsor in 1788, just after he had forced his way, in spite of the Court and clique, into the presence of the king, and was met returning with bounding step, the head thrown back and the countenance elate: "his physical powers," says the observer of 1803, "are perceptibly impaired; he exhibits strong marks of bad health; though his voice has not lost any of its depth and harmony, his lungs seem to labour in those prodigious sentences, which he once thundered forth without effort."

It is true that his return to office, as is often the case in vigorous minds, seemed at first to brace and stimulate him. The enemies whom he had to confront, the difficulties he was to face, acted like a tonic. It was the trumpet of battle rousing the war-horse. A sanguine temper, the consciousness of power, made him meet the conflict with delight. Still there were some signs which showed the danger. Lord Castlereagh, in writing to Lord Wellesley in May, 1804, with full confidence in Pitt's intellectual resources, had dropped the ominous words, "if Mr. Pitt's health does not fail him." To Lord Eldon Pitt himself had said, when deserted by Lord Grenville, that he could do without him, but it might cost him his life. But the powers of the statesman, already overtaken, and groaning under the pressure, were to meet with a strain that might have overborne even a firmer frame. The weight thrown upon Pitt's shoulders by Lord Grenville's desertion was great. It was augmented by the disabling illness of Lord Harrowby. It was lightened a little by the union with Addington, in the end of 1804; but fearfully augmented by the fall of Lord Melville, by the anxieties which preceded this event, the excitement of the struggle, and the bitter pangs of defeat. This was succeeded by the desertion of Lord Sidmouth and his party; and, in spite of Pitt's earnest entreaties, the obstinacy of the king could not be overcome, and the autumn of 1805 saw the struggling minister, who had just passed through a laborious session with scarce any help in debate in the Commons, obliged to look forward to a repetition of the same labours with his shattered forces. Add to this that the year 1804, in which Pitt returned to office, and the following year, in which he had to bear single-handed the weight of government, were among the darkest periods of English history. For in 1804 Buonaparte, seizing the reins of government as emperor, and succeeding in separating Spain from England and uniting her with France, had assumed the crown of Italy, extended his dominion over Holland, and completed his preparations at

Boulogne for the invasion of England. The year 1805 was no less formidable. In that year the united fleet of France and Spain, having decoyed Lord Nelson to the West Indies, had for some weeks the command of the English Channel; and Napoleon, standing on tiptoe on the heights of the chalk cliffs of Boulogne, waited only for the signal that his fleet had arrived, to cross the Channel with his gunboats, and throw such a force on the shores of England as we could not have successfully opposed. Worse than all, such at that time was the rancour and blindness of party, that neither Fox nor Addington believed the danger, but treated it as the idle bugbear or the shabby fraud of government. All these dangers to be met, our fleet to be equipped and sent forth, negotiations and loans to be made in order to unite Austria and Russia in a confederacy against France; the whole of this enormous labour, only diversified by the anxious conflicts of eager debate, fell with its full weight on Pitt's shattered frame. With marvellous buoyancy he bore up under the pressure. Anxious for rest, but unable to find a day; longing to retreat to Walmer, but for two years not finding a single interval; urged by his physician to take the waters at Bath, but prevented from following the advice, it was no wonder that he felt, and showed in his looks, the unalleviated strain. Yet such was his vigour of mind, that when, in November, 1805, he escaped to the Wilderness at Lord Camden's, and joined a circle of friends, his conversation was buoyant still, and he detailed with his ancient eloquence the emotions with which he had received at night and opened the despatches that told him of Lord Nelson's death, in the arms of victory, at Trafalgar. At the same time, speaking (it was his last speech) at Guildhall, on the Lord Mayor's day, after he had been drawn to the Mansion House with exultation up Cheapside, his few words, heard by Sir A. Wellesley, spoken in that majestic voice which was never to be heard again, recalled in their patriotism and disinterestedness the character of his life.

On the back of all this enormous pressure came the last thundering blow. The news of the capitulation of Mack in October, had reached London early in November. But the blow was lightened by the tidings of the victory of Trafalgar, which annihilated Napoleon's fleet, and rescued England from danger by sea. But on the 2nd of December, the great coalition of Russia and Austria, which Pitt had laboriously framed, and from which he expected so much, was crushed on the field of Austerlitz. When he received these despatches, Pitt asked for a map of Europe, and desired to be left alone; and soon after, when he reached his house at Putney Heath, observing a map of Europe hanging on the wall, he said mournfully, but with the prophetic instinct of genius, "Roll up that map; it will not be wanted for ten years!" The effect of this

blow on the weakened body was instantaneous ; his look was changed ; it became wan and sunk ; his voice lost its rich melody ; the powers of digestion were gone. To a friend his servant said, that from this time he used to hear his master walking up and down his bedroom great part of the night ; that at times he had ventured in, and had remonstrated with him ; but even when he induced him to go to bed, Pitt kept a light burning near him, and his bed was covered with papers. No wonder that the poor body could not stand such usage. On the 9th of January, 1806, Pitt left Bath, and returned to Putney Heath to die. The villa, which stands near the summit of the Heath, not far from the Telegraph, had been taken by Pitt, when he resumed office in 1804, as a refuge from the labours of London, where, on dry soil and a pure air, the labouring statesman might find rest. Rallying for a moment in consequence of the change, he allowed some of his political friends to visit him, and conversed with Lord Wellesley and others with unabated vigour on subjects of public interest. But the excitement was too much, and he fainted away. From that day, the 14th of January, he kept the house. The physicians at first buoyed themselves with hopes that their skill might save him. But on the 19th a typhoid fever set in, and all hope disappeared. We borrow what remains of the story from the narrative given by the Bishop of Lincoln at the time to the Dean of Carlisle.* "The bishop had often pressed the physicians to allow him to inform Mr. Pitt of his danger ; but he had been constantly refused by them. At length, on Wednesday, January 22nd (Pitt died on the 23rd), his physicians told the bishop that it was nearly over, and that he might say what he pleased. On this the bishop desired admittance into Mr. Pitt's room, and he and one of the physicians entered it together. 'Mr. Pitt,' the physician said, 'the Bishop of Lincoln is here.' Pitt opening his eyes, said, 'Well?' in a tone that expressed, 'What is there in that?' The bishop then said, 'Mr. Pitt, I am sorry to find you so poorly this morning : I should much wish to read a prayer to you.' In an instant Pitt turned to the other side of the bed, and said to his physician, 'How long do you think I have to live?' When the physician hesitated, and muttered something, that it was certain he was much indisposed, but that many had recovered who had been as ill, and he might yet perhaps be restored to health, Pitt fixed his penetrating eye on him, and quietly asked him to leave the room. He then turned himself to the side on which the bishop was standing, and looked steadily at him, The bishop renewed

* The bishop toned down this narrative in his biography, and Lord Stanhope has naturally adopted his account ; but ours comes from con-

temporary sources remarkable for their accuracy, and there is no doubt that the scene occurred as here described.

his offer to read a prayer suited to so solemn an occasion. Pitt replied, 'I have lived so much in the habitual neglect of prayer, that I think it almost unbecoming, and, I fear, unavailing to pray now.' The bishop answered this remark, and read some of the prayers of our Liturgy. There was then a long and deep silence; and after this Pitt said, 'I am sure I have had great infirmities, and done many things that I wish I had not done; but I have tried to follow God's will, and,' clasping his hands with great energy, 'I cast myself on the mercies of God, through the merits of Jesus Christ.'"

On the following day Pitt died; and it is said that a servant, sent the same day from Wimbledon to inquire after his health, finding no one to answer his inquiries, wandered into the house, went from room to room, till, in the bedroom upstairs which looks with its bow-window to the west over the heath, he found the body of him, who a few hours before had filled England with hope and France with fear, stretched in that deep stillness which gives to death its awful power. Wilberforce remarks,—“The time and circumstances of his death were peculiarly affecting; and I really believe that it dwelt on the minds of people in London for a whole week. But London soon returned to its gaiety and giddiness; and all the world has been for many days busied about the inheritance, before the late possessor is laid in his grave.”

In our day, a distinguished statesman, struck by the death of two of his eminent contemporaries, spoke with impressive mournfulness of the brittleness of human reputation. A bustling Member of Parliament answered him, that public life was not, after all, so vain, as we might live for posthumous fame. “Don't talk to me,” he said, “of posthumous fame, when I have seen that the fame of the greatest statesman does not last a week beyond his death!”

This lesson was impressively taught by the circumstances of Pitt's death. Yet some faithful hearts held fast his memory. Wilberforce showed his attachment by affectionate service. Rose dwelt with loving reverence on the memory of his famous master. Addington, reconciled by that great reconciler, the grave, delighted in after days to speak of Pitt's eminent qualities. A few months after Pitt's death, when the stir of a London season and the projects of the new ministry were already engrossing every mind; there came a visitor to Broomfield, who asked to be taken to Westminster Abbey, that she might look on the stone that covered the great statesman's remains. She, and her more eminent sister Hannah More, had long followed his course with dutiful homage. They had held him to be, as Wilberforce always reckoned him, the greatest and purest of patriots. Now that his service was past, and his life, with all its hopes dissolved like a scroll, lay in the vault at her feet a handful of mouldering dust, she stood long in pen-

sive reverie looking on the name engraved below. Retracing the history of that remarkable career, she thought of his early entrance on public life, his rapid rise, his towering elevation, genius beyond his fellows, rare opportunities and a dazzling fortune. When she reflected what a space he had filled in the world's eye, how in his hands were laid the reins of government and the conduct of the world's affairs; how England set her eyes on him and followed him with wonder, and Europe observed him as one of her greatest men, as the only person who could face Napoleon's threats and frustrate his schemes; how in the gifts of nature and qualities of mind he stood pre-eminent, and exercised over men a lordly mastery—such genius for administration, such wisdom for counsel, powers unrivalled in debate, an integrity which raised him high in public esteem, a patriotism that sought his country's good as the only worthy aim; and with all this a tender heart, pure affections, a genial kindness, a temper so gentle, and virtue so self-restrained; and such an intellect, its vast capacities, its quick perceptions, its prompt penetration, its capacious survey, its retentive recollections; and all these marvellous powers so absorbed in passing interests, and so enthralled by transient cares, that he had never found a moment's leisure to break his chains, and to grasp the only theme worthy of such a mind; how, harassed by anxiety and distracted by business, he had never disengaged his thoughts for that sublime contemplation which is at once the solace and the work of life—which, stretching beyond time, brings into time higher thoughts, and sheds over time a heavenly light, elevating the faculties while it quiets the feelings, satisfying the intellect while it calms the heart;—when she thought how this noble labourer, yoked with inferior colleagues and baited by vindictive opponents, had fought his way through a weary life, wading amidst the ever-thickening swarm of debasing cares, and worn out at length, thwarted by faction, and baffled by disaster, had fallen in the prime of life, prematurely old;—when, thus spread out before her, there lay unrolled like a map his life's eventful story, no wonder that the tender heart gave way, and that feeling found vent in a flood of tears.

NAPOLÉON'S LIFE OF JULIUS CÆSAR.

The History of Julius Cæsar. By His Majesty Napoleon III. Translated under the immediate supervision of the Emperor himself. 8vo. Vol. I. Cassell, Petter, and Galpin.

DR. JOHNSON is said to have remarked, that when a man of rank appeared in the character of an author he deserved to have his merit handsomely acknowledged. If this be true,

what shall we say when one of the greatest and most successful of sovereigns, according to the world's estimate, appeals as a writer to the judgment of the public? In France, where the real freedom of the Press, which is so valuable an adjunct of the British constitution, is virtually unknown both in politics and literature, the way in which the work before us has been eulogised by some of the French reviewers is of so extravagant a nature, that we are in danger of having our design of fair criticism set aside through the injudicious and reckless admirers of the Imperial author.

Before the work itself had appeared, and when only the preface which preceded it, and which contains less than seven pages, had been given to the public, one of the periodicals of Paris gave utterance to the following oracular judgment:—"The grandeur of Cæsar, and the legitimacy of his acts, have at length found their historian. False points of view have disappeared, unjust opinions have been rectified, and facts under so powerful a pen will give the lie to Montesquieu himself, who calls Cæsar an usurper." Another, who is not less impressed with the work which he had not then seen, declared that "the beauty of form, the nobleness of thought, the depth of view, all the pre-eminent qualities of the Emperor as a writer, historian, philosopher, and statesman, are found combined in this preface. *The whole work will respond to this magnificent opening.* It is a monument of erudition, built up with laborious ardour, tenacity in great things, and perseverance in the search after truth, which characterize the sovereign to whom France owes fifteen years of so much glory and so much prosperity. We have just read the preface, and we cannot but place it *on an equality with the finest pages of our literature in its best days.*"

Such indiscriminate eulogium must necessarily injure the cause it is intended to serve. And when we find that the august author has thought fit to ignore all the modern writers* who have endeavoured to depict so remarkable a page in Roman story, and to present it to the English reading public in a translation, "under the immediate supervision of the Emperor himself," which, with all our desire to do justice to one who had a difficult task to perform, we are obliged to admit is not equal to the occasion, we approach the subject with greater hesitation than we should otherwise be willing to allow.

Further, the value of French criticism may be estimated from this remarkable incident connected with the work in question. One of the semi-official newspapers in France, *La France*, having informed its readers that "the utmost latitude" would be allowed to the French press for criticism, an unhappy

* Drumann and Mommsen are once casually referred to in a foot-note. Niebuhr has not even that honour. And our own brilliant historian, Meri-

vale, who in half the space has drawn the picture of the great Roman with greater discretion and ability, is passed over in suspicious silence.

reviewer, upon the faith of this assurance, put forth so severe a philippic upon the Imperial author and his government, under the guise of criticising the condition of Rome at the time of the rise of the Cæsars, that he was instantly indicted, and condemned to a heavy punishment, which he could only escape by voluntary exile.*

Turning from the Emperor's critics, which in France appear to consist solely of two classes—either indiscriminate flatterers, or equally zealous opponents—to the work itself, we cannot hesitate in adopting the generally received opinion respecting the object which its author had in view in writing the history of the *First Cæsar*. Every page almost shows that he had an eye, as well to ancient as to modern times and dynasties in general, and to that of Napoleon in particular. The Preface, which has excited the enthusiasm of his followers in the highest degree, leaves us under no misapprehension on this point, as he candidly says:—

“The object I have in view in writing this history is to prove that when Providence raises up such men as Cæsar, Charlemagne, and Napoleon, it is to trace out to nations the path they ought to follow,—to stamp with their genius a new era, and to accomplish in a few years the labour of many centuries. Happy the people who comprehend and follow them! Woe to those who misunderstand and combat them! They do as the Jews did, they crucify their Messiah; they are blind and culpable: blind because they do not see the impotence of their efforts to suspend the final triumph of good; culpable, for they only retard progress, by impeding its prompt and fruitful application. Neither the murder of Cæsar, nor the captivity of St. Helena, have been able to destroy irrevocably two popular causes, overthrown by a league, which disguised itself under the mask of Liberty. Brutus, by slaying Cæsar, plunged Rome into the horrors of civil war; he did not prevent the reign of Augustus, but he rendered possible those of Nero and Caligula. The ostracism of Napoleon by the allied powers of Europe has not been successful in preventing the revival of the Empire; and yet how far we are from having solved great problems, or from the legitimate satisfaction given to nations by the First Empire. Thus, since 1815, every day has verified the prophecy of the captive of St. Helena,—‘How many conflicts, how much blood, how many years will be required to *realise the good which I intended to do for mankind.*’”

Similarly, we cannot have much difficulty in supposing what was in the mind of our author when he penned the following

* Nevertheless, the Press in France at the present day is better off than it was during the First Empire, as the following characteristic letter from Napoleon I. to Marshal Berthier incontestably proves:—“Mon cousin,—

I imagine that you will have had the booksellers at Augsburg and Nuremberg arrested. My wish is, that they be brought before a court-martial, and shot within twenty-four hours.”

passage on the effect of Sylla's dictatorship, which preceded the rise of Cæsar by about a quarter of a century:—

"The history of the last fifty years, and especially the dictatorship of Sylla, evidently showed that *Italy required a master*. On all sides the institutions gave way before the power of one who was sustained not only by his own partisans, but also by the warning crowd, which, tired out by the action and reaction of so many opposite parties, longed for order and repose. Had the conduct of Sylla been moderate, that which is called the Empire would probably have begun with him; but his authority was exercised with such cruelty and one-sidedness, that, on his death, people forgot the abuses of liberty, to think only of the abuses of tyranny. The more the democratic spirit spread, the more did the old institutions lose the *prestige* that once attached to them. In truth, as Democracy, confiding and impassioned, *always believes its interests to be more suitably represented by a single person* than by a political body, it was ever inclined to trust its future to him who should raise himself by merit above his contemporaries. The Gracchi, Marius, and Sylla, had each in turn disposed at their pleasure of the destinies of the Republic; had with impunity trampled under foot old institutions and old usages; but their reign was transient, for they represented only factions. Instead of comprehensive regard for the wishes and interests of the whole Italian peninsula, they favoured this or that class of society exclusively. Some wanted, above all other things, to improve the condition of the pauper population of Rome, or the emancipation of the Italiotes, or the preponderance of the Equestrian order, while others sought to maintain the privileges of the aristocracy. Both failed. In order to found a durable order of things, *a man was wanting* who, raising himself above vulgar passions, should combine in himself the essential qualities and the just ideas of each one of those who had preceded him, and who should avoid their defects as well as their errors. To greatness of soul and love for the people, which distinguished certain of the Tribunes, he should join the military genius of the great generals, and the profound attachment of the Dictator to order and hierarchy. The man qualified for so high a mission already existed, but, notwithstanding his name, he might still have remained long unknown, had not the penetrating eye of Sylla detected him amid the crowd, and by persecution pointed him out to public attention. That man was Cæsar." (Liv. I. ch. vi. § 8.)

Caius Julius Cæsar* was born at Rome, July 12, A.U.C. 654, or B.C. 100, shortly after Marius' great victories over the Cimbri

* The origin of the name of Cæsar—the most illustrious, in one sense, in the annals of the world—is traced to the fact of the Dictator's ancestor, the Prætor Sextus Julius (who lived about a century before his great descendant), having slain an elephant in a fight. In the Punic tongue, *cæsar* signifies an "elephant." The medals of Julius Cæsar as Pontifex Maximus confirm

this hypothesis; for the reverse represents an elephant crushing a serpent under its feet. Polysenus, when relating Cæsar's invasion of Britain, mentions that his success on one occasion was obtained by placing an armed elephant with a tower of soldiers in the van of his army, whose appearance speedily put the natives to flight.

and Teutons, which retarded for several centuries the irruption of the barbarians, and preserved Italy from a formidable invasion. His father was the Prætor, who bore the same name, and who died suddenly at Pisa ere his more illustrious son had reached the age of fourteen years. By ancestry and alliances Cæsar inherited that double prestige which is derived from ancient origin and recent renown. On one side he claimed descent from Anchises and Venus; on the other, he really was the nephew of the Consul Marius, who had married his aunt Julia. When the widow of Marius died, Cæsar pronounced her funeral oration as follows:—"My aunt Julia, on the maternal side, is descended from kings; on the paternal side, from the immortal gods. For the Marcii reges, her mother's family, deduce their pedigree from Ancus Martius. The Julian race descends from Venus herself. Thus our house unites to the sacred character of kings, who are the most powerful among men, the venerated holiness of the gods, who hold kings themselves under their subjection."*

The natural qualities of Cæsar, together with a careful education, enabled him to avail himself to the utmost of these hereditary advantages. Let us hear the Emperor describe his accomplishments:—

"Aurelia, a woman of lofty character and severe morals, assisted mainly in the development of his great abilities, by a wise and enlightened education, and prepared him for the great part which destiny had reserved for him. Early education by a tender and virtuous mother has always as much influence over our future course as the highest natural qualities. Cæsar reaped its fruits. He likewise received lessons from M. Antonius Gniphio, a philosopher from Gaul and a master of eloquence, of a rare mind, of vast learning, and well versed in Greek and Latin letters, which he had cultivated at Alexandria. Greece was always the country of the arts and sciences, and the language of Demosthenes was familiar to every well-educated Roman. Thus Greek and Latin might be called the two languages of Italy. Cæsar spoke both with the same facility; and when falling beneath the dagger of Brutus, he pronounced *in Greek*† the last

* Suetonius, Cæsar VI. The Emperor Napoleon observes that "this passage, as generally translated, is unintelligible, because the translators render the words Martii Reges by the *Kings Martius*, instead of the family of Marcus Rex." We conclude this remark refers exclusively to French translators, as we do not recollect ever meeting with so manifest an error in any English version of the Roman historian.

† This statement respecting Cæsar's dying apostrophe to Brutus rests exclusively upon the authority of Suetonius (Cæsar, § 82), who represents him as exclaiming, "*Kal ov el êkelwv; kal ov ténov.*" But it is very doubtful. Exclusive of the objection that Cæsar, who had never before acknowledged Brutus as his son, should make so unnecessary an avowal at the moment of his death, we can hardly think it likely that at such a moment he would have expressed himself in a foreign tongue, however well-known to him. Upon the whole, the probability is that the words really uttered by the dying Cæsar were those well-known ones, "*Et tu, Brute!*" which,

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words that issued from his lips. Though eager for pleasure, he neglected no means of acquiring the talents which might lead to the highest honours. . . . Emulous of distinction in everything, Cæsar did not confine himself to the study of letters. In early life he composed such works as 'The Praises of Hercules,' a tragedy of 'Œdipus,' 'A Collection of Choice Phrases,' a book on 'Divination.' These works were written in a style so pure and correct that they gained for him the reputation of an eminent writer, *gravis auctor linguæ Latinæ*.* Education had made Cæsar a distinguished man before he became a great one. To goodness of heart he united a high order of intellect, invincible courage, captivating eloquence, a wonderful memory, and unbounded generosity; lastly, he possessed one quality of extreme rarity—viz., calmness under provocation. 'His affability,' said Plutarch, 'his politeness, his gracious address—qualities which he had to a great degree beyond his age—gained him the affection of the people.' . . . To his natural qualities, developed by a brilliant education, were joined physical advantages. His lofty stature, and his finely moulded and well-proportioned limbs, imparted to his person a grace which distinguished him from all others. His eyes were dark, his glance penetrating, his complexion colourless, and his nose straight and somewhat thick. His mouth was small and regular, and the lips, rather full, gave to the lower part of his face an expression of kindliness, while his breadth of forehead indicated the development of the intellectual faculties. His face was full, at least in his youth; but in the busts which were made towards the close of his life, his features are thinner and bear the traces of fatigue. His voice was sonorous and penetrating, his gesture noble, and an air of dignity pervaded his whole person. His constitution, which at first was delicate, grew robust by abstemious living, and by his habit of exposing himself to the inclemency of the seasons. Accustomed from his youth to manly exercise, he was a bold horseman; and he supported with ease privation and fatigue. Habitually temperate, his health was not impaired either by excess of labour or of pleasure. He took particular care of his person, shaved with care, or plucked out his beard, and artistically brought his hair forward to the front of his head, which, in more advanced age, served to conceal his bald forehead. He was reproached with the affectation of scratching his head with only one finger, for fear of deranging his hair. His dress was arranged with exquisite refinement. He had a taste for pictures, statues, and gems; and he always wore on his finger, in memory of his origin, a ring on which was engraved the figure of an armed Venus.

while equally expressive of astonishment as the Greek words attributed to him, are more natural and emphatic.

* The Emperor has omitted to notice Cæsar's fondness for grammatical studies. Yet we learn from a fragment of his work, *De Analogia*, that he was inventor of the term *ablative* in Latin. The word never occurs before his time, and could not have been borrowed from the Greeks, as they admitted no such case in their grammar.

Professor Max Müller has justly observed, that "to think of Cæsar fighting the barbarians of Gaul and Germany, and watching from a distance the political complications at Rome, ready to grasp the sceptre of the world, and at the same time carrying on his philological and grammatical studies, together with his secretary, the Greek Didymus, gives us a new idea both of that extraordinary man and of the times in which he lived."

To sum up, there were found in Cæsar, physically and morally, two natures which are rarely combined in the same person. He joined aristocratic fastidiousness of person to the vigorous temperament of the soldier; the graces of mind to the profundity of thought; the love of luxury and of the arts to a passion for military life in all its simplicity and rudeness. In a word, he joined the elegance of manners which seduces, to the energy of character which commands. Such was Cæsar at the age of eighteen, when Sylla seized the Dictatorship. He had already attracted the attention of the Romans by his name, his wit, and his winning manners, which were so pleasing to men, and still more perhaps to the other sex." (Liv. II. ch. i. § 1.)

Plutarch relates some anecdotes of Cæsar at a later period of his life, which are sufficient to prove alike the sensibility of his heart as well as the polish of his manners, which appear to have won so high an eulogium from his imperial biographer. During one of his campaigns, when overtaken by a storm, Cæsar sought shelter in a hut, which consisted only of a single room, and that too small to contain many people. With great consideration he immediately gave it up to one of his officers, named Oppius, who was ill; while he himself passed the night in the open air, saying to his suite, "We must leave to the great the places of honour, but yield to the sick those that are necessary to them."

On another occasion, Valerius Leo having given him a banquet at Milan, an ill-dressed dish happened to be served up at table, whereupon some of Cæsar's officers remonstrated, but he instantly reproached them for their bad manners, observing "that they were free not to eat of a dish they did not like, but that to complain of it aloud was a want of good breeding."*

The influence of his uncle Marius caused Cæsar to be nominated Priest of Jupiter at the early age of fourteen. Betrothed two years later to the daughter of a rich knight, he broke his engagement after the death of his father, in order to ally himself with the popular party by marrying Cornelia, daughter of Cinna, the ancient colleague of Marius, and the representative of his cause. From this marriage was born Julia, who became in after years the wife of his distinguished rival Pompey the Great. The usual mode of commencing a political career at Rome was by instituting a prosecution against some eminent citizen. Its success was of small moment; the real point was, to be brought prominently forward by some remarkable speech, and to offer a proof of patriotism. Dolabella, a friend of Sylla, who had received the honours both of the consulate and a triumph, was now accused by Cæsar of corrupt practices when governor of Macedonia. He was speedily acquitted,

* Napoleon considers that such anecdotes "testify to Cæsar's goodness of heart, and to the delicacy of the well-bred man, who is always observant of propriety."

by the influence of Sylla; but Cæsar obtained his desire in the praise he received on account of his eloquence and courage, in having attacked a man who was defended by such orators as Hortensius and Cotta. And it is no slight testimony in his favour to hear the judgment which Rome's greatest historian has pronounced on this memorable event. "Cæsar," says Tacitus, "was only twenty-one when he attacked Dolabella, in a speech which we still read to-day with admiration."*

Notwithstanding his celebrity as an orator, Cæsar wisely resolved to retire from Rome for a time on account of the troubles which agitated the state. It has often been considered advantageous for politicians to disappear from the scene for a time, as that prince of crafty statesmen, Talleyrand, did when he retreated from the horrors of the Reign of Terror to the United States of America; for they thus avoid compromising themselves in useless strifes, and their reputation, instead of losing, increases by absence. In his retreat from Italy to Rhodes, where he contemplated pursuing his studies, Cæsar was captured by some lawless sea rovers near a small island now called Fermaco. These pirates demanded the sum of twenty talents (£2329) for his ransom; Cæsar, with a superb disdain of money, offered fifty (£11,640) instead, which must have given them a high opinion of their prisoner, and insured him better treatment. Left alone, with a physician and a couple of slaves, in the midst of these ferocious brigands, while he sent trusty agents into the neighbouring towns to collect the ransom-money, which was obtained without difficulty, he subdued them by the force of his character, and passed forty days on board without losing anything of the smallest value. Plutarch, in recording this incident, declares that he seemed less a captive than a prince surrounded by his guards; now playing with them, now reciting poems to them, he made himself loved and feared, and laughingly told them that when free he would have them all crucified, and the event proved he was not unmindful of his word.†

Rumours of war drove Cæsar from his studies at Rhodes, where he had gone to take lessons in eloquence of Apollonius Molo, and he proceeded to levy troops in Asia on his own authority, though he had scarcely attained the age of twenty-five; drove from the province the governor of the king of Pontus, and kept in allegiance those towns whose faith was doubtful or shaken. During this campaign his powerful friends at Rome did not forget him; and foreseeing the importance

* Dialogue on the Orators, § 34.

† Suetonius (Cæsar, § 74) mentions, as an act of humanity on the part of Cæsar, that the corpses alone were nailed to the cross, he having had them strangled beforehand to shorten

their agony. The Christian, in reading this incident, will naturally recall to mind the different treatment which the Lord of Glory received at the hands of his cruel murderers, from both Jew and Gentile.

of investing Cæsar with a sacred character, they nominated him pontiff in place of his uncle Aurelius Cotta. Immediately on his return he was elected Military Tribune by a large majority over his rival C. Popilius. Passing through the various offices of Quæstor, Curule Ædile, and in later years, of Pontifex Maximus and Prætor, Cæsar found himself, when he had barely passed the age of thirty, in the position of leader of a great political party in the Republic, who were determined on opposing the system of Sylla, which still continued, though the Dictator had been some years dead ; whilst another party, composed of the ambitious and discontented, who were ruined by debt, sought to arrive at power by conspiracy and plotting. The remarks of Cæsar's biographer on the difficulty of putting together a new party at that moment, naturally recall to mind what has so recently occurred in his own country :—

“ In periods of transition, when it is necessary to choose between a glorious past and an unknown future, bold and unscrupulous men are those only who thrust themselves forward. Others, more timid and enslaved by prejudices, remain in the shade, and are an obstacle to the movement by which society is borne on to new ways. It is always a great evil for a country which has been a prey to agitation, that honest men do not accept the modern ideas, which, by moderating, they might direct. . . . What more legitimate in the eyes of the descendants of the ancient families, than that resistance to all change, and the disposition to consider all reform as utopian, and almost sacrilegious? What more logical than to admire the firmness of Cato, who braved the threat of death rather than admit the possibility of becoming one day the defender of the cause of those who claimed the rights of Roman citizens? Would they not enter into the feelings of Catulus and Hortensius, defending with obstinacy the privileges of the aristocracy, and manifesting their fears at the onward impulse to *concentrate all authority in a single person*? Yet the cause was doomed to perish, like everything else which has completed its time. In spite of their virtues they were only one more obstacle in the regular march of civilization, because they were deficient in the quality which is most essential in the times of revolution—the faculty of understanding the requirements of the moment, and the problems of the future. Nevertheless their influence was so considerable, they would still have obstructed the triumph of the popular cause, had not Cæsar, by putting himself at its head, given it new lustre and irresistible force. A party, like an army, cannot conquer but under a leader worthy to command, and all who, since the time of the Gracchi, had raised the flag of reform, had sullied it with blood, and degraded it with revolt. *Cæsar raised it up again, and purified it.* In order to constitute his party, he had, it is true, sometimes recourse to agents far from estimable. The best architect can only build with the materials he has at hand ; but his constant thought was to associate in his designs the most respectable men. He spared no efforts to gain over Pompey, Crassus, Cicero, Servilius, and many others of the same stamp. In moments of transition, when the old system is in

extremity and the new one not yet in place, the greatest difficulty does not consist in overcoming obstacles which are opposed to the installation of a government called for by the wishes of the country, but in solidly establishing it; in founding it on the co-operation of honourable men penetrated with new ideas, and firm in their cherished principles unto the end." (Liv. II. ch. xi. § 9.)

This is probably the best apology which has been put forth in behalf of the conduct which Louis Napoleon has deemed it his duty to pursue during the varied course of his own political life. The Christian, however, whose aim and hopes are necessarily of a higher range, and who sighs for that promised reign of righteousness where love will abound, and evil passions be no more, sees alike the futility of man's attempts, whether by a Cæsar in ancient times or a Napoleon in modern, to rule apart from the guidance of the only true God.

Not long after his success in forming a party, Cæsar received a brilliant proof of the popularity which he enjoyed. The office of Pontifex Maximus was for life, and gave great influence to the individual clothed with it; for religion, or rather, to use the language of St. Paul, "superstition," mingled itself in all the public and private acts of the Romans. This office Cæsar made the greatest efforts to obtain. When the day of election arrived, he was overwhelmed with gloom and doubt, believing that, in the event of failure, his debts, which already amounted to a large sum, would constrain him to go into exile; and Plutarch relates that he addressed his mother on the occasion,—“To-day thou wilt see me grand pontiff or a fugitive.” A brilliant triumph dispelled all his fears, and what added to his joy was in obtaining more votes from the tribes of his adversaries than they had in all the tribes put together.

Hitherto Cæsar had occupied a comparatively humble dwelling; but as Pontifex Maximus he occupied a palace in the *Via Sacra*. His new position necessarily compelled him to a sumptuous mode of life, judging from the luxuriousness displayed at the accustomed banquet on the reception of a simple pontiff, at which Cæsar assisted as king of the sacrifices, and of which Macrobius has preserved some curious details.*

* “On the 23rd of August, the inauguration of Lentulus, flamen of Mars, the house was decorated, and couches of ivory were set up in the triclinia, C. Julius Cæsar being king of the sacrifices. The banquet was as follows:—For the first course: sea urchins, raw oysters, *pelorides* (oysters of extraordinary size), *spondyli*, another species of oyster; a vol-au-vent of large oysters; *glycomarides*, another sort of shell-fish; *murices* and purple fish, i. e., a shell-fish bristling with

points, which yielded the purple of the ancients. Second course: Fish-pie, sow's udder pie, wild boars, fowls, hares, loaves from Picenum, &c. &c.” (*Macrobius, Saturnalia*, III. 9.) The large proportion of fish used by the Romans at these banquets, which necessarily partook of a sacred feast, reminds us of the conduct of their spiritual descendants on similar occasions. The following programme of a banquet given to the late Cardinal Wiseman on the weekly fast day of

One of the first incidents that occurred, after Cæsar had been raised to the dignity of Pontifex Maximus, was the conspiracy of Catiline. Having lately had occasion to notice it at length in our review of Forsyth's Life of Cicero (Christian Observer, July, 1864), we only refer to the subject for the purpose of showing the darkness which pervaded the minds of the wisest amongst the Romans in reference to the life to come.

On the 5th of December, in the year 63 B.C., that memorable meeting of the Roman Senate took place in the Temple of Concord, the pavement of which, at the foot of the Capitoline Hill, uncovered in modern times, enables us to realize in some measure the scene in which three such men as Cæsar, Cicero, and Cato played so important a part. Sallust has recorded the speeches which were delivered on the occasion, and that of Cæsar has been fully transcribed by his imperial biographer. Strange to say, however, he omits the very clause which contains the gist of Cæsar's argument, which was, that the conspirators should not be condemned to death, but their goods should be confiscated and themselves imprisoned; because, said he, "death, when in pain and in misery, is the release from all suffering, not suffering itself; death dissolves all the ills of mortality; beyond it is no place either for pain or pleasure. Wherefore keep these criminals alive, to suffer a fitting penalty; *after death there is no more punishment for sin, neither is there any reward for virtue.*"* Though Napoleon speaks of Cæsar's "noble language," and favourably compares it with those "declamatory speeches of the other orators who pleaded for the penalty of death," it is a serious neglect on his part to omit

the Church of Rome will show, not only how princes of that corrupt Church fulfil the prophecy concerning "the Apostasy," one sign of which was a command to abstain from certain meats on religious grounds; but how closely they imitate the practice of their heathen ancestors:—"Banquet to his eminence, Cardinal Wiseman, Lord Archbishop of Westminster, by the Catholic inhabitants of Dundalk, Friday, Sept. 3, 1858. *Soups*: oyster and vegetable. *Fish*: Salmon, fit for an admiral; Dublin Bay haddock, in the good woman style; fillets of haddock, in St. Paul's style; lobster cutlets; scalloped oysters; oysters with bread crumbs. *Between courses*: Pastry of oysters; lobster fritters. *Second course*: Oysters in bread crumbs; lobster salad; *surprised* ham; iced pudding; fruit-cakes," &c. &c. With a great many other luxuries of a similar nature, with the exception of meat, of which

there is no mention, unless "surprised ham" comes under that denomination.—See *Catholic Layman*, Dublin, Oct. 19th, 1858.

* According to Sallust, Catalus and Piso tried hard to induce Cicero to suborn evidence to accuse Cæsar of being a party to the Catiline conspiracy; but though his language might seem sufficient to warrant a suspicion which in modern times has had the effect of convincing Mommsen, Cicero rightly refused to lend himself to so foul a scheme. Sallust adds, that as Cæsar was leaving the Senate, some knights approached him with drawn swords, and Plutarch declares that "Cicero threw his cloak round him, and hurried him away." Cæsar was so provoked by this conduct, that he declared he would not reappear in the senate until the new consuls should ensure order and liberty for their deliberations.

mention of such an argument—an omission, by the way, which has been well supplied by Mr. Merivale, in his admirable Lectures "On the Conversion of the Roman Empire," who observes,—“Cæsar himself, the chief pontiff, the highest functionary of the state religion, the chosen interpreter of divine things to the national conscience, declared peremptorily that there is no such thing as retribution beyond the grave, no future state of consciousness, no immortality of the soul. . . . Such was the opinion among the highest intelligences of the day at Rome, in the century next before the coming of Christ, that the belief in a future state of retribution—the very foundation, as we regard it, of all true and rational religion—is allowed to be made an open question, to be treated as hardly worth question at all, in the gravest of assemblies, on the gravest of all public occasions. Such was their proud devotion to the false show of this world, to the glories of a world-wide dominion, the enjoyments of a voluptuous luxury, the flatteries of a complacent literature; such their judicial blindness to the future, with all its aspirations and its terrors, its rewards and its punishments. But ‘blessed be the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, which, according to His abundant mercy, hath begotten us again unto a lively hope by the resurrection of Jesus Christ from the dead.’” *

The Emperor's reflections on the conduct of Cicero, who boasted of having been mainly instrumental in overthrowing the Catiline conspiracy, are interesting, though the passage in italics, an evident justification of his own conduct in the *coup d'état* which placed him on the French throne, and which by many can never be forgotten nor forgiven, seems open to the most serious objections:—

“Cicero believed that he had destroyed an entire party. He was wrong: he had only foiled a conspiracy, and disencumbered a grand cause of the rash men who were compromising it. The judicial murder of the conspirators gave them new life, and one day the tomb of Catiline was found covered with flowers. *Law may be justly broken when society is hurrying on to its own ruin, and a desperate remedy is indispensable for its salvation; and again, when the government, supported by the great body of the people, becomes the organ of their interests and their hopes.*” (Liv. II. ch. iii. § 6.)

We must pass rapidly over the further events of Cæsar's life, and as only one volume has yet been given to the public, the most interesting portions of his biography remain to be told,—his political forbearance towards Clodius; the moderation of his conduct towards the senate; his success in renewing a friendly understanding with Pompey; and ultimately the formation of the first triumvirate. Cæsar's administration in

* The Boyle Lectures for 1864, pp. 9, 11.

Spain, as proprætor, was successful. He chastised the mountaineers of Lusitania, relieved the distress of the provincials, and amassed a considerable sum from the spoils of the enemy, by which means he was enabled to pay his debts. On his return to Rome, in the summer of B.C. 60, he found the position of affairs seriously changed, every one "seeking his own," and none another's welfare;* and this state, which resulted in the union of Cæsar, Pompey, and Crassus, has drawn from his biographer the following reflections in defence of his favourite:—

"Historians in general have given no other reason to account for the agreement of these three men than personal interest. Doubtless Pompey and Crassus were not insensible to a combination that favoured their love of power and wealth; but we ought to allow Cæsar more elevated motives, and suppose him inspired by a genuine patriotism. The condition of the Republic must have appeared thus to his comprehensive grasp of mind:—The condition of the Roman dominion, stretched like some vast figure across the world, clasps it in her sinewy arms; and whilst her limbs are full of life and strength, the heart is wasting by decay. Unless some heroic remedy be applied, the contagion will soon spread from the centre to the extremities, and the mission of Rome will remain unfinished. The Roman people must be raised in its own eyes, and the Republic in the eyes of the world. Absolute liberty of speech and of vote was a great benefit, when modified by morality and restrained by a powerful aristocracy; it gave scope to individual faculties without damaging the general well-being; but, ever since the morality of ancient days disappeared with the aristocracy, we have seen the laws become weapons of war for the use of parties, the elections a traffic, the forum a battle-field; while liberty is nothing more than a never ending cause of weakness and decay. Our institutions cause such uncertainty in our councils, and such independence in our offices of state, that we search in vain for that spirit of order and control, which are indispensable elements in the maintenance of so vast an empire. Without overthrowing institutions which have given five centuries of glory to the Republic, it is possible, by a close union of the most worthy citizens, to establish in the state a moral authority, which governs the passions, tempers the laws, gives a greater stability to power, directs the elections, maintains the representatives of the Roman people in their duty, and frees us from two most serious dangers of the present—the selfishness of the nobles, and the turbulence of the mob. . . . Is it truer to say, that Cæsar, having become proconsul, aspired to the sovereign power? In departing for Gaul,

* Plutarch mentions an anecdote respecting this thirst for office which prevailed at Rome in those days as much as it does in the United States of America at the present time. Once in crossing the Alps, Cæsar halted at a village, and his officers asked him

playfully, if he thought, in a remote place such as that in which they found themselves, there could be any rivalry for office. To this home question Cæsar characteristically replied,—“I would rather be first among those savages than second at Rome.”

he could no more have thought of reigning over Rome, than could General Buonaparte, starting for Italy in 1796, have dreamed of the Empire. Was it possible for Cæsar to foresee that, during a sojourn of ten years in Gaul, he would there link Fortune to him for ever, and that, at the end of this long space of time, the public mind would still be favourable to his projects? Could he foresee that the death of his daughter would break the ties which attached him to Pompey?—that Crassus, instead of returning in triumph from the East, would be conquered and slain by the Parthians?—that the murder of Clodius would throw all Italy into commotion?—and, finally, that anarchy, which he had sought to stifle by the triumvirate, would be the cause of his own elevation? Cæsar had before his eyes great examples for his guidance; he marched in the track of the Scipios and of Paulus Æmilius; the hatred of his enemies forced him, like Sylla, to seize upon the dictatorship, but for a more noble cause, and by a course of proceeding exempt from vengeance and cruelty. Let us then abstain from continually seeking little passions in great souls. The success of superior men—and it is a consoling thought—is due rather to the loftiness of their sentiments, than to the speculations of selfishness and cunning; this success depends much more on their skill in taking advantage of circumstances, than on the presumption blind enough to believe itself capable of creating events which are in the hands of God alone. *Cæsar had faith in his destiny*, and confidence in his genius; but *faith is an instinct*, not a calculation, and genius foresees the future without understanding its mysterious progress." (Liv. II. ch. v. § 7.)

With this questionable definition of heathen faith, we must draw our remarks on the life of the ancient Cæsar, by the heir of the modern Cæsar, to a close. We cannot say that his imperial biographer has added much to our stock of knowledge respecting one of the most remarkable men whom the world has ever seen, and whom all ages have recognised as one of the greatest. Nor do we think he has drawn the picture of his hero with the same ability which others have done in their treatment of a similar subject. But none can deny that it is the most skilful defence of his own conduct, under circumstances not altogether dissimilar to those which he has closely studied, and the results of which he has now given to the world.

HOW CAN WE BEST PROVE THE PERPETUITY OF THE SABBATH IN OPPOSITION TO MODERN OBJECTIONS?

In searching for arguments to prove the perpetuity of the Sabbath, the first and most important question is, "What saith the Scripture?" We may begin by examining those passages which are quoted by modern objectors on the other side. One of these is Col. ii. 16, "Therefore let no man judge

you in meat or in drink, or in respect of an holiday, or of the new moon, or of the Sabbath days : which are a shadow of things to come ; but the body is of Christ."

Dean Alford observes upon this passage, that if the ordinance " of the Sabbath had been in any form of lasting obligation on the Christian Church, it would have been quite impossible for the Apostle to have spoken thus." Bishop Elliott, however, remarks that Dean Alford's statement cannot be substantiated ; and if we refer to Lev. xxiii. 24, 32, we are struck by the fact, that the feasts and fasts of the Jews, quite independent of the weekly Sabbath, are called " Sabbaths of rest," and " Sabbaths," and in v. 38 are distinguished from the " Sabbaths of the Lord." May we not, therefore, consider it quite as probable that in Col. ii. 16 some of these special Jewish feasts are spoken of, and not the weekly Sabbath ? Besides, that " weekly Sabbath " was not a " shadow of things to come," but a commemoration of things *past*, viz., the Creation and the Deliverance from Egypt. There is only one sense in which it is a shadow of things to come : it typifies the eternal rest of heaven ; but the shadow must remain until the substance comes ; therefore the Sabbath must continue to be observed until the end of the world. And here we may call to mind the passages, Ezek. xlv. 24, xlv. 1, 3, 4, Is. lxvi. 23, which are generally interpreted of a millennial kingdom yet future. If so, the passages bear witness to the observance of the Sabbath at that period. Are we then to suppose that such observance is to be suspended during the present interval of time ? In arguing thus, we are aware that we have no right to press, as Christians, words spoken by Jewish prophets to their countrymen, unless, as is probable in these passages, they refer to the times of Messiah yet future, in which all nations shall bear a part. Referring back again to the passage in Col. ii. 16, we may observe that, even if the weekly Sabbath is intended there, still it does not follow that the Apostle spoke of it as an abrogated ordinance. He is arguing against the observance of the law meritoriously as a ground of justification, so as to obscure the work of Christ.

The same may be said of two other passages quoted by modern objectors : Gal. iv. 10, " Ye observe days and months and times and years," and Rom. xiv. 5, 6, " One man esteemeth one day above another ; another esteemeth every day alike," with what follows in the 6th verse. It is not certain that the Apostle was even alluding to the Sabbath in these passages : there were other days of observance, which were swept away among the ceremonies of the law ; but if the Sabbath be alluded to, it is not the keeping of the day which is condemned, but a reliance upon the keeping, as constituting man's righteousness, or tenacity as to the particular day in the week

which was to be kept as a Sabbath-day, whether the 1st or the 7th.

Having disposed of those passages which appear to be unfavourable, we may next consider how far the testimony of Scripture is favourable to the perpetuity of the Sabbath. The words of the Fourth Commandment refer the sanctification of the day back to the rest of Almighty God after the creation of the world, and thus take it entirely out of the list of temporary Jewish ordinances. Our Lord in the New Testament strengthens the ordinance of marriage by reference to its institution "*at the beginning.*" Are we not then justified by analogy in claiming this primeval institution of the Sabbath as an argument in favour of its present obligation?

The Fourth Commandment revived an institution as old as Creation, and Jewish history supplied additional reasons, peculiar to that nation, why it should be observed. See Dent. v. 15, where the obligation to perform the duty is founded upon the deliverance from Egypt. In the Jewish theocratic system also the Sabbath occupied a peculiar place, as part of the covenant between God and Israel, and as a sign of their faithfulness to His service, and of His sovereign love and care over them. (See Ezekiel xx. 12.) Similarly the pollution of the Sabbath was reckoned one of the crying national sins of Israel, which brought upon them their calamities. (Ezek. xx. 13, 16, 21.) But though the Sabbath was thus incorporated into the Jewish polity, and enforced by motives appealing specially to the Jewish people, it does not appear from Scripture that it either commenced or ended with the Mosaic dispensation. There is, indeed, no record of its observance in the patriarchal age (unless we consider Gen. iv. 3, "in process of time," or "at the end of days," to mark a weekly festival) until we come to the giving of the manna in Exodus xvi., where the people are commanded to remain at home, and do no work on that day. The Sabbath, too, is there spoken of as the gift of God, and an institution standing and familiar, before the publication of the law; or it may have fallen into some degree of disuse, and have been now revived. Bishop Whately maintains the mention of the Sabbath in Genesis after the Creation to be introduced by anticipation, but there seems no ground for this opinion.

Again, the position which the Fourth Commandment holds in the Decalogue is an argument for its perpetuity. It is embedded in the Moral Law, which is not abrogated, but confirmed by the Gospel. The commandment itself is moral, though the appointment of one particular day in the week is positive, and therefore may be and has been changed. If we eliminate the Fourth Commandment from the Decalogue, how can we condemn the Romanist, who eliminates the Second? The Fourth Commandment is enjoined in a manner quite dis-

inct from those ceremonial observances among which some persons wish to place it. It is one of a select company, given in a select code ; and though the Decalogue is not a covenant to us, as it was to the Jews, still it is a binding relation of God's will.

Again, when we come to the New Testament, we should expect to meet with a formal abrogation of the ordinance, if it were intended to be no longer binding. This is nowhere to be found. On the contrary, our Lord showed what might be done on that day, and thereby certainly implied that it should be observed in some way, though not according to the manner of the Pharisees ; He also directed his followers to pray that their flight from the siege of Jerusalem might not be on the Sabbath-day (Matt. xxiv. 20), forty years after His own ascension. A weekly Sabbath was kept in the early Church, although the day was changed from the seventh to the first day of the week by the Apostles, who probably were authorised to do so by our Lord Himself, as Lord of the Sabbath (John xx. 19, 26). At any rate he sanctioned the change by successive appearances among the disciples on that day. And for some hundreds of years, as we hear from the Apostolical Constitutions, vii. c. 23, and other authorities quoted in Hammond's Practical Catechism, the Jewish Sabbath was retained in a great part at least of the Church, together with the "Lord's Day," and the services proportioned to them both, until both were merged in one.

The change of day does not affect the essence of the institution, and if we are taxed with inconsistency in arguing for the Sabbath and yet not keeping it on the seventh day (the two words "Sabbath" and "seventh day" being interchanged and expressed by the same, or nearly the same, Hebrew term) we reply that the first day of the week *may be*—we cannot prove that the seventh day *is*—the original day of God's rest from the works of creation, and that as the Jews, in Exodus xvi., observed the seventh day from the first descent of the manna as their Sabbath, so we on our Lord's Day observe the seventh day from the descent of Christ, the true manna, into the grave. When we call to mind the great fact of our Lord's Resurrection, we say—"This is the day which the Lord hath made : we will rejoice and be glad in it."

One of the strong points of our adversaries is that all the other commandments are quoted in the New Testament, except the Fourth. (See Luke xviii. 20 ; Rom. xiii. 9.) But these quotations are in both these places confined to the commandments of the second Table ; and the first, second, and third receive no more specific mention than the fourth.

So much for the testimony of Scripture.

Two other proofs may be shortly stated as follows :—(a) The

Decalogue is the law of nature revived, and so perpetual. In confirmation of this, we find heathen nations keeping a Sabbath, although this distinction of days cannot be traced to any astronomical principle, and must therefore be due either to primitive tradition, or to an expression of a natural feeling of what is fit and right. (b) Man's nature and God's service both need a Sabbath. The former absolutely requires a stated period for refreshment, religious instruction, and worship. The latter cannot be adequately fulfilled without special acts and definite times for their performance, in addition to the general dedication of the life and faculties.

B. B.

MERIVALE'S BOYLE LECTURES FOR 1864.

The Conversion of the Roman Empire. The Boyle Lectures for the year 1864. By Charles Merivale, B.D. London: Longman and Co.

MR. Merivale opens his book with an apology. He craves the indulgence that his discourses may be treated as *Lectures* rather than *Sermons*. He does not profess to deal so much with the ordinary and incomparably more momentous topics, which form the staple of Christian teaching, as with an examination of "human opinions on matters of religious interest." For these subjects also may be made, in their place, "good and profitable unto men."

When the author thus frankly states his object, we must not quarrel with him if he adheres to it; it is enough that he view his subject as a Christian, and pass a Christian's judgment on the persons and opinions that come within his programme. This we believe Mr. Merivale has done. His work is the work of an historian; but it is as a Christian historian that he deals with it. We hail with satisfaction every attempt which goes to show that history need not be abandoned to the sceptic and freethinker, and which can trace, in the decline and fall of the Roman empire, the rise and progress of a better kingdom, which "the God of heaven shall set up, which shall break in pieces and consume all other kingdoms, and shall itself stand fast for ever."

The first Lecture is chiefly taken up with an elaborate, and we cannot but think artificial, contrast between a remarkable meeting of the Roman senators in the Temple of Concord in the year 63 B.C., and another meeting four centuries later at Nicæa, in Asia Minor, where the men assembled were no longer senators, but bishops under the protection and presidency of

Constantine, the first Christian emperor. But in truth the diversity of the subjects debated was greater than that of the men debating them. The subject discussed in the Temple of Concord was the punishment due to the treason of Catiline and his followers. Julius Cæsar, the chief pontiff, was the first to speak. "In pain and misery," he said, "death is the release from all suffering, not suffering itself; death dissolves all the ills of mortality; beyond it is no place for pain or pleasure. Wherefore," such was his argument, "keep these criminals alive, to suffer a fitting penalty. After death there is no more punishment for sin, neither is there any reward for virtue." So then it had come to this, that the chief pontiff, the highest functionary of the State religion, declared peremptorily that there was no such thing as retribution beyond the grave, no future state of consciousness, no immortality of the soul. And yet so universal was the unbelief of the day in that which is for us the groundwork of all religion whatsoever, that we read of no further discussion on the point, no historian takes personal notice of it, all pass it by as matter of complete indifference. Mr. Merivale could hardly have fixed on any scene which shows so graphically the blank negation of all spiritual faith and hope at a time just previous to that when our Lord appeared "to bring life and immortality to life through the Gospel."

Was then the condition of the heathen mind altogether negative in religious matters? Did they deny all obligations in repudiating the cardinal principle of a future retribution? The second Lecture is intended to show that heathen belief was directed towards a *temporal Providence*. They had some sort of faith in the being and providence of God. And accordingly the Gospel had to combat and overcome not merely the negation of all belief, but a living and substantive principle of religion. "The idea of Greek and Roman religion was to secure by a national worship the enjoyment of national advantages, protection, favour, reward, escape from national disasters and national punishments." "The Roman worshipped for his country rather than for himself;" his idea of religion was of a national, not a "personal, covenant with God." "To the last moment, the simple theory of the Gospel, that God is no respecter of persons, but that in every nation he that feareth Him and worketh righteousness is accepted of Him, was strange and abhorrent from the prejudices of the heathen." But to meet this prejudice there was (Lect. 3) another principle at work. Heathen belief was expanded by the philosophers. Plato, the most lofty and spiritual of heathen teachers, had set forth "the reality and nearness of God's providential government, the possibility at least of a future state of retribution, and the spiritual character of God as the common source of all human spirituality." But even Plato could not attain to the idea of

the natural equality and unity of mankind. "His political Utopia was the narrowest and closest combination of a few select thousands—even the number he expressly limited—to keep themselves apart from the rest of mankind." That in which Plato failed Aristotle did not attempt; but that which they could not do, God was doing in the world outside them. "Alexander was laying deep and broad the foundations of the Macedonian empire; he did his work as the instrument of Providence; and Providence broke at once and threw away the instrument, which, selfish in its aims and arbitrary in its actions, had perhaps, humanly speaking, no claim on its forbearance. But the work survived." Alexandria and Antioch were the homes of many peoples. In Alexandria the Old Testament Scriptures were translated into the universal language of Greece. In Antioch the followers of Christ were first recognised as a substantive body; "they were called Christians first in Antioch."

The expansion of heathen belief (Lect. 4) was attained further by the ideas of Roman jurisprudence. Starting with the narrowest and most exclusive code of law, the Romans were compelled by the overruling providence of God to adopt "that world-wide elastic system of jurisprudence by which a boundless variety of races, creeds, and manners were for ages governed, and which has formed the basis of law for every modern nation of Christendom."

The 5th and 6th Lectures in the course are still more interesting. They show, by quotations from Seneca, Epictetus, and Marcus Aurelius, the gloom which of necessity hung over human life when destitute of any revelation from God.

The philosophy of that time was practical rather than speculative. Life seemed to them too serious and too sad to be occupied in anything else except in exhortation. Earnest preaching against evil, remonstrances indignant and affectionate, exhortations to self-inquiry, formed the staple of their teaching. One thing indeed they could not do, they could warn against sin, but they had "no ensample of a godly life" to set before their hearers. That was the great defect of the more spiritual heathen teaching, a defect for which there was in philosophy no remedy at all. "Keep yourself," said the Emperor Aurelius, "simple, good, sincere, grave, a lover of justice, a worshipper of God, kind but resolute in your duties. Approve yourself in all things a disciple of the best of men you have known, of Antonine the Pious!" Most affecting is the glimpse afforded us, in this book and elsewhere, of private life and domestic usage; most affecting to trace how the men who had rejected as baseless the law of Pagan morality became "a law unto themselves," and strove to work out that law, not without fear and trembling. The philosophy which now pre-

ailed was sad and comfortless, but at least it was spiritual. It concerned itself with the moral well-being of its professors. It aimed at setting right a world of wrong, and however insufficient it might be in itself, at least it prepared the world to receive the purer law and higher standard which the Gospel made known—the law which bids a man, if he love God, “love his brother also.” And thus the idea of a merely local and temporal Providence was displaced, in thoughtful minds, by the rise of a personal religion. The hopes and fears of the individual worshipper occupied the place of the old political religion which had prevailed. Men began to feel that they had souls to be saved. “Amid the wreck of civil society an instinctive cry of ‘Save thyself!’ was heard in the recesses of the conscience, driving men to look to their personal interests in regard to spiritual things.” And thus personal religion began to express itself in prayer. That which Socrates and Plato had tried for themselves was now attempted in many households. It was through the Jewish Synagogue, no doubt, that the idea of prayer was propagated in the Roman world. The Jews penetrated every rank of Roman society; the spirituality of their religion commended itself to the instincts of the devout Roman, and the religion of the Old Testament led him perhaps unconsciously to welcome the New.

Meanwhile there was springing up as an antagonist to Christianity a new superstition. The New Platonism was a combination of Orientalism with Greek philosophy, not raising man to God, but bringing God down to man. Prayer misdirected was the cause of the revival of superstition. “The natural man had discovered the necessity of a God, of a providence, of a moral authority and sanction, of judgment and retribution; and he rushed precipitately forward to seize upon God, to bind Him, as it were, and secure the means of access to Him, and of compelling Him to appear at the summons of His votaries.” And so there arose again a seeking to divination and oracles, a delusion, partly genuine, partly an imposture, of something not wholly unlike our modern spiritualism. With great power and truth Mr. Merivale seems to us to speak of these deceptions. “Must we make allowance for the weakness of poor human nature? Must we grant indulgence to its fond efforts to create a soul under the ribs of the spiritual death which it was daily dying? Such allowance, such indulgence, I for one dare not claim for it. I believe that the attempt was conceived in sin, and issued in sin. God saw that it was sin; sin in its perversion of the moral law, sin in its veiling of the natural light of truth, in its conceit of human power and independence. This last revelation of cruelty and fanaticism was needed to show the moral superiority of the Christian over the heathen, even when at his best: the lives of

the early Christians in the main commended their religion, and while the doctrines of Christianity responded to his questions, the moral example of the Christians touched his heart. This is the subject of the two concluding Lectures. Taking the Nicene Creed as an epitome of the Christian faith, we are shown how its main points—the Personality of God as opposed to Pantheism, “that twin brother of Atheism;” the Incarnation of the Son of God; salvation through His life and sufferings; and the mission of the Holy Ghost—won the assent, and overcame the prejudice, and secured the allegiance of those who had long been feeling “after God, if haply they might find Him.” And this was seconded by the exemplary lives of believers; the apologists, Justin Martyr, Tertullian, and the rest, insist especially on this last evidence of the truth of Christianity. Pliny’s well-known letter was but the utterance of that which slowly and painfully became the conviction of the world. “The fruit of the Spirit, which is love, joy, and peace,” had overmastered the opposition of Paganism and heathen philosophy; and thus, at least outwardly, “the kingdoms of this world became the kingdoms of our Lord and of His Christ,” and future hindrances came from the corruptions of the Church within, rather than from the opposition of the world without.

The great interest of these Lectures seems to us to lie in this, that they mark distinctly the various epochs and eras of heathenism. The history has had perspective introduced; there is a foreground and distance. There is an ideal progress onwards and upwards. God has been working, and we saw it not. The years were years of preparation, and the Sabbath of Christianity drew on.

“God’s mills grind slowly, but grind well.”

Underneath the popular religion a revolution of thought and feeling had been going on. Slowly was the idea of a mere state religion laid aside. Slowly the world awoke to the conviction that the religion it needed was something individual and spiritual. Slowly did it recognise that the doctrines of Christianity met its real wants; that a dogmatic belief in the incarnation of the Divine, in the personal manifestation of God, in Jesus Christ the Son of God, was that which of itself it could never discover, and yet without which Theism must inevitably have become Pantheism. Lastly, by the true “beauty of holiness” the world was won. The lives of Christians corresponded to their creed. That led direct to the throne of God, “the Author and Giver of all good things.” That commended the religion which He had sent on earth; that pointed to the Redeemer Himself, according to His own words—“By this shall all men know that ye are my disciples, if ye have love one towards another.”



RIGHTEOUSNESS AND LAW.

IN times of religious excitement, those who wish to arrive at certainty must take heed to the foundations of their faith. No man can repose with comfort in a house so long as he is doubtful whether the foundation be secure. We cannot commend the Gospel to others, we cannot rest upon it ourselves, unless we can show that it is founded upon such truths as no honest thinkers can deny. Ours are emphatically times for examining the foundations upon which our faith is built.

In attempting an inspection of this kind, let us, First, notice a few facts which present themselves to our notice in the world around us.

Men prize liberty and independence, and boast of them when secured. They may justly do so, for they are inestimable blessings. But we are less independent than we generally suppose, and our liberty is limited in many ways. No man comes into the world by any choice of his own. We did not determine whether we should be born in this country, and in this age, or in some other; whether we should be born into a rich family or into a poor one, with a healthy or a sickly constitution. No choice was given us whether we should have great talents or small, kind parents or unkind. Nor, being born, can we tell when, where, or how we shall die. Some choice, indeed, there is in regard to death, as we see in suicides; but not absolute, for a man who had resolved on self-destruction might be cut off beforehand by accident, might be prevented by circumstances, or be unsuccessful in his wicked attempt. Nor can we say that these things beyond our own choice have been chosen for us by parents or others; they were little else than the agencies or instruments of some other power which is directing the concerns of the world in which we live. The conclusion is forced upon us, that there is a Will higher and stronger than man's will, working behind the energies and proceedings of mankind, and carrying on a combined and mutually dependent system of operations,—a Will before which man's will is powerless, in subordination to which he lives and moves and has his being, and according to which he is born and grows, decays and dies. This Will, it is scarcely needful to say, is the Will of Almighty God, the Maker and Ruler of mankind.

To the Christian it is no grief—rather it is a joy—to know that there is such a Supreme Will presiding over all, and directing even the minutest affairs of his own individual life

to know that not even a sparrow falls to the earth without its concurrence, and that the very hairs of his head are numbered.

Though in regard to the line of conduct which a man shall pursue, and particular acts, much liberty and choice is given; yet he cannot avoid or escape certain well-known consequences resulting from his actions. If he is upright, amiable, and benevolent, his fellow men, unasked, will love and honour him. If, on the contrary, he be dishonest, selfish, harsh, scornful, and regardless of the opinion of others, he will not be able to gain their affection and good will. If he be intemperate and dissolute, he will be shunned as a contagion. Nay, more, he will injure his own prospects; he will impair his health of body and mind, surround himself with misery, and hasten his own end. If he invade the rights and injure the persons of his neighbours, he will be deprived of his liberty altogether, and it may be, even of his right to live.

May we not ask how this can be accounted for? How is it that a man cannot do everything he wishes to do without meeting with so many checks and hindrances, and without bringing upon himself such painful consequences? How is it that men cannot tolerate evil in others? Why have they laws for restraining one another—authorities for administering those laws, and punishments for enforcing them? When we hear or read of crimes committed far away from our own neighbourhood by persons and upon persons whom we have never known, and long before we were born, nay, when we read of crimes done only in fiction—excluding, you see, all idea of personal interest in the matter—how is it that a feeling of indignation and resentment arises within the mind, rendering it restless till it finds that punishment is inflicted? It will perhaps be said in reply, that this arises from a sense of justice natural to every man's mind. True; but how came it to be natural? Did our forefathers impress it on our minds? And if so, who impressed it on theirs? Can we attribute to chance that which is universal in all ages and in all lands? What other answer can be given than that He who made man implanted in his nature this sense of right and wrong, this feeling of justice, this hatred of what we call evil, this approval of what we call good? The irrational animals have it not. The tiger has no consciousness of doing wrong when he springs upon his prey, nor does his victim feel that it is suffering an injustice. The fox stealing at night may dread detection, but he has no compunctions of conscience, and is incapable of feeling any regret afterwards. But such a sense of right and wrong, productive of such feelings, is implanted in the minds of men, nor can it be eradicated. The more civilized and educated men become, the stronger it becomes. Surely, then, it is from God, and indicates what kind of a will His will is.

Consider what a man's own sensations are in respect of his actions. There are many, alas! who never voluntarily reflect on their actions; many who check such reflections at once, and stifle conscience. It is possible, too, to corrupt the conscience, and weaken this sense of right and wrong. Yet, after all, no one can doubt that every man feels very differently after a good or after a bad act. The satisfaction experienced by an honest and industrious man can never be realized by the idle and dishonest. The undutiful child and the unfaithful wife cannot be happy. Vice and crime may be attended with excitement and pleasure, but conscience within is nevertheless wounded; and by and by, when the excitement and pleasure are gone, and the mind is forced to look backward upon its acts, and inward upon the wounds which conscience has received—then what shame and misery! The power of a guilty conscience is indeed proverbial. Do not these facts, then, show that there is such a distinction as right and wrong, and that a sense of justice and righteousness has been implanted deeply and strongly in the human heart by the will and power of Him who made us?

And now, Secondly, reasoning upon these facts, what further are we to infer?

We must ask, then, why has God implanted this sense of right and wrong? Looking at men as an existing race of intelligent beings, associated with each other, and affected by one another's actions, we see that this sense of justice is essential to their happiness, and therefore it was implanted. But another question may be asked: Why should God create a race to whose happiness it would be essential? And to such a question can any answer be given but this, that justice and righteousness are an essential part of the character of God Himself? Surely it was because "He loveth righteousness, and hateth iniquity," that He created beings to whose welfare this sense of right and wrong should be essentially necessary. Because He himself is just and good, He requires us to be just and good also. He has thus shown us what He himself is, and bids us to be like him. "Be ye holy, for I am holy." The Psalmist understood this when he said, adoringly,—*"Thy righteousness is an everlasting righteousness, and Thy law is the truth."* (Psalm cxix. 142.) Moses understood it when he sung, *"He is a rock. His work is perfect, for all His ways are judgment; a God of truth, and without iniquity, just and right is He."* (Deut. xxxii. 4.)

How vain, then, and how dangerous for men to persuade themselves that God will not act strictly and invariably according to the justice of His character; as if His righteousness were not an everlasting righteousness, as if His law were not the truth. Nor has He left us only to infer this. His revealed

message is in perfect accordance with this view of His character:—"Say ye to the righteous, that it shall be well with him, for they shall eat the fruit of their doings. Woe unto the wicked; it shall be ill with him, for the reward of his hands shall be given him." (Isa. iii. 10, 11.)

To this proof that God is a righteous governor, one other argument may be added, demonstrating that He must be such.

If we could for a moment suppose it possible that God would create a number of intelligent beings endowed with powers and faculties for exerting an influence upon one another for good or for evil without at the same time subjecting them to moral control, or laying any restraint upon their desires, would not such beings, though inferior in power to Him, be just as free and independent?—in short, so many gods, among whom He would be only the greatest? And what a universe of disorder, wickedness, and misery, might it not become if each might choose to do his own will, regardless of the will and rights of others? We see, therefore, how impossible it is that God should not be a righteous Governor, whose will is holy, just, and good. "His righteousness is an everlasting righteousness," and the source of all righteousness among men.

But we must advance a step further. Thirdly: Not only is God a righteous Governor, whose will is holy, just, and good, but His will must in some way be made known to the intelligent beings who are under His rule. Now, whatever makes known to us the righteous character and the just will of God, is called, or may be called, *HIS LAW*. Whatever indicates or expresses to us that distinction between right and wrong, and shows the principles upon which God governs the human race, is His law. The light of nature, so far as it is not darkened, is a law of God. Those systems of morality which show to men what they ought or ought not to do to one another, so far as they are correct, are also God's law. And so are the laws of the land. (See Rom. xiii. 1—5.) When St. Paul says of the heathen, "They show the work of the law written in their hearts, their conscience also bearing witness" (Rom. ii. 15), surely he meant to affirm that the natural sense of right and wrong in all men is nothing else than God's law telling men, as far as it can, through the testimony of their conscience, what God's will is.

But experience has shown that this law is inadequate to man's necessities. Conscience may be silenced, and even made to speak error. Human systems of morality are imperfect, and oftentimes contradictory. And there is this grand defect attending all these forms of God's law, that none of them can tell a man who has broken God's law how he may answer for his transgressions and yet be saved. Consequently another law was needed; a law to be revealed by God Himself in human language; a law that might be written, translated into the

various tongues of men, and exhibited to all without variation or change; a law in accordance with those other manifestations of His law, yet correcting their errors, supplying their deficiencies, and teaching authoritatively what the Creator and Governor of the world would have His subjects know.

Such a law God has given. Was it not such a law that was proclaimed from Sinai, revealed by the prophets, and at length more plainly and fully declared by the lips of His incarnate Son, and in the inspired writings of His apostles. This Book, which under His ever-watchful eye has been preserved to us while sixty generations have passed away, is emphatically His LAW. It supersedes nothing that nature, nothing that conscience, nothing that reason teaches; while it reveals what they could never discover, and makes known to us, as far as we need know it, "the whole counsel of God," and "the good pleasure of His will." May not we, then, who possess this unspeakably precious gift, acknowledge it with grateful love in the Psalmist's words, "Thy righteousness is an everlasting righteousness, and Thy law is the truth." Oh, that we did more fully appreciate, and more effectively keep in mind, this righteousness and law; understanding thereby God's will regarding us, God's will directing us, and saving our souls. Then we could say with the Psalmist again: "Oh, how I love Thy law! Thy law is dearer to me than thousands of gold and silver."

Lastly. There is one other point of grand importance connected with this subject, namely: Is the Gospel of Christ in strict conformity with this fundamental doctrine of righteousness and law?

The minister of the Gospel addresses a man who is living in the violation of God's law, written and unwritten, stifling conscience, and deadening his inherent sense of right and wrong by sinful indulgences, and tells him that if he will repent and ask forgiveness, he shall be forgiven, and saved from the consequences of his unholy actions. He appeals to the Bible in justification of his offer, and declares that he is not only authorized, but commanded, to make it. And he is right. The apostles delivered this message in God's name, and so must he. But how is this declaration compatible with the righteousness and law of God? Suppose, for instance, that a magistrate were to tell a burglar or a murderer, that, if he would only repent of his crime, and ask forgiveness, he should be pardoned and released from the sentence of the law. Would he be regarded as a just magistrate, would he be tolerated in his office, or would he be even telling the truth? Does not every one know that, however genuine might be the repentance of such a criminal, he would not be forgiven by an earthly judge, nor would his sentence be revoked. How, then, can it be com-

patible with righteousness and law to make such a promise in God's name to a sinner?

This question, momentous to us all—for having unquestionably broken the law, we are under its sentence of condemnation—could be answered only by a direct revelation of God's will. But it has been answered: mystically in the Old Testament, manifestly in the New. There we find that the Gospel message of salvation to sinners, so far from being incompatible with righteousness and law, so far from being an abrogation or even an evasion of their claims, is the brightest and most glorious exhibition of them that ever has been made. For because, as a righteous governor, God could not and would not set aside this essential attribute of His character, or waive the obligations of His law, He sent His only Son to be a Mediator and Redeemer; in order that He, fulfilling the law by a perfect obedience, and suffering its penalty against human transgression by a vicarious death, might manifest God's character to be unchanged while forgiving the guilty. St. Paul, therefore, glories in the accomplished work of Christ on man's behalf, as the very highest display of justice, and calls it emphatically "the righteousness of God;" because therein He exacted and accepted a sacrifice which vindicated His character and honoured His law. "Whom God hath set forth to be a propitiation through faith in His blood, to declare His righteousness for the remission of sins that are past; to declare, I say, His righteousness, that He might be just, and the Justifier of him who believeth in Jesus." (Rom. iii. 25.)

Here indeed is "an everlasting righteousness." And where is the law? It is a new law indeed, but not one that sets aside the obligation of the moral law either as it regards sinners or saints, but rather gives them power to obey it. And here it is. "God was in Christ, reconciling the world unto Himself, not imputing their trespasses unto them; and hath committed unto us the word of reconciliation. . . . Be ye reconciled unto God; for He hath made Him who knew no sin to be sin for us, that we might be made the righteousness of God in Him." (2 Cor. v. 19—21.) Again; "Believe in the Lord Jesus Christ, and be saved." "Repent and be baptized in the name of Jesus Christ for the remission of sins, and ye shall receive the gift of the Holy Ghost." (Acts ii. 38.) Thus the Gospel of the grace of God is a safe and blessed refuge for the guilty conscious of his sin, being built upon the sure foundation of righteousness and law.

G. P.

THE TRANSMISSION OF THE BOOKS OF MOSES.

As we are told by a bishop of the Christian Church in this present age, that "whatever real foundation the Pentateuch may have had in the ancient history of the people, it is mixed up with so great an amount of contradictory matter, that it *cannot be regarded as historically true*;" and that so far from Moses having been its author, of which there is no proof whatever, it was in all probability composed several centuries later by Samuel "for the instruction and improvement of his pupils;"*—it may be well to place before our readers, as briefly as the nature of the subject will allow, the evidence which has satisfied the great body of Jews and Christians alike, for more than 3000 years, that the history of the children of Israel during their sojourn in Egypt, and the manner of their deliverance therefrom, as we now read it in our English Bible, is the same as that which was originally delivered by Moses previous to their entrance into the promised land.

The historical evidence on this point may be stated as follows:—The Pentateuch has been transmitted to us from four different and independent sources.

1st. The original Hebrew, which has ever been considered by the Jews to have been written by the hand of Moses.

2nd. The Samaritan version, supposed to belong to the sixth century B.C.

3rd. The Septuagint version—a translation of the third century B.C., and the one in general use when our Lord was on earth, and when the Gospel was first preached to men.

4th. The Peshito, or Syriac version, a translation probably of the first century B.C.

Our Authorized Version was translated from the Hebrew by the ripest biblical scholars which England possessed at the commencement of the seventeenth century. This translation might rather be termed a revision of the Great English, or, as more commonly called, "the Bishop's Bible," which was published A.D. 1568, and which carries us nearly back to the commencement of the great Reformation.†

The first edition of the entire Hebrew Bible ever printed—viz., that of Soncino in Italy, and edited by Abraham Ben Chayim—bears date A.D. 1488. A century earlier, Levi Ben

* Critical Examination of the Pentateuch. By the Bishop of Natal. (pp. 141, 375.)

† The dates of the different translations of the English Bible are as follows:—Wickliffe's, circa A.D. 1360;

Tindal's, 1526; Coverdale's, or Matthew's, as it was generally termed from the dedication, 1537; Cranmer's, 1540; the Geneva, 1560; the Authorized Version now in use, 1613.

Gershom, a Spanish Jew, wrote his commentary on the Pentateuch; as another Jew of the same country had previously done, the celebrated David Kimchi, who flourished in the thirteenth century.

In the twelfth century, Maimonides drew up a confession of faith for the Jews, which is acknowledged by them to this day. It consists of thirteen articles, of which two affirm respectively the genuineness and authenticity of the Pentateuch in these words:—"The doctrine and prophecy of Moses is true;" and again, "The law that we have was given by Moses." The commentaries of Aben Ezra and of Solomon Jarchi were productions of the next two centuries; and in A.D. 930, Rabbi Saadiah Gaon translated the whole of the Old Testament from the Hebrew into Arabic. The Pentateuch portion of this ancient translation was printed by Erpenius at Lyons in 1622. The Masorets, the most minute body of commentators which the world has ever seen, carry us back to B.C. 450, when that school is supposed to have been originally formed, and to have lasted as late as A.D. 1030.

The Babylonian Talmud, and its namesake of Jerusalem, both of which are comments on the Mishnah, may be thus dated—the former circa A.D. 500, and the latter two centuries earlier. It is well known that the Mishnah, or oral law of the Jews, is a pretended comment on the Pentateuch, compiled by Rabbi Judah Hakkadosh about the middle of the second century. Josephus, who bears the most ample testimony to the authenticity of the Pentateuch, flourished a century earlier; by which means, together with the testimony of Philo, who was born about 80 years before Josephus, we are brought down to the commencement of the Christian era.

Seventeen years after the publication of the authorized English Bible, translated from the Hebrew A.D. 1613, a copy of the Greek version, commonly known as the Codex Alexandrinus, was sent by the Patriarch of Constantinople to King Charles I., with a statement* that, according to tradition, it had been written by Thecla, a noble Egyptian lady, about 1300 years previous. The internal evidence, according to Grabe and Woide, confirms this tradition, which places this interesting holograph as early as the fourth century of the Christian era.

* The statement of Cyril, the donor, who had been Patriarch of Alexandria previous to his translation to Constantinople, may be rendered from the Latin as follows:—"This book of the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament, as we have it by tradition, was written by the hand of Thecla, a noble Egyptian lady, about 1300 years since, a little after the Council of Nice. The name of Thecla was formerly writ-

ten at the end of the book; but the Christian religion being by the Mahometans suppressed in Egypt, the books of Christians were reduced to the like condition; and therefore the name of Thecla is extinguished and torn out of the book; but memory and tradition affirm that it was the work of her hands." (Cyril, Patriarch of Constantinople.)

According to St. Chrysostom,* who flourished at that same period, and Tertullian,† who lived two centuries earlier, the *original copy* of the Septuagint was laid up in the library at Alexandria, entitled the *Serapeum*, which survived the burning of that in *Bruchium*, when Julius Cæsar waged war with the Alexandrians, B.C. 47, until the time of the more memorable conflagration by the Saracens, A.D. 642. Assuming that the story of Aristæus, respecting the way in which the Septuagint version was translated, is altogether fabulous, there can be no doubt that the Pentateuch, the most accurate portion of the whole, was translated from the Hebrew into Greek during the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus, king of Egypt, circa B.C. 280, the original copy being probably in existence when the Codex Alexandrinus was transcribed, and which was doubtless copied from it.

It is universally admitted that this version of the LXX. was the authorized copy of the Old Testament in use amongst the Jews at the commencement of the Christian era, which must therefore have been the Scriptures used by our Lord Himself and His Apostles.

The New Testament contains upwards of 227 allusions to matters mentioned in the Pentateuch, of which no less than 106 are direct quotations from it; and the number of times to which Christ makes distinct reference to Moses‡ as the author of the Pentateuch, may be estimated from the efforts which are being now made to lessen the value of that testimony by those who would fain consider it as that of an imperfectly informed person like ourselves.

Ascending upwards in point of time, we have the Targum of Onkelos, a disciple of Rabbi Hillel, who flourished in the 1st century B.C., which bears testimony to the Pentateuch having been a verbal translation of the Hebrew text into pure Chaldee.

In the 2nd century B.C., we have the historical testimony of

* Contr. Judæos, lib. i.

† Tertull. Apol. § 18.

‡ The words, which our Lord addressed to the unbelieving Jews before the resurrection,—“If they hear not Moses and the Prophets, neither will they be persuaded though one rose from the dead,”—are equally applicable to unbelieving Christians since the resurrection. It is, however, a matter for deep humiliation, to find a professed minister of the Gospel declaring that the “author of the Pentateuch never professed to be recording historical truth,” (Critical Exam. p. 375,)—and that Christ knew no more about “the age and authorship of the Pentateuch,” than any other contemporary

Jew, (Preface to Pt. ii. p. xvii.); while he seems to scorn the notion that the fetters, which he accepted voluntarily, and still continues to wear, ought in any way to restrain him. His ideas on this subject, coupled with the fact of his still retaining the Episcopal office, may be estimated from his own words, and affords a mournful sign of the infidelity of the age:—“At the time we were admitted into the ministry of the national Church, we heartily believed what we then professed to believe, and we gave our assent and consent to every part of her Liturgy. *But we did not bind ourselves to believe thus always to the end of our lives.*” (Pt. ii. p. xxiii.)

the two books of Maccabees, to "the law" and "the glory of the Lord," (2 Mac. ii. 2—8) as having been revealed unto "Moses;" as well as special mention of "Abraham's faith"—"Joseph being made Lord over Egypt"—"Phinehas' priesthood"—"Joshua ruling in Israel"—"Caleb's heritage of the land," &c. (1 Mac. ii. 52—56),—events which are recorded in the Pentateuch and the Book of Joshua. In this same century, Aristobulus, a Jew of Alexandria, and a Peripatetic philosopher, who is mentioned in the 2nd book of Maccabees, is said to have written a commentary on the Pentateuch, and to have dedicated it to Ptolemy Philopater, to whom he had been precentor.*

In the first half of the 3rd century B.C., we find, in the short prologue to the Apocryphal Book of Ecclesiasticus, "the law" of Moses alluded to no less than three times; the work itself having been composed by Jesus the father of Sirach, as the prologue was by his grandson of the same name. In the latter half of the same century, the whole of the Septuagint version, or certainly that portion of it embracing the Pentateuch, as I have already noticed, was made in the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus. Kennicott observes that "the learned Dr. Hody has proved that the Hebrew Bible was not translated into Greek at once; but that different parts were translated at different times, and that the Pentateuch was translated first about 285 B.C. by the Jews living at Alexandria."†

This brings us to within a century of the close of the Canon of the Old Testament, when Malachi, the last of the Prophets, flourished. In order that it may be seen at a glance, how often the Pentateuch is mentioned and referred to in the several Books of the Old Testament between the times of Moses and Malachi, it will be well to insert the several references, with their respective dates.

I. Places where the Pentateuch is mentioned under different terms:—

1. Malachi iv. 4,—*"The law of Moses;"* 397 B.C., temp. Artaxerxes II.

2. Nehemiah viii. 1,—*"The book of the law of Moses;"* 454 B.C., temp. Artaxerxes I.

3. Nehemiah viii. 5, — *"The Book;"* 454 B.C., temp. Artaxerxes I.

4. Nehemiah viii. 8,—*"The book of the law of God;"* 454 B.C., temp. Artaxerxes I.

5. Nehemiah viii. 14,—*"The law by the hand of Moses;"* 454 B.C., temp. Artaxerxes I.

* Clemens Alex. Strom. i. § 5, and Euseb. Præp. Evan. xiii. § 12.

† Kennicott's "Dissertations," vol. ii. p. 320.

6. Nehemiah viii. 18,—“The book of the law of God;” 454 B.C., temp. Artaxerxes I.

7. Nehemiah ix. 3,—“The book of the law of the Lord;” 454 B.C., temp. Artaxerxes I.

8. Nehemiah xiii. 1,—“The book of Moses;” 454 B.C., temp. Artaxerxes I.

9. Ezra vi. 18,—“The book of Moses;” 516 B.C., temp. Darius Hystaspes.

10. Ezra iii. 2,—“The law of Moses;” 536 B.C., temp. Cyrus.

11. Daniel ix. 11—13,—“The law of Moses;” 538 B.C., temp. Darius the Mede.

12. 2 Chron. xxxiv. 14,—“The law of Jehovah by the hand of Moses;” 622 B.C., temp. Josiah.

13. 2 Chron. xxxv. 12,—“The book of Moses;” 622 B.C., temp. Josiah.

14. 2 Kings xxiii. 25,—“The law of Moses;” 629 B.C., temp. Josiah.

15. 2 Chron. xxx. 16,—“The law of Moses;” 726 B.C., temp. Hezekiah.

16. 2 Chron. xxv. 4,—“The book of Moses;” 837 B.C., temp. Amaziah.

17. 2 Kings xiv. 6,—“The book of the law of Moses;” 875 B.C., temp. Joash.

18. 2 Chron. xxiii. 18,—“The law of Moses;” 877 B.C., temp. Athaliah.

19. 1 Kings ii. 3,—“The law of Moses;” 1018 B.C., temp. David.

20. Joshua xxiii. 6,—“The book of the law of Moses;” 1520 B.C., temp. Joshua.

21. Joshua viii. 31,—“The book of the law of Moses;” 1540 B.C., temp. Joshua.

II. Places where the Pentateuch is referred to without being named :—

1. 1 Samuel i. 1—3, refers to Exodus xxiii. 14, 1120 B.C., temp. Eli.

2. Judges xiii. 5, refers to Numbers vi. 5, 1150 B.C., temp. Samson.

3. Ruth iv. 7, refers to Deuteronomy xxv. 7—9, 1200 B.C., temp. Ibzan.

4. Judges xi. 15—17, refers to Exodus xiv. 3, and Numbers xxi. 4, 1205 B.C., temp. Jephthah.

5. Judges x. 11, refers to Exodus xiv. 30, and Deuteronomy xxi. 25, 1208 B.C., temp. Jephthah.

6. Judges vi. 8—10, refers to Exodus xii. 51, 1314 B.C., temp. Gideon.

7. Judges v. 5, refers to Exodus xix. 18, 1360 B.C., temp. Deborah.

8. Judges iii. 4, refers to Deuteronomy xii. 1—3, 1530 B.C., temp. Joshua.

9. Judges ii. 3, refers to Exodus xxiii. 33, 1540 B.C., temp. Joshua.

10. Judges ii. 1, refers to Genesis xvii. 7, 1540, temp. Joshua.

Of these several passages, in which the Pentateuch is distinctly named, the most memorable is the account given in 2 Chron. xxxiv. 14, of its having been found in the temple during the reign of Josiah about the beginning of the 7th century B.C., as it is written:—"When they brought out the money that was brought into the House of Jehovah, Hilkiah the Priest found a *book of the law of Jehovah given by Moses*;" i. e., by the hand of Moses according to the Hebrew,—words which may seem to imply that this recovered treasure must have been the original MS. which Moses wrote. It is scarcely possible to describe more naturally a book written by Moses himself, or to declare more fully that the copy of the law then found was in the handwriting of Moses. All the other passages given above, mention either *the Book of Moses*, or *the Law of Moses*: this alone speaks of it as *the Law of Jehovah by the hand* of Moses*; the reason of which may possibly be, that while the other places speak of the law in general, this refers to one particular MS., viz., the original writing of Moses himself. The interval between the death of the Jewish law-giver and the discovery of this copy of the law by Hilkiah, was upwards of 900 years; and if it be thought too long a period for the existence of such frail materials, we can point to the Codex Alexandrinus and other MS. copies of the Holy Scriptures, which have already lasted full five centuries longer than that period, and which are perfectly legible in the present day. Indeed, there is a MS. now in Paris, consisting of an Egyptian papyrus, of which there is satisfactory evidence that it was written before Moses was born. What would be thought if the original roll of the Pentateuch was produced, and our belief of the fact claimed in the present day?

It is well known that a notorious opponent of the genuineness and authenticity of the Pentateuch has interpreted the passage in question very differently. Bishop Colenso considers "it is scarcely possible to resist the suspicion that the writing of the Book, the placing it, and the finding it, were pretty nearly *contemporaneous events*."† Let us consider how far he is borne out in such a conclusion. The placing of the Law is

* The word "hand" occurs also in Neh. viii. 14, but not apparently in the same sense, as it is said, "they found written in the law which the Lord had commanded by the hand of Moses."

† Critic. Exam., p. 416.

thus described in Deuteronomy xxxi. 24—26:—"It came to pass, when Moses had made an end of writing the words of this Law in a book until they were finished, that Moses commanded the Levites, which bare the ark of the covenant of the Lord, saying, Take *this book of the Law* and put it in, or by the side of, the ark of the covenant of the Lord your God, that it may be there for a witness against thee." Assuming that this placing of "the Law" in or beside the Ark occurred before the Eisode of the Israelites into Canaan, the interval between that time and the finding it by Hilkiash* would amount, as I have already remarked, to upwards of nine centuries; but since we find "the law of Moses" particularly mentioned in the time of David, the true interval is narrowed to a period of about five centuries.

The expression "in the side of the ark," כַּסֵּף אֲרוֹן, might more literally be rendered "on the *outside* of the ark," as Huetius interprets the word, "Lex fuit ad latus arcæ *exterius* : hoc est, si Jonathanem paraphrastem Chaldæum audimus בקופסא in capsâ ad latus dextrum arcæ."† This interpretation serves to explain the statement in 1 Kings viii. 9—"There was *nothing* in the Ark save the two tables of stone;" and likewise harmonises with the account of the Ark in Heb. ix. 4, where the Apostle says, "in which were," or rather had been, "the golden pot that had manna, and Aaron's rod that budded, and the tables of the covenant," without any mention of the *Book of the Law*. If the Books of Maccabees were canonical, which they are not, Rome *non-obstante*, we should have Scripture authority for declaring that "the ark which Moses made in the wilderness," and which remained until the days of Hilkiash, still exists, and will be recovered when the Jews are restored to that land which was given to the seed of Abraham as an "everlasting possession."‡

The absence of any special mention of the *Law of Moses* during the shorter interval of five centuries between the time of the Exode and the reign of David, is no proof of its non-existence, though it may be a sign that the Jews were so cap-

* Prideaux observes on Hilkiash's discovery:—"The High Priest, in pursuance of the order for repairing the temple, took a general view of the house, to see what was necessary to be done; and, while he was thus examining every place, he found the authentic copy of the law of Moses. This ought to have been laid up *on the side of the ark* of the covenant in the most holy place; but it was taken out thence and hid elsewhere in the time of Manasseh, as it is conjectured, that it might not be destroyed by him in the time of his iniquity." (Prideaux's Connexion, Pt. i. Lib. 1.)

† Demon. Evang. iv. 1, 2.

‡ The words in Maccabees are as follows:—"It was found in the records that the prophet Jeremiah, being warned of God, commanded the tabernacle and the ark to go with him, as he went forth into the mountain, where Moses climbed up, and saw the heritage of God. And when Jeremiah came thither, he found an hollow cave, wherein he laid the tabernacle and the ark, and so stopped the door. . . . saying, As for that place, it shall be unknown until the time that God gather His people again together, and receive them unto mercy." (2 Macc. ii. 4—7.)

tivated by the idolatrous system of the surrounding nations, as to neglect the law of Him who had delivered them from the bondage of Egypt. A very similar state of things occurred in the Christian Church towards the close of the "dark ages," as they have been commonly termed, or rather, as might be appropriately expressed, towards the dawn of the glorious Reformation of the Christian Church in the 15th century. The finding of the Pentateuch in the Temple by the priest Hilkiah was exactly paralleled, 2000 years later, by the discovery of what was then equally unknown, viz., a copy of the Old and New Testaments, by the Augustinian monk Martin Luther, in the University of Erfurth.*

It may be safely affirmed that Bishop Colenso's "suspicion" concerning the writing of the Law, the placing of it beside the ark, and the finding of it in the reign of Josiah, being "nearly contemporaneous events," is not borne out by an examination of the historical evidence as it exists in Scripture. He appears almost to contradict himself on this point, for elsewhere he endeavours to prove that Samuel was probably the author of the first four Books of the Pentateuch, and Jeremiah of the last. Considering the admitted interval of full five centuries between these two prophets, there is necessarily a difficulty in reconciling his "conclusion" on the one hand with his "suspicion" on the other. May we not rather assume that the unvarying belief of Jews and Christians, for nigh 3500 years, is a strong argument in favour of Moses having been in deed and truth the author of the Pentateuch?

It remains for us to notice, in conclusion, the decisive witness which our Divine Master has borne to this all-important fact of none other than Moses having been the writer of that Law which has been known for so many ages by his name.

Christ has distinctly borne testimony to Moses having been the author of the five several books which compose the Pentateuch in the following places, as recorded by the Evangelists:—Matthew xix. 7, 8: "Christ saith to them, Moses suffered you to put away your wives," in accordance with Deuteronomy xxiv. 1;—Mark xii. 26: "Jesus said, As touching the dead, that they rise; have ye not read in the Book of Moses?" referring to Exodus iii. 6;—John iii. 14: "Jesus answered, As Moses lifted up the serpent in the wilderness," which is recorded in Numbers xxi. 9;—John v. 4, 6: "Christ said, Moses wrote of me," referring to what is written in Genesis iii. 15,

* Luther says in his *Tischreden*, or Table Talk, as Michelet, i. 292, expresses it,—"*J'avais vingt ans que je n'avais pas encore vu de Bible.*" The same general ignorance of the Bible still exists amongst University students at Rome in the 19th century:—"At the age of eighteen I had

never read the Bible," says one of them. (See Narrative of Sign. Ciocci, p. 66.) "Who," said the librarian Alberico to him, "who now reads the Bible? It is a book almost disused." A singular instance of extremes—Papists and Sceptics—meeting.

xxii. 18, and xlix. 10;—John vii. 22: “Jesus answered, Moses gave you circumcision,” as stated in Leviticus xii. 3.

Further, as our Lord, when He appeared to the Apostles at Jerusalem, after His resurrection, told them,—“These are the words which I spake unto you, while I was yet with you, that all things must be fulfilled which were written in the law of Moses.” (Luke xxiv. 44.) It seems to be almost bordering on blasphemy to infer, as some have dared to do, that Christ was under a delusion, or guilty of promulgating, through ignorance, what was contrary to truth, when He gave His sanction to the genuineness and authenticity of the Pentateuch, because He condescended, to use the words of the creed, “to take the manhood into God.”

It is on this account that we think the Archbishop of York is fully justified in reproaching his brother prelate, who has earned such an unhappy notoriety of late in the wide field of polemical divinity, for “having imputed to the Lord of glory ignorance of holy things;” and for “having described Him as a blind guide, quoting for the very Word of Life the baseless fables of men.” Nor is the opinion of the Primate otherwise than just in declaring that such conclusions—*e. g.*, our Lord’s ignorance concerning the author of the Pentateuch—can bear no other construction than that of “charging Him who knew what was in man with ignorance and imposture.”

The Bishop of Natal has attempted to justify his peculiar views upon the grounds that Scripture speaks of our Lord “increasing in wisdom and stature,” and that, as the Son, He owned to not knowing the time of His next appearing. The numerous quotations from the writings of the early Christians, which are somewhat ostentatiously paraded in a letter from the Rector of Preston, a recent pervert to the Bishop’s hypothesis, are simply beside the point. Their teaching is faithful and true in defence of that important doctrine of the Christian economy,—*viz.*, our Lord’s perfect humanity as well as His perfect Deity; but they afford no countenance whatever to the opinions which seem to be the marrow of the bishop’s system—*viz.*, that the perfect humanity of the God-man Christ Jesus requires us to treat His testimony to the genuineness and authenticity of the Pentateuch as of no more value than that of any other doctor of the age in which He lived.

In the inscrutable purposes of the Father, Jesus Christ was made like unto us in all things with the exception of sin, and therefore it was said of Him, like of any born of human parentage, that He increased in wisdom as well as in stature or age; but since it is equally said that in Him were “hid all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge,” and also that “in Him dwelt all the fulness of the Godhead bodily,” we are not warranted in denying His omniscience as perfect God in order to acknowledge His humanity as perfect man.

That the Rationalists feel the force of our Lord's testimony to the genuineness and authenticity of the Books of Moses, is evident from the ceaseless efforts they are making to depreciate their worth. To the Church this testimony has been as conclusive during the last nineteen centuries, as it was to the Jew during the sixteen centuries which preceded the Christian dispensation. And the language of our blessed Master in the parable of Dives and Lazarus is peculiarly applicable in the present day,—“If they hear not Moses and the Prophets, neither will they be persuaded though one rose from the dead.” By which Christ teaches us that the Books of Moses, as well as the Prophets, contain such internal proof of their divine origin, that, though all the dead were to arise to convince an unbeliever of the truths therein declared, the conviction could not be greater, nor the proof more evident, of the truth of those sacred records, than that which they themselves afford. Faith, sincere and genuine faith, is satisfied with such proofs as God in His word is pleased to bestow. Infidelity, like the horse-leech, never has enough.

‘CORRESPONDENCE.

INSPIRATION.

To the Editor of the Christian Observer.

SIR,—One argument, and I think the main one, with those who contend for a strictly verbal inspiration of the Bible, is, that supposing the revelation to be from God, but the language to be that of men, superintended indeed by the Holy Spirit, and preserved from error in their apprehension of the things revealed, but left to record those things in their own natural style and language, the mind would be left in doubt and perplexity as to the authority of the record, whether it be divine or human, or a compound of both. Now, inasmuch as the divine idea, though in the word, is not the word, but the sense and meaning of the word, which in many cases is to be collected by the ordinary methods of comparison and research, *i. e.*, by the exercise of the human faculties of reason and judgment, I do not see what would be gained by the concession of this point, unless we possessed an infallible standard for the interpretation of the language used by the sacred writers, so as to divest every word of Scripture of the slightest shade of ambiguity. But this would necessitate a second revelation; which, consisting, as it needs must, of words subject to the same conditions as before, would leave the difficulty just where it was. Take, *e.g.*, the word *δικαιοσύνη*, and the whole family of its congeners, *δίκαιος*, *δικαίω*, *δικαίωσις*, *δικαίωμα*, &c. &c., who will presume to say whether, in the several places in which it occurs, the word *δικαιοσύνη* is to be understood in a strictly moral or a strictly forensic sense?

And if it be answered, that the context will determine this, then the meaning of the context, which consists of words, will have to be determined by the methods already indicated with the same fallible results. The like ambiguity attaches to the co-derivatives of *δικαιοσύνη*.

Again, take the family of words of which *κρίσις*, *κρίμα*, *κρίνειν*, *κρίνεσθαι*, *κατάκριμα*, &c., are specimens, who will undertake to assign a precise, positive, and unquestionable meaning to all or any of these words, which are susceptible of various significations, and for which, in fact, a considerable latitude and wide divergence of meaning has been assumed by the translators of our Bible?

It appears therefore to me that, so far as the divine authority of the Bible is concerned, nothing is gained by the concession of its strictly verbal inspiration, but rather that a new element of difficulty is imported into the question, only adding to its complication, without bringing it one jot nearer to the mark of an unmistakable and infallibly authoritative divine revelation.

I may add, that in my own opinion, the divine authority of the Bible is not in the slightest degree impugned by the supposition that the sacred writers were left, under the superintending control of the Holy Spirit, to record in their own language the truths which were supernaturally revealed to them.—I am Sir, yours faithfully,

JOHN EDMUND CARR.

The Oatwoods, near Derby;
July 17th, 1865.

THE EXCOMMUNICATE.

To the Editor of the Christian Observer.

SIR.—I. The Rubric prefixed before the Office “for the Burial of the Dead,” states that it “is not to be used for any that die unbaptized, or excommunicate, or have laid violent hands upon themselves.” I have known instances where the above directions have been strictly observed both with regard to the unbaptized, and to the suicide; but I have never known or heard of its being complied with in our time in the case of any excommunicated person, and I am not aware if there is in this country any one that has been legally placed in that condition, nor what the law of excommunication is, nor what the result and consequences would really be to an individual under its sentence.

II. History informs us of the dire and sad results attending Excommunication in past ages. King John would not sanction or acquiesce in the election of Cardinal Langton to the Archbishoprick of Canterbury, therefore Pope Innocent III. commissioned three prelates to lay “an Interdict upon the whole kingdom. Immediately divine service ceased in all the churches, and the sacraments were no longer administered except to infants and dying persons. Public prayers, and all ecclesiastical functions, were laid aside. The churchyards were shut up, and the bodies of the dead thrown into ditches like dogs, without any priest daring or being willing to assist at the funerals.” (*Rapin*.)

“The sentence of interdict was at that time the great instrument of vengeance and policy employed by the court of Rome; was denounced against sovereigns for the lightest offences; and made the

guilt of one person involve the ruin of millions, even in their spiritual and eternal welfare. The execution of it was calculated to strike the senses in the highest degree, and to operate with irresistible force on the superstitious minds of the people. The nation was of a sudden deprived of all exterior exercises of its religion, &c." (*Hume.*)

Surely, how directly contrary to Christian charity and the spirit of the Gospel were these proceedings of him who styled himself the Vicar of Jesus Christ on earth. In a later age, the excommunication of Queen Elizabeth by the pope happily had lost its power, and our religious liberties and privileges as Protestants were preserved. In the present day, the reigning pope presumes to excommunicate those he considers his political enemies; for I read in the *Times* a few days since, that the children of Prince Napoleon Buonaparte and the Princess Clotilde remain unbaptized, their grandfather King Victor Emmanuel, having (together with his subjects) been cut off from the communion of the church, is not allowed to act as their sponsor, and accordingly the Archbishop of Paris declines to baptize them. How long will kings and princes submit to this tyranny?

III. The Bishop of Salisbury, in his recent Charge, expresses his general satisfaction with the state of his diocese as contained in answer to his inquiries addressed to the rural deans, officiating ministers, and churchwardens within its jurisdiction, with one exception, namely, that made or rather omitted by the churchwardens with "regard to the morals of their fellow parishioners;" but he considers that there is some excuse for them in not complying with his request in this particular, under present circumstances, arising from what he considers the defective state of church discipline. His lordship, in his Charge, says,—“I am not, however, on this account, prepared to expunge these two Articles of Inquiry; for though we have been for some time under the necessity of foregoing the ancient discipline, my own wishes and hopes remain in entire accordance with our church on this subject; and I look to and desire the coming of the time when ‘faith in the reality and grievous effect of excommunication’ will have been thus far restored as to make it possible so to use church courts and church laws, that persons convicted of notorious sin may be put to open penance, and punished in this world, that their souls may be saved in the day of the Lord.”

As a plain and unlearned man, I know not what the law on the subject is; but whatever it may be, it is become obsolete from disuse, and it would be highly impolitic at the present day again to enforce it. It would be laying an onerous duty on churchwardens to call upon them to make returns to the spiritual courts of the notorious sinners and scandalous offenders residing in their parishes, and one that they would not willingly comply with. Churchwardens are not always elected on account of their moral worth or Christian character, but from the position they hold among their fellow-parishioners, and possibly some of them not very strict in their own morals. I cannot comprehend how “persons convicted of notorious sin” will be “saved in the day of the Lord,” by their merely being “put to open penance, and punished in this world,” without they truly repent of their “manifold sins and wickedness,” and forsake their evil ways. We do not see that punishment necessarily produces a salutary effect on hardened criminals.

The question arises, who are to be amenable to "Church Courts and Church Laws," all classes of the community, or only those who are considered to belong to the Established Church? I do not see how dissenters are to be interfered with who own no allegiance to the laws of the Church, neither would they submit to them.

Ecclesiastical Courts are in no great favour at present; and should these obsolete laws be restored and enforced, the probability is, they will very soon be abolished altogether. There is not much fear that these practices of former ages will be renewed and prevail, and that the terrors of church courts will be much dreaded. I am truly sorry that any wish or hope should have been expressed by one whom I desire to esteem and respect, for the restoration of so undesirable and so dangerous a state of things, both with regard to the peace of the country, and the safety of our Church Establishment.

AN AGED READER.

UNPUBLISHED CORRESPONDENCE.

[OUR readers will not have forgotten that Mr. Bull, a pious Dissenting Minister of Newport Pagnel, was the intimate friend of John Thornton, of whom a Memoir appears, together with some notices of Mr. Bull, in one of the last papers on Wilberforce and his Contemporaries. Of his letters now in our possession, some are addressed to Mrs. Carteret and Mrs. Cavendish. They were the daughters of Sir Samson Gideon. Mrs. Carteret was maid of honour to Queen Caroline, and died at the age of ninety-one; her sister died at eighty-eight. We believe there was a third sister, Lady Catherine Harvey. Some of Mr. Bull's letters are to Mrs. Peckwell, mother of Sir Henry Blosssett, who died in Christian triumph some years ago after reaching Bengal as Chief Justice.—EDITOR.]

"Newport, Dec. 9, '90.

"DEAR AND HONOURED MADAM,—Pray make my acknowledgments acceptable to Lady Mary, and to Mrs. Carteret and Cavendish for their kind enquiries by letter. The sickness and death of the dear departed has nearly upset me. My spirits are very low, my temper gloomy and melancholy, my natural strength abated. I loved Mr. Thornton dearly: it was no more than I owed him, for he loved me first. The shattered state of my nerves pulling one way, and the strength of my affections another, have nearly tore me to pieces. I have been very ill, but begin to get better, and hope to muster my spirits to see Claysham once more, in the first week in January, and have wrote that I must sleep in my old room, and have my pipe, &c. &c. Moreover I will, if the Lord please, also go and see my dear and honoured friends in St. James's Place; and perhaps Lady Mary will meet me, and we will think dear, dear Mr. Thornton with us as usual, and that will be comfortable. I seem to myself another man, and in another world, because he was so much my delight; but that Jesus that united us separated us for a little time, and I shall go to him, though he will not return to me. I count very much of seeing him again, and he will be glad to see me.

"Mr. Thornton did not like me only for Jesus' sake, and I hope I loved him for the same reason. But you know, my dear friends, that

Jesus is still the same; just exactly the same; all over beautiful, all over lovely; all over glorious is the blessed Jesus. This dear man is gone to Jesus; and you and I shall go soon, and see the Lord in His glory; and our honoured friends, Lady Smythe and Mr. Thornton, will both astonish and delight us with telling us of the hidden joys and glories of that world. We shall see all the beauty and glory of the Godhead in the person of Jesus. We shall be melted with a sense of His love, and be brighter than the sun in the firmament.

"I loved Mr. Thornton dearly, but I would not give this old pen to bring him back again. No, no; true love forbids all that; he is too happy to need or to love this world again. I rejoice that he is in glory, dear, dear man of God. We shall soon be with him, and we shall love him more than ever, because he will be brim full of the love of Jesus. Mrs. Wilberforce* is very glad to see him; and above all, Jesus rejoices.

"Pray give my duty and love to Lady Mary and Mrs. Cavendish. I commit you tenderly to the grace and love of Jesus Christ; and am, dear and honoured madam, Your most affectionate Servant,

"The Hon. Mrs. Carteret."

"WM. BULL."

"Newport, Feb. 21, '92.

"DEAR AND HONOURED MADAM,—Please to thank Mrs. Peckwell in my name for a very kind and acceptable letter. I am much obliged to her, and to you and Mrs. Cavendish for your kind remembrance of me. I am sorry to hear Mrs. Cavendish continues indisposed, but cannot help rejoicing in the sweet and comfortable frame of mind she is favoured with. This we owe to a dear and precious Jesus, because all His ways are wise, and holy, and good; and all His dealings with us are full of love to us. It is very certain that the nearer we live to Jesus the more we shall love Him; and the longer we know Him the more confidence we shall place in Him. When we recollect how many years we have experienced His tender care, His faithful promises, the more cheerfully we shall commit ourselves to Him.

"One cannot look up to the Lord without admiring Him, nor look back on past experience without feeling our hearts warm towards Him.

"A young Christian is *occasionally* indulged with nearness to Jesus, but when we have known the Lord many years, we are permitted to *live* near Him, to be *always* in His presence. Nay we are allowed to live in the Lord Jesus, and He lives in us. We live in Him by faith, and He lives in us by His Spirit; and hence we are led to love what He loves, and to hate what He hates, and to seek after just what He seeks after.

"From long experience of the grace and love of Jesus, we are enabled to delight in Him, and even allowed to speak to Him whenever we please, and that without any fear or dread; but it so happens the nearer we get to heaven we have more of the spirit of prayer, and yet we have less and less to ask. Begging and praying for this and that which we want, is lost and swallowed up in blessing and praising the Lord for what we have; for we have Jesus, and what can we desire more? Christ in us the hope of glory, is all and in all; we see and feel that Jesus is our all, and having Him we want nothing.

* Aunt of the philanthropist, then recently deceased.

"Hence we can only say, 'Thy will be done, precious Jesus! Thy will be done! My will is swallowed up in thine. I can only say, Thy will be done. I am Thy child, lying in Thy bosom; do with me as pleaseth Thee. Come Lord Jesus, come quickly! Thou hast enriched me with Thy free grace; and now, dear Jesus, I can only wait and long for Thy glory; but Thy time is the best time. Amen; even so come, Lord Jesus.'

"Dear Madam, I seem to forget myself, but I do rejoice in the Lord's goodness to you and your dear sister; and I doubt not but your hearts rejoice in Him, and that you wait, and long, and wish to be with Him. Lady Mary F——d was kind enough to bid Mrs. Peckwell remember her to me; you will oblige me by an affectionate remembrance of me to her ladyship, and to Mrs. Peckwell; give my hearty love to Mrs. Cavendish. I pray the Lord Jesus to bless you all four. May He fill your hearts with His precious love, and inspire you with a hearty and willing mind to enter into His glory. To His grace and love I tenderly commit you. Remember His blood is our atonement, His righteousness our justification, and His everlasting love will be our joy and crown of rejoicing for ever and ever. I love you in the Lord, and daily pray for you: to His good Spirit I commit you; and am, dear and honoured Madam, Your affectionate Servant,
 "Hon. Mrs. Carteret.""W. BULL."

NOTICES OF NEW BOOKS.

Nine Confirmation Lectures: with an Appendix. By the Rev. E. B. Elliott, B.A., Incumbent of St. Mark's, Brighton. London: Seeley and Co. 1865.—It is undoubtedly a distinguishing feature of Mr. Elliott's mind, that every subject upon which it fastens must be thoroughly investigated. Nothing of a superficial character will at all content him. Dozens of other writers—good and faithful ministers too—have taken up the subject of Confirmation within the last twenty years, and have written as they could; some piously and vaguely, others superstitiously and rashly; but no one in our times has handled it after the fashion in which it is handled in this volume. Seven distinct discussions carry the young inquirer through "The Church of England's view of Confirmation;" "The Church's view of Infant Baptism;" "The Blessings offered in Christian Baptism;" "The Historical Evidence of the Divine Origin of Christianity;" "Prophetic, Moral, and Experimental Evidences;" "Conditions of Baptism, Believing, Renouncing, Fulfilling;" closing with some "Concluding practical Exhortations." Two more Lectures are added, on the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper; and three Appendices on Controverted Matters.

Such is Mr. Elliott's method of handling a subject. On the wide field of motives, encouragements, and cautions, future writers may expatiate at large; but Mr. Elliott has left them little to do on the doctrinal and historical part of the subject. As a treasury from whence preachers may draw all the main facts and outlines of their teaching

in future years, this little volume is of solid and permanent value. It also bears an important testimony against that kind of vague and misty superstitiousness, which often shows itself in the writings of men who wish to be "High-church," without being Romanizers. In his third Appendix, Mr. Elliott examines and refutes certain dangerous statements, made by Dr. Wordsworth and Dr. Goulburn, in their Confirmation Manuals. Dr. Wordsworth had stated, that "God vouchsafes to bestow the gift of the Holy Ghost on persons baptized, by means of prayer, and laying on of the hands of the successors of the Apostles; and has made it obligatory on Christians to receive and maintain the practice." "Nor have we any right to expect to receive this gift from Him, unless we use the means thus appointed for its bestowal." And Dr. Goulburn also "makes the communication of even the ordinary saving influences of the Holy Spirit to depend upon, and to be the result of, the laying on of the hands of the highest order in the ministry; such being their prerogative." These superstitious theories Mr. Elliott examines with no hesitating or timorous hand; and exhibits very clearly their baseless character.

One natural and necessary result of extravagant and unfounded claims of this kind, is, to bring the very utility and value of even the Sacraments into doubt. Thus, shocked at certain unscriptural statements of the effects of Baptism, Mr. Spurgeon recently went to the other extreme; insisting that Baptism had no effect, no operation whatever; but was a purely formal ceremony, like that of placing ten stones in a row. And so, when, in the matter of Confirmation, Dr. Wordsworth and Dr. Goulburn teach, that by laying on of a bishop's hands the Holy Ghost is given, and that without the laying on of a bishop's hands the Holy Ghost will not be given, a plain reflecting man will be apt to say, "The gift of the Holy Ghost can be no light matter, no trifling thing. Those who have received the Holy Ghost ought to be clearly distinguishable from those who have not. But does confirmation generally produce such results? Taking a dozen young persons, for instance, who have received the imposition of hands from a bishop, and comparing them with an equal number of young Nonconformists, who have been admitted to the Lord's table without any imposition of hands,—is it a fact that there is a marked difference in holiness between the two? Could the one class be distinguished from the other, by any competent judge, as clearly possessing an indwelling of the Holy Spirit which the others lacked?" We never heard such a pretension made; and if made, we believe that it would only cover him who made it with shame. Any excessive exaltation of any rite or ceremony is sure to provoke queries, tending to call in question even its truth and value. Thus Confirmation, which Mr. Elliott has in these Lectures placed on a solid foundation, and shown to be both Scriptural and reasonable, may, by superstitious exaggerations, be brought into doubt and called in question. It is the special value and excellency of this little book, that the writer has both shown what Confirmation is, and what it is not.

Brook Silvertone: and, The Lost Lilies. Two Stories for Children. By Emma Marshall. In small 8vo., with fourteen Engravings. London. 1865.—We like these two tales better than anything else that Mrs. Marshall has written; except, perhaps, "Little Mary's

Legacy," in the *Lessons of Love*. The first story tells us of a little girl, Grace, who is found by the brook's side, sobbing out, "I am of no use! no use! Nobody cares for me; nobody loves me!"

One who overhears the complaint, and pities the saddened heart, draws the little girl towards her, and by repeated visits and teachings, shows her "what Brook Silvertone says;" and how useful its course is; and how her course may be like it. After eight chapters, we come to "Good-bye," and leave little Grace no longer sad, no longer "of no use," but peaceful, valued, and happy.

The next story is still more touching. A child of wealthy parents, little Beatrice, is in a passion of grief on her birth-day, because a wreath of lilies for her hair has not reached the mansion in time for the ball. The village maiden who had been sent with them, we afterwards find out, had been overcome by the cold, and sat down to rest on a fallen tree, and there sank to sleep in the bitter frost. She is discovered in time to save her life, but a rheumatic fever of many weeks follows. Little Beatrice is led by a kind uncle to visit the poor sufferer, and learns in the cottage, and by the sick bed, lessons which the mansion and the ball-room would never have taught her. Both the stories are well told, and the book is profusely ornamented, and in all respects well got up. A prettier present for a child of ten or twelve years of age, can hardly be imagined.

We are glad that *Mr. Ryle* has resumed his pen, and given us a continuation of his Commentary. He is now on the first part of *St. John's Gospel*, and the volume just published extends to the seventh chapter. We can only say, that it continues to deserve the high character that *Mr. Ryle* has already gained as one of the most original, pious, and able commentators of the present day, and as a practical expositor of Scripture. Sometimes we hear the complaint, that he is hard, and wanting in tenderness. The reader will not find this to be the case in the present volume; let him judge of the spirit of the expositor who writes as follows:—"The history of Nicodemus is meant to teach us that we should never 'despise the day of small things' in religion. (Zec. iv. 10.) We must not set down a man as having no grace, because his first steps towards God are timid and wavering, and the first movements of his soul are uncertain, hesitating, and stamped with much imperfection. We must remember our Lord's reception of Nicodemus. He did not 'break the bruised reed, or quench the smoking flax,' which He saw before Him. (Matt. xii. 20.) Like Him, let us take inquirers by the hand, and deal with them gently and lovingly. In everything there must be a beginning. It is not those who make the most flaming profession of religion at first, who endure the longest, and prove the most steadfast. Judas Iscariot was an apostle, when Nicodemus was just groping his way slowly into full light. Yet afterwards, when Nicodemus was boldly helping to bury his crucified Saviour, Judas Iscariot had betrayed Him, and hanged himself. This is a fact which ought not to be forgotten."

We turn to *An Exposition of the 1st Epistle General of St. John*, by *Rev. John Stock, M.A., late Vicar of Finchamfield, Essex. London: Rivingtons.*—Only a spiritual mind can understand, still less expound to others, this epistle beaming with heavenly light and love. Such an expositor is met with in *Mr. Stock*. It seems to have

been written under trials such has often befall eminent ministers whose sorrows are the joys of the whole church ; the readers of this commentary will feel that the writer of it has learned by experience the inestimable worth of the doctrines he expounds. There is here competent learning, and the fruits of diligent study, as well as a high tone of piety ; and we receive it with much gratitude, and commend it to our readers.

POETRY.

“YE KNOW NOT WHAT SHALL BE ON THE MORROW.”

WE know not what shall be to-morrow ;
 If pain or peace, if joy or sorrow :
 We cannot see what waves of love
 Shall bear us on to heaven above ;
 We know not—do we care to know ?—
 How many bitter winds may blow,
 Since every blast but bears us on
 Whither our bark would fain be gone,
 To the calm, longed-for haven.

We know not what shall be to-morrow,
 Yet fearless face or joy or sorrow :
 For though each day will surely bring
 Sufficient evil on its wing,
 Sufficient grace the Lord will give
 To keep us faithful while we live :
 Then bring the morrow what it may,
 As Jesus prayed, so let us pray :
 “Thy will, not mine, O Father !”

But far beyond this fleeting morrow,
 Chequered with changing joy or sorrow,
 In wondrous clearness oft will rise,
 Before our failing mortal eyes,
 High acts in which our trembling heart
 In very deed shall bear its part ;
 How, in that wondrous day shall seem,
 But as a poor, forgotten dream,
 Our earthly fear and anguish !

We see the clouds now floating o'er us ;
 We count the cloudy days before us ;
 And in our longings sad and fond,
 Think but of heaven as far beyond ;
 And sometimes fain would draw aside,
 The veil that doth our Master hide.—
 Ah ! He will rend the clouds, and come
 Ere long to take His children home,
 And *we* shall shout our welcome.

And when, some precious gift possessing,
We cling too fondly to the blessing,
Some sunny spot with flowrets strewn
We love to think is all our own ;
Oh ! we forget, in foolish pride,
The curse that lies on every side ;
That heaven and earth must pass away,
And *we* survive the awful day
And see the mighty ruin.

Ere then, my mortal body, sleeping,
May lie at rest in death's safe keeping ;
Yet when at last the earth shall quake,
And each and all at once awake ;
Of those who in that awful hour,
Would fain resist the almighty power,
And deep within the grave lie hid,
That I be one, my God, forbid !
Forbid it, O my Saviour !

Midst earth-born interests, hoping, fearing,
The eternal shore our bark is nearing :
'Tis real all, the day draws nigh,
When we shall see Him rend the sky ;
And millions behind millions stand
Ranged by the Judge on either hand :
What matters then each petty care ?
Remember ! we shall each be there.
Remember ! we must answer.

We know not what shall be to-morrow ;
Some fleeting joy, some passing sorrow ;
If Heaven be our eternal lot,
Joy now, or grief, it matters not ;
Oh, may the seed of heavenly worth
Be never choked by cares of earth ;
But the sweet hope shine bright and clear,
As nearer yet and yet more near
Cometh its glad fruition !

E. P. S.

PUBLIC AFFAIRS.

AFTER having passed unharmed through all the perils to which we were exposed by the American war, and the disturbed condition of Europe, we seem to be at once upon the brink of new dangers unforeseen, and therefore unprovided against. A grievous murrain, after sweeping through the flocks and herds of the continent, has reached

our own shores. It is an evil the magnitude of which is confessed by the anxiety of our Government to stop its ravages, and their peremptory instructions to our various sea-ports to prevent the landing of diseased cattle. It seems, however, not to be merely contagious. There are many instances in which it has shown itself in English pastures amongst our own herds and flocks, and far remote from foreign contagion. It is satisfactory, however, to know, that in this, as in most cases of infectious or contagious disease, perfect cleanliness, attention to the quality of food, pure air, and the like, are means by which disease may either be prevented or overcome.

But in the train of the murrain a more grievous affliction threatens us. The cholera is marching through Europe from the East, and has now arrived upon the shores of the Baltic. The murrain seems to have been sent to herald its approach. So it has been from ancient times. In the plagues of Egypt, first came the grievous murrain upon all the cattle; then the plague of boils breaking out upon man and beast. So, too, in the days of Homer, when a plague was sent into the camp,

"On dogs and birds the infection first began,
And last the vengeful arrows fixed on man."

Should this deadly scourge be commissioned to approach us, still it is in the order of Providence that much on our part may be done to mitigate its severity. Reflection, too, may teach us that even this is not sent to be an unmixed evil. It may do that for us which a civil war was necessary to accomplish in America. It may teach us, in a voice that will be heard, the duty of caring for the welfare of our fellow-men. No "fanatics of Exeter Hall," as they were called, four short years ago, ever dreamed of one ten-thousandth part of the fiery ordeal through which America has passed, before she would listen to the voice of humanity, and let her slaves go free. It is now admitted that their emancipation might have been conceded four years ago under reasonable terms, without the slightest danger to the state, and after awhile with the utmost advantage to the proprietors. The cholera may be sent to teach a similar lesson of humanity to ourselves; pestilence will soon do the work which benevolence has essayed in vain. It will cleanse our stagnant pools and putrid rivers; it will admit the light and the joyous sunshine into our courts and alleys; in the country it will give the poor fresh water instead of a stagnant ditch; an additional sleeping-room in every cottage, and all that decency, if not all that comfort, requires besides. But why should not all this be done without the intervention of this sore judgment? There is but one answer: The selfishness of the men to whom God has entrusted these duties, alone forbids.

After the turmoil of the general election, there is a lull in our home politics. Yet occurrences are daily taking place of which it is utterly impossible to foresee the results. They may alter the face of the world, and must do so if they succeed; or they may fail, pass away like an idle dream, and be soon forgotten. Such, for instance, are the greetings of the French and English fleets at Cherbourg, and the similar hospitalities to be renewed in a few days at Portsmouth. Should the professions of mutual confidence prove anything more than

the language of compliment, or a transient gleam of kindness on both sides, there seems no extravagance in the assertion that the two powers will be able to compel the peace of Europe and the world. The vast armies of France, and the combined navies of the two countries, will present a force which it would be madness to provoke. There remains, however, the serious question, What will be the effect of a closer intimacy between the two nations? Shall we lose anything of the honest simplicity of our national character? Will France gain anything of our reverence for the Sabbath and the Bible? Shall we become more frivolous, or they more Protestant? Serious questions these, which statesmen as well as private Christians should ponder well. Nothing in itself can be more hopeful than that two nations which have long been taught to hate each other, should at length cast off the unworthy prejudice, and learn to dwell together in amity and mutual confidence; but, meanwhile, every care should be taken that we may not dishonour our religion by our inconsistencies in France, nor suffer an inundation of the peculiar sins of France in England—her national frivolity, her broken Sabbaths, and her polluted literature.

Again, the telegraphic cable, which now lies broken at the bottom of the ocean, after having been carried within eight hundred miles of its destination, will, no doubt, if completed, be productive of consequences the magnitude of which it is impossible to foretell. We shall be close neighbours of the American republic, and therefore, we hope, good friends. But too close proximity has spoiled the friendship of many a family who were on excellent terms when they lived apart. Let us, however, hope for the best; the conception is a grand one, and we have no jealousy of science in her most daring flights. It is only "science falsely so called" of which the Christian should be afraid. We are thankful to record that the Maori war seems to be drawing to an end, by the submission of the chiefs. Our missionaries, and Bishop Selwyn, have all along maintained that we were wrong in the first instance. But some of them have lately shown a horrible spirit of revenge and cruelty in their treatment of our missionary, Mr. Volkner; this, however, was the act of a few desperate fanatical savages, not of the Christian tribes.

It seems to be doubtful whether the vacant bishopric of Victoria will be filled up. Our regret that the infant Church in China should be left without its chief pastor is diminished when we learn that a pious American bishop still continues his labours upon the same field. Though he cannot control, he may advise and guide our clergy there, and, with their consent, ordain, and discharge other episcopal functions. We cannot affect surprise that the ministry at home should hesitate to fill up colonial bishoprics, when they find they have set on foot a machinery which, by an oversight, is more independent of the sovereign than even the episcopate at home. On the other hand, with unmixed satisfaction we learn that Lord Lyons is appointed our ambassador at Constantinople. The wisdom he displayed at Washington during the American war leads us to repose confidence in his judgment, while we have reason to believe that the interests of Christians and Christian missionaries in the East will not be thought unworthy of his special care. In this matter his predecessor has been severely blamed.

In America the reunion of the lately severed States proceeds but slowly, the Confederates yielding at present only a sullen submission. It still seems doubtful whether the wound will heal; and the difficulty is increased by the millions of slaves who find themselves on a sudden possessed of rights which they know not how to use. As the Confederates have lost their cause, they do wisely to submit; but then submission is not a return to loyalty, and it may be reasonably doubted whether the Federal States will ever extort from them more than the tacit submission of a high-minded though subjugated people. Jefferson Davis has lately been treated with less severity, and thousands of the more moderate of the Federals themselves heartily desire that no vindictive proceedings against a fallen enemy may disgrace the triumph they have won. At present, however, he is still threatened with a court martial. For their own sake we trust that Americans will not show to the world, by such an act, how thoroughly they have, for the present at least, set aside that republican constitution which has hitherto been their pride and boast, and that more Christian sentiments will prevail.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

NOTANS (the Rector of a Parish in Ireland) blames Canon Boyd for teaching that, in Baptism, the "imputed guilt" of Adam's transgression is removed, although "the infection of a corrupt nature remains;" and he blames us for saying "that we have little doubt that Mr. Boyd's is the true Church of England teaching" (page 497, in our July number). Now we believe that we are right, and that NOTANS is, so far, wrong.

At the foot of his page, Luther and Bishop Latimer are cited as certainly having held the view advocated by Canon Boyd. But, whether it be the teaching of the Church of England or not, must be determined by a reference to her original standards. Our third Homily then (book i.) on "the Salvation of Mankind," tells us that "we must trust only in God's mercy, and that sacrifice which our High Priest and Saviour Christ Jesus the Son of God once offered for us on the Cross, to obtain thereby God's grace, and remission, as well of our original sin IN baptism, as of all actual sin committed by us after Baptism, if we truly repent and turn unfeignedly to Him again." And our 35th Article affirms that both books of Homilies contain a godly and wholesome doctrine, "and therefore," it adds, "we judge them to be read in Churches by the ministers, diligently and distinctly, that they may be understood of the People."

NOTANS further says that "the hypothetical view affords a sound interpretation of the language of the Baptismal Service," &c. In this we quite agree with him, and we consider that we are left at liberty to hold that view; for, with her usual moderation, the Church has not made the point in question an article of faith. But not the less true is it that her teaching is clearly expressed, though but incidentally. It is thus our Reformers have dealt with many important questions. Their own opinions are clearly expressed, but they are not bound dogmatically upon the consciences of her members. We might quote a whole *catena*, beginning with Hooker and ending with Richard Baxter, all holding Canon Boyd's view of Baptism.

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THE STATE OF THE DEPARTED.

THE limited extent and the grovelling character of human knowledge are never so vividly realized as when we attempt to dive into the mysteries of the unseen world, and to follow the departed spirit after it has left its corruptible tenement. How vast and perplexing is the change wrought by death ! In a moment, that form which has been the object of so much affection and care, that mind whose busy energies have imparted animation to the wide circle with which it held communion, which entwined its interests with such an infinite number of objects upon earth, cease to occupy their place in the land of the living ! A gap, a chasm opens in the heart of a family circle ; perhaps the most influential member, the mainspring, is withdrawn, utterly and irretrievably, from a family or from a social framework. How is that active, earnest spirit silenced, that burning light quenched ! Whither is it flown ? Can it be absolutely extinguished ? Can it have ceased to exist, because disease has destroyed the outward material organization with which it was vitally connected ? No ! Reason revolts at such a thought ; divine revelation forbids the suspicion. Whither, then, is it flown ? What is its present condition ? Is it now in a conscious state ? Is it cognizant of things on earth, or is it removed far away into some distant ethereal region, the paradise of redeemed souls ? Wherever it may be, is it mindful of those with whom so lately it held sweet communion, the objects of its warm and sanctified affection ? These are thoughts which agitate the mind of the desolate mourner, whilst the eye of faith follows the loved spirit that has just taken its mysterious flight, and

the imagination strains to realize the nature of its disembodied state.

Nor can these thoughts, however speculative they may appear to some, be devoid of practical importance, as well as of tender interest. If death does absolutely cut asunder and abolish every earthly relationship, how are we to view the nearest and dearest connections which God has established, —which He has bound up with all our earthly happiness — which He has sanctified and bound up more or less with our spiritual life and our spiritual joys? Are we to regard beloved Christian companions, pious parents, the spiritually-minded wife, the godly husband; united “in the Lord,” —the dear children, who have been the burden of many prayers, — are we to count all such in the same category as temporal things, the delights of an hour, joined to us only in the fragile bond of mortality? Are those who have lived here “as heirs together of the grace of life,” to believe that they will have no union, no special interest in one another hereafter, —that the holy bands which have rivetted them together as one soul are merely of a temporal and carnal nature? It is hard to be persuaded of this; and hence proceed those irrepressible yearnings after a knowledge of the intermediate and of the eternal state, which in dark ages have given rise to fond speculations, which have been turned to very profitable account by the Church of Rome, but which move the Christian to earnest, humble, and prayerful inquiry.

It is very remarkable how little is revealed in the Word of God respecting the period that intervenes between the death and the resurrection of the believer. Many of our anxious questions lose much of their obscurity in the glories of the resurrection. If we overleap the intermediate state, we find less difficulty in anticipating a blessed recognition and eternal reunion of the redeemed at the resurrection: but this does not fully meet the earnest cravings of the bereaved heart in its efforts to follow a loved one just torn from its embrace, and to form some conception of the present state of that disembodied spirit. At such a season, also, the baseless poetry of mere speculation affords little or no comfort. Imagination suggests a state of things which may possess more or less of probability; but if it does not rest on some substantial or reasonable evidence, it affords no greater stay to the bereaved and bleeding heart than a vague and idle dream. The mind in its deep agony craves after some tangible assurance; and the deeper the gloom of mystery into which it strains its anxious gaze, the more dissatisfied it feels with every theory which has not some scriptural foundation. To reason from universal human instincts, or to appeal to the reveries of human philosophy, is but to affirm the indisputable fact, that this is a subject which

stirs up the most intense yearnings of the heart; but the state of the disembodied soul lies wholly beyond the reach of philosophy, and nothing can be learned on such a subject from popular belief.

The anxious question then remains, Can anything be known from the word of God upon this deeply interesting topic? Is the spirit-world ever opened to our view? Is the mutual recognition of saints in a future state assured to us? Is anything to be known on that deepest mystery of all, the disembodied state?

First, with reference to the spiritual world, the Scriptures of truth inform us that we are constantly surrounded by hosts of spiritual beings, both good and bad. Satan is called by St. Paul (Ephes. xi. 2) "the prince of the power of the air." In the Gospels we have repeated intimations of the proximity of legions of evil spirits, and of their agency in and around us. On the other side, the Bible informs us that good angels are "ministering spirits, sent forth to minister to them who shall be heirs of salvation." (Heb. i. 14.) Our blessed Lord, speaking of God's care over His "little ones" (Matt. xviii. 10), mentions "their angels." He also describes the joy that there is among the angels of God over one sinner that repenteth (Luke xv. 10). In the following chapter he speaks of Lazarus being carried by the angels into Abraham's bosom. A singular disclosure is made in 2 Kings vi. 17, where it is related that "Elisha prayed, and said, Lord, I pray thee, open his eyes, that he may see. And the Lord opened the eyes of the young man, and he saw; and behold the mountain was full of horses and chariots of fire round about Elisha."

So much for the existence of innumerable spiritual beings around us, and of their intervention in human affairs. But with reference to the future state of our own race, the word of God does not afford us quite so much light. Let us first glance at that of which we know most,—the resurrection state, both of the redeemed and of the lost. The Holy Scriptures make known to us a great and astounding mystery, that the body of man shall hereafter be raised and reunited to the spirit which possessed and animated it during its earthly life, and shall either be eternally blessed and glorious, through a mysterious union with the Son of God, or eternally accursed and miserable in hopeless exclusion from God and from the light of life. It would seem that death was not originally designed for the human race (Rom. v. 12); and if we may suppose mankind not to have fallen, it seems probable that they would at some period or other have passed into a higher state of heavenly felicity, when perhaps their bodies would have undergone a change, though not of so glorious a nature as that which awaits the members of Jesus. At all events, it is not probable that our first parents were intended ever to be dis-

embodied. But now that death has passed upon all men, because of sin, and that the Son of God has undertaken for us, and has Himself died and risen again, and has united a people to Himself to be glorified with Him ; it has become necessary that until the glorious coming of Christ, the God-man, all should pass through death, and therefore be disembodied, to be raised again with bodies like unto His glorious body, at the manifestation of the sons of God. (See Rom. viii. 10.) This is the "blessed hope" of the Church, spoken of by St. Paul, Tit. xi. 13. There is no need to adduce proof of all this in a treatise designed solely for Christian readers. Now it is to this great epoch of the resurrection that the views of believers are directed throughout the New Testament. It is the great topic of warning, of consolation, of hope, and of encouragement. The word of God does not expatiate upon death, or upon the departed state, as the object of anticipation, but rather upon the resurrection at the second coming of Christ ; and it seems in general to pass by the intermediate state, and to direct our thoughts at once to the great day when body and spirit shall be glorified together. Thus, with a view to consolation and hope, see 1 Thess. iv. 13 to end ; 2 Thess. i. 7, ii. 1 ; for exhortation, Tit. ii. 12, 13 ; 1 John iii. 2 ; Phil. iii. 20, 21 ; and with reference to the final reward, 2 Tim. iv. 8 ; with a great many similar passages. With respect to our mutual recognition at the resurrection, there can be no doubt. St. Paul, in several places, speaks of it as a matter of course, anticipating his meeting with those who were seals of his ministry ; as, *e.g.*, 2 Cor. i. 14, iv. 14 ; 1 Thess. ii. 19 ; Col. i. 28. The exhortation in 1 Pet. iii. 7, "as heirs together of the grace of life," clearly implies that married Christians should so live together, and so unite in spiritual exercises, as those who are joined, not for this life only, but as fellow-heirs of a blessed eternity.

So far, then, there seems to be no room for hesitation as to the mutual recognition and reunion of saints at or after the resurrection. We now come to that branch of the subject upon which the divine revelation sheds least light, but on which the heart of the bereaved and desolate mourner most ardently craves for information,—the state of the departed prior to the resurrection of the body. Two questions especially demand solution :—1st, Is the disembodied spirit conscious and happy ? 2nd, Is it cognisant of things passing on this earth ?

Now it cannot be denied, nay it should be carefully remembered in all our meditations on this subject, that the Word of God does generally pass by this period of existence, so as almost in some instances to ignore it ; as for example, in that remarkable passage, 1 Thess. iv. 13, &c., where it might be supposed that the apostle would necessarily be led to speak of it. His object is to offer consolation to those that mourn for

deceased Christian friends ; yet even there he directs our view exclusively to the coming of Christ and the resurrection. This passage proves decisively that the disembodied state is not one of complete felicity ; but it proves no more respecting it. For when the apostle here, and in 1 Cor. xv., speaks of the dead as *sleeping*, it may be observed, 1st, that this is a common euphemism, after the manner of the ancients,* who studiously avoided speaking plainly of death ; 2ndly, that, if the word is to be taken literally, it is most reasonable to suppose that the apostle refers to the body. It must also be remembered that the affections of the mourner cling in great measure, if not principally, to the *bodily* presence, to that beloved *person*, whom we have known only in the body, and of whose identity without the body we can form but a very faint conception. The same silence, however, respecting the intermediate state may be noticed elsewhere (see Matt. xix. 28, 29 ; 2 Thess. i. 7 ; with several other passages already quoted) ; yet, when all due allowance has been made for this fact, there still remains sufficient evidence upon which to ground certain conclusions of a limited character, which we will now proceed to investigate. This will perhaps be best accomplished by passing in review those texts which bear upon the subject.

And first, with reference to the condition of the soul in a disembodied state. The most clear and decisive passage in the Bible occurs in Phil. i. 23, 24,—“ I am in a strait betwixt two, having a desire to depart, and to be with Christ, which is far better : nevertheless, to abide in the flesh is more needful for you.” From this text there seems to be but one possible inference, viz., that the apostle knew that, if he died, he should immediately be with Christ. And this, he declares, is “ far better” than to live in the flesh. A very similar statement is to be found in 1 Cor. v. 6, 8. St. Paul is here enlarging upon the glorious hope by which he was supported ; and he says that, even in the event of death, he had the prospect of a resurrection body to replace his present perishable tenement. This leads him to observe that death could not in itself be an object of desire, but that what he longed for was that change which will pass upon those who are alive at the coming of the Lord, who will receive and be “ clothed upon” with their glorious body, without passing through death. Nevertheless, he affirms

* Anxious as the classical writers of Greece and Rome were to avoid the direct mention of death, and many and graceful as were the euphemisms they employed, still the Scriptural expression of falling asleep is scarcely known to them. The reader will recall the *κοιμησάτο χαλεόν ύπνον* of Homer, but we scarcely remember another instance. Yet it is frequent in the

Old Testament as well as in the New. It was a natural expression to those who were acquainted with the doctrine of the resurrection of the body, and was instantly adopted by the heathen on their conversion, as the inscriptions in the catacombs at Rome bear witness to this day. The derivative *cæmeterium* (or cemetery) was a term unknown to the classic writers.—Ed.

that, in either case, his confidence was strong ; since, if it was for death that he was appointed, he knew that then he should at once be "with the Lord." He was willing therefore even to die, and be absent from the body, that he might be present with the Lord ; or he was willing to live, since he saw that it would be for the good of the Church, and therefore for the glory of Christ. The present life and service upon earth, and the disembodied state, are set in contrast, as contemporaneous things, and he expresses confidence and satisfaction in either alternative. With this corresponds the prayer of dying Stephen, (Acts vii. 59,) "Lord Jesus, receive my spirit." This was evidently the apostolic faith, and was probably all that the apostles knew, except by special revelations—that the spirit of a believer, on its separation from the body, goes to the bosom of its Saviour. (See Rom. xiv. 9 ; 1 Thess. v. 10.)

The same idea is also conveyed in the promise made by the Lord to the dying criminal upon the cross,—*"To-day shalt thou be with me in Paradise."* And this leads us to notice other words of our blessed Lord, conveying the same assurance, viz., John viii. 51, 56 ; xi. 25, 26 : Luke xx. 33. In the first of these passages, our Lord declared to the Jews, *"If a man keep my saying, he shall never see death."* The Jews thought it presumptuous and absurd that He should speak thus, and they referred to Abraham as being dead, as were also the prophets, notwithstanding their faith and acceptance with God. Jesus said,—*"Your father Abraham rejoiced to see my day :"*—literally, rejoiced that he should see my day. He therefore was one of those who kept Christ's word. And then he added, *"And he saw it, and was glad."* He saw it, evidently in his disembodied state :* and thus it followed that he had not seen death, notwithstanding the dissolution of his body. With this the words in Luke xx. 38. precisely correspond.

The interesting words of Jesus in John xi. 25, 26, teach the same doctrine : *"I am the resurrection and the life. He that believeth in Me, though he were dead, yet shall he live : and whosoever liveth and believeth in Me shall never die."* Jesus being "the life" itself, those who are united to Him by true faith cannot really die : they have, as regards their spiritual part, passed from death unto life. (See also John v. 24.) It will perhaps occur to the mind of the reader, that another version of these words is suggested in the Collect of our Burial Service : *"Shall not die eternally."* This however is quite unidiomatic and inadmissible. It is not sanctioned by our

* Hengstenberg, however, considers *"My day to be substantially the same as Me,"* and argues that the several appearances of Christ to Abraham (Gen. xviii. 1. &c. &c.) are referred to. So too A. Clarke. Doddridge thinks that "he saw it by

faith." Other commentators, ancient and modern, differ greatly. Warburton contends for the sacrifice of Isaac wherein figuratively it was revealed. Our correspondent's view is new to us, and deserves consideration.—Ed.

translators in a marginal reading, either in this place or in chap. viii. 51, nor can it be seriously entertained as a translation of the original words. The true doctrine taught by our Lord is doubtless that which is so simply and beautifully expressed in the beginning of the previous prayer,—“Almighty God, with whom do live the spirits of them that depart hence in the Lord, and with whom the souls of the faithful, after they are delivered from the burden of the flesh, are in joy and felicity.”

From all these passages, to which others might be added, it is certain that disembodied saints are in a conscious and happy state, though they have not yet their “perfect consummation and bliss.” But a further question yet remains,—Are they cognizant of things on earth? This is a difficult and obscure point, on which we can scarcely expect to find any positive satisfaction. Passages of God’s Word may be readily pointed out, which seem strongly to imply a knowledge and an interest in human affairs on the part of departed souls: but it may be doubted whether these passages will sustain any positive theory.

We may first notice our Lord’s narrative—whether parable or not, does not appear—concerning the rich man and Lazarus, (Luke xvi. 19, to end). It can hardly be supposed that He who is “the truth” would, even in an imaginary case, lead us to false inferences, or represent things according to popular notions, which have no foundation in fact. Still it is manifestly unreasonable to take every word in this narrative in a literal sense, and it may justly be questioned how much is literal, how much figurative. There can be little doubt that it is a parable, and that we are not warranted in drawing any dogmatic conclusions from the incidents related in it, but are bound to look mainly to the moral which it teaches. We may infer the consciousness of departed souls, and the unchangeableness of their condition for good or evil; but beyond this it is not safe to speculate.

The same may be said of the souls of the martyrs, shown to John in vision, Rev. vi. 9—11. The passage is highly symbolical. The martyrs are represented as victims whose blood has been offered upon an altar; and their cry represents probably the character and circumstances of a certain period in the history of the Church. The scene witnessed at the Transfiguration has sometimes been referred to as throwing light upon the question before us, but without any foundation upon which to form general conclusions.

That remarkable passage with which St. Paul begins the twelfth chapter of the Epistle to the Hebrews, requires a more lengthened notice. We do seem to find in this place some positive evidence that the spirits of the departed are deeply interested spectators of the struggles and triumphs of believers on earth. The picture so graphically sketched by the apostle

is that of a foot race in the stadium, the competitors being surrounded by a vast assemblage of spectators, witnessing their efforts, encouraging them, and rejoicing in their success. The venerable Thomas Scott, indeed, tells us that the word translated *witnesses* will not bear the sense of lookers-on; so that the great cloud of witnesses (*μαρτύρων*) must mean, in his opinion, a vast number of those who have borne testimony, and who, being dead, yet testify to God's truth. But the classical usage of the word *μαρτυρ* does not by any means overrule the idea of a spectator (eye-witness), and we are not therefore precluded from taking it in the sense in which the whole imagery of the writer evidently presents it. Here is a beautiful picture, illustrative of the communion of Saints; and it is somewhat hard to say that this is not a positive proof of the community of interest between the saints, in their incorporeal state, and the Church below. This near connexion between the departed and the living saints is again alluded to in the same chapter (v. 23), so as to give some colour to the meaning generally put upon the opening verse. It may be so: yet the impression still rests upon a candid mind, that it is hardly safe to build a theory of so great magnitude upon a prosopopœia of this nature, which may possibly be limited in its reference to witness-bearers.

In conclusion, it may not be inappropriate to refer once more to what is said of father Abraham (John viii. 56), "He saw it, and was glad." Here a positive fact is stated, and one which may be considered to bear upon the general question with greater force than any other text. There can be no question that the patriarch, in his disembodied state, is here said, upon the authority of Him who is Truth, to have witnessed and rejoiced in the first advent of Christ. It is difficult to say how much is thus proved, or whether this declaration is to be limited to a subject which filled all heaven with wonder. It is however a comfortable text: for Abraham cannot be considered to form any exception to the normal condition of disembodied saints. What he knew all knew; and what he now knows of the progress of redeeming grace, our sainted friends know of the affairs of the Church, and of ourselves.

The reader has now seen all the principal texts which relate to this interesting subject. It must be confessed that they furnish but slender ground for the supposition, that disembodied saints are acquainted with what is done or said upon earth. To say the least, they do not amount to proof of such a theory. Taken singly, they will not sustain any positive conclusions, and the impression left on the mind by a careful review of the whole, is one of vagueness and mystery. It cannot be denied that there is a *primâ facie* inconsistency in the idea that those who rest from their labours should be cognizant of, perhaps harassed about, the vicissitudes of a

perishing distracted world, or the errors, caprices, and follies, not to speak of the sins, of those who are still in the flesh. The consciousness and the blissful peace of disembodied believers may be accounted certain; their mutual and immediate recognition is hardly less so: but beyond this all is problematical and speculative. To this recognition there will doubtless be added at the resurrection a far more perfect knowledge of earthly affairs, with a clear retrospective review of the experience of the past life. Nor is it any argument against this general recognition and retrospect, that it would be the occasion of sorrow: for the affections and the judgment will then be purged from all that is carnal and earthly. If those qualities which have here engaged our admiration be merely of an earthly character, they will then possess no charm for us. The beatified soul will not linger for an instant over a broken idol, nor will unsanctified relationships any longer enchain the heart: but every faculty will be so absorbed in adoration of the holiness, the majesty, the wisdom, and the grace of God, as to acquiesce in all His judgments, and to see only as He seeth.

Far different will be the case of those who arise only to the resurrection of damnation! He that is filthy will be filthy still. The unhallowed relationships and the carnal abominations of this life will enhance the horrors of perdition, and the intense hatred and mutual recriminations of lost souls will but aggravate their hopeless misery.

F. G. L.

CASPER'S "FOOTSTEPS OF CHRIST." *

THE "*Footsteps of Christ*" is a book which we cannot introduce to our readers in a better way than by comparing it with the "*Christ is all,*" and other such devotional works of Archdeacon Law. It has already reached a second edition in Germany, and we are glad to hear that there is every probability that a translation will soon make it accessible to the English reader. We are told that Messrs. Clark, of Edinburgh, have undertaken to publish a translation, the work of a lady some time resident in Germany, and under the editorial supervision of the English chaplain at Dresden. We desire, therefore, to bespeak the interest for this work which we think it deserves. There is no error more common than to judge an entire nation from a few natives who are thrown in our way. The Chinese are not to be blamed if they judge of England from

* *Christi Fusstapfen*: in vier Büchern, von A. Casper, Kirchenprobst und Hauptpastor in Husum. Second edition. Leipzig: Teubner. 1863.

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the manners and morals of the traders of the Hongs, or factories, along the coast. In the same way, when, thirty years ago, German was as little understood at our Universities as Greek was by theologians of the fourteenth century, and when the few specimens which came to our hands of modern German theology, the Michaelis, Ernestis, and others, were little else than our old English Deism vamped up anew, and palmed off on us as original works, the results of vast and extensive research, a suspicion of everything German came over us, which, if not wholly undeserved, is apt nevertheless to degenerate into a blind prejudice. German and English theology are, indeed, so dependent on each other, yet so diverse in their ways of working out the subject, that it is difficult to strike the balance between an undue servility on the one hand, and a stiff and insular prejudice on the other. As the Chinese are at once the most exclusive yet the most imitative people in the world, their conceited exclusiveness in one direction compensating itself by a mechanical imitation in another direction, so it may happen with us. We may bolt the door against German theology, while at the same time it steals in at the window. We may indiscriminately put it all under the ban, and the consequence will be, that it will come in upon us in other forms. *Omne ignotum pro mirabili*. Our youth will pine for it as for some forbidden fruit. Like stolen waters and the bread of deceit, German theology will be sweet, partly because its treasures are locked up in a tongue which is still High Dutch to the multitude, but principally because our older men shake their heads at it, and save the trouble of criticism by putting it all in the Index. There is a story of a Chinese sage who, to educate his son a strict and consistent misogynist, withdrew with him to a cave on the side of a high mountain. Years rolled by, the son grew up innocent of the tender passion, till one day the father allowed the son to accompany him to market to carry home a load of flour. In the distance were seen some figures, draped from head to foot, which the father hurriedly told the son not to look at, as they were she-devils. Returned home, and met at meal-time, the son's appetite failed him, his spirits were gone, and on his father inquiring the cause,—“Oh! father,” he said with a sigh, “those she-devils!”

The cure, as we are convinced, of that kind of fascination for German modes of thought and expression, is not entire restraint, but judicious indulgence. Let us see and know all that Germany has to teach us. In most cases it will be found that we go there only to encounter old truths and old errors in a new dress—that the chief charm has been novelty, and that when this sense of strangeness has worn off, and the language is no longer the barrier it once was, we are, as to our stock of

original ideas, much as we were before we began our study of German. We shall find the same controversies there as here. The same tendencies to ritualism on the one hand, and to rationalism on the other, as with ourselves. The same attacks are met by the same defences. In one or two points we shall find their scholarship greatly ahead of ours; in Hebrew and its cognate dialects we shall sit at their feet, and confess that we have no linguistic school at our universities like that of Halle, Erlangen, and Berlin. But in other respects we shall not have to yield the palm to them. Our patristic scholarship is to the full as extensive. In Greek we do not come behind them, while the power of writing lucid narrative prose, and of summing up the facts of Church history in a clear if not exhaustive style, we are very much in advance of them. We do not know where we should look in Germany for the rivals in this of the late Professor Blunt, Canon Robertson, and others. In this narrative power of handling Church history we are very much in advance of Germans, and they generally concede our superiority in this.

Thus the general experience of those who with a sound and well-balanced mind have taken to the study of German theology is, that we are at first delighted, then somewhat disenchanted, and finally settle down to the common-sense verdict in which Lord Clarendon embodied his report on our public schools in his speech in the House of Lords:—

"Sunt bona, sunt quaedam mala,
Sunt mediocria plura."

In these days of translations, moreover, when every Israelite goes down to sharpen his axe and his coulter at some Philistine smithy, it is important to see what is the complexion which English theology gets from this increased intercourse with German. Translations abound on all sides. Miss Winkworth and Miss Rowan have familiarized us with some of the better forms of German poetry; and some prose specimens, chiefly taken, however, from the Mystical school. The Clarks of Edinburgh have thrown open to us nearly the whole of the orthodox school of modern German divines. Hengstenberg, Hagenbach, Neander and Stier are names now as familiar with us as in Germany. Mr. Strahan has published the *Pastoral Experiences* of Dr. Buchsel of Berlin, and an excellent course of Apologetic Lectures delivered in Basel by Auberlin, Gess, and others. The Rev. W. Flemyng Stevenson, of Dublin, in his excellent little volume called *Praying and Working*, has introduced us to some names of Christian writers in Germany whom we shall not soon forget—Fliedner of Kaiserwerth, and Harms of Hanover, and others. There is no lack thus in the data on

which we are to form a judgment of what Germany is doing in the very highest realm of thought. But flooded as we are with translations of German apologetics, commentaries, and criticism of the old and now worn out controversy with Rationalism, we are comparative strangers to the best devotional reading of Germany. The sermons of Hofacher and Besser, Harlecs and Luthardt, so widely read in Germany, might be translated with advantage. We were glad to see that Besser's *Life of St. Paul* has been translated by a missionary of the Church Missionary Society. Krummacher's name is so widely known that it needs no recommendation from us. But there are others of the Elberfeld school quite as deserving of an English dress. Kohlbrugge is the model of a devout practical commentator. And there are other names which, writing as we do at present without access to German sources, we cannot here particularize.

But the "Footsteps of Christ" is the one which recommends itself to our mind as best deserving of a condensed translation. The edition before us runs to 820 octavo pages, and contains a great deal of gold that we could bear to see beaten out not quite so thin. We should regret to see the translator of Casper's work repeating the mistakes which disappointed the English reader with Clark's translation of Stier's *Reden Jesu*. The eight volumes octavo, to which that excellent book expanded in the English translation, wore out our interest and smothered our curiosity beneath a mass of undigested reading. Like "Owen on the Hebrews," we go for a suggestion, and are exhausted by an exercitation. We want a cup of water, and a river, deep and turbid as the Aufidus, threatens to drown us.

If the translator of Casper will take a timely warning, and remember the gnome of Hesiod, that the half is more than the whole, we may congratulate the English reader on the prospect of a perusal of one of the most suggestive books of devotional reading which we are acquainted with.

As it is written in a terse epigrammatic style, like the *Pensées* of Pascal, or *La Bruyère*, there are all the greater facilities for a condensed translation. The following extracts will give a specimen of the style and subject matter:—

"It (the woman's seed) shall bruise thy head, and thou shalt bruise its heel. Gen. iii. 15. This promise fastens the deadly poison of the serpent on the Redeemer of sinners. His birth points on to His death: His coming into the world, to the mode of His departure from the world.

"The old serpent dealt the deadly blow at the heel of the Redeemer of Golgotha. That blow pierced through His entire foot. The iron nails bound His feet to the Cross. The promise thus points us on from the cradle to the cross, from Bethlehem to Golgotha.

"That deadly serpent with his deadly poison was himself put to

death on Golgotha. The sufferings of Jesus, from His birth up to His death on the Cross, did not slay that serpent, or take away his deadly sting. We have proof that the serpent lived even after the birth of Jesus. The serpent could inject poisonous thoughts into the heart of the traitor Judas Iscariot, even at the very end of the life of Christ on earth. That serpent could lead on the high priests and scribes to accuse the Saviour falsely. Thus he put Jesus to death. It was only by His death on the Cross, by His sufferings there, that the old serpent was slain.

"The promise says that Christ is born to die for us. 'Yea, a sword shall pierce through thine own soul,' is the word spoken to Mary in the Temple. (Luke ii. 36.) Simeon here saw the fulfilment of the prophecy concerning the suffering Messiah. He took Jesus up in his arms. But in spite of the joy which he felt about the birth of Christ, yet he could not keep silence about that sorrowful saying of a sword that was to pierce through the soul of Mary. The sword pierced through her heart when the Saviour was numbered among the transgressors, and died the death of a malefactor. Forty days after the birth of Jesus, Simeon's prophecy carries us back to the first prophecy of all. He points us to Golgotha. Simeon's prophetic joy at the birth, and prophetic sorrow for His death, are thus mixed together. Golgotha is the place to which Bethlehem brings its offering. The accursed tree of the cross stands beside the manger, as the finger-post by which we track the way to the life of Jesus. Christ Himself confirmed the word, that He was born to die for us.

"That which the Saviour taught His disciples concerning the end of His life, that His disciples also taught their followers.

"The Epistle of Barnabas (v. 12) says the same thing, 'Since the Lord was to appear in the flesh, to suffer for us, His sufferings were already foretold in prophecy.' And again, 'Now is the Lord come in the flesh, in order that He might take on Himself the whole burden of the sin of those who had persecuted and slain His prophets.'

"The Apostles' and Nicene Creed speak in the same way of the sufferings of Christ.

"The old Church Father Jerome, in a devotional book which is little known, has supposed the following dialogue at the cradle of Jesus:—

"'I must give thee somewhat, O dear child! I will give thee all my gold.'

"But the child Jesus answers, 'Heaven and earth is mine; I need none of thy gold. Give it to the poor, and I will receive it of thee as much as if it were given to myself.'

"Jerome replies, 'That I will readily do, O holy child Jesus; but I must still offer something to thyself.'

"To this Jesus replies, 'Since thou art so willing to offer something, I will tell thee what thou shalt offer me. Offer me thy sins, thine evil conscience, and thy condemnation.'

"Jerome.—'What wilt thou do with them?'

"Jesus.—'I will take them on my shoulder. That shall be my glorious work—to bear away thy sins, to give peace to thine accusing conscience, and to take away thy sense of condemnation.'

"Oh, may we all obediently take this gracious word, and lay it to

heart, as Jerome did. He then began to weep bitterly, and said, 'Oh, holy child, how you have stirred my heart! I thought you desired only what was good, and now you have demanded all the evil that was in my heart. Take, then, that which is mine, and give me that which is thine, that thereby I may obtain eternal life.'

"In the same spirit, the old Church Father Ambrose sang, 'Thou art the King of Glory, O Christ! Thou art the Everlasting Son of the Father! When Thou tookest upon Thee to deliver man, Thou didst not abhor the Virgin's womb.'

"The Church Father St. Augustine sought in vain, in the writings of the wise ones of this world, after the one great way of salvation. He thus expresses himself,—'I never could read there that the Eternal Word humbled Himself to the condition of a servant, and was obedient unto death, even the death of the cross; that He died for the ungodly, and that God spared not His own Son, but freely gave Him for us all.'

"Anselm, the great Church teacher, said that it was certain that the substitution and satisfaction for the redemption of man could only be done through something that was greater than everything else but God only, and that he who could offer that satisfaction must be greater than any one else but God. What is this but to imply, that God Himself has become man in order to offer this substitution and satisfaction.

"Luther, in a Christmas-day sermon, said that Christ for this reason became our brother, that He might deliver us from sin and eternal death. It would ill agree with the Lord's purpose, in being born for us in poverty and misery, and dying for us on the cross, that we should sit down contented in indolent peace.

"So the Augsburg Confession teaches that God the Son became man, that He might be an 'offering, not only for original sin, but also for all actual sins, and should appease the wrath of God.'

"Our spiritual birthday is also our spiritual deathday. So inseparable are the two, that together they make one day. They are as inseparable as the promise of Jesus' atoning death is from the promise of His birth—as inseparable as the end for which He was born is from that birth itself.

"The life of Christ lies between His birth and His death. Whoever thinks that He is born again by contemplating the babe in Bethlehem, will have to learn that he has to pass through an entire life before he comes to the death of the old Adam in him. The death of the old Adam lies before him. Let him not deceive himself. To meditate on the birth of the Saviour does not give life. It is only the Saviour sacrificed for sins that gives life. Whoever has this life, he beholds the Babe in the cradle in a right point of view. He only can truly enjoy the born Saviour who through His death has partaken of spiritual life, of union with God, and of true faith unto repentance.

"As the manger was the Saviour's place of birth, so the cross is mine. Did I not believe that the Saviour was born for me, then should I not be born again. Without Good Friday there could be no Christmas-day. All the Christmas-days of my life could not deliver me from the power of death. But one Good Friday is able to do this. What the manger cannot do, that the cross can.

"The footsteps of Christ lead us beyond time up to eternity. They lead us from Bethlehem, and the Virgin's breast on which Jesus lay, up to heaven and that bosom of the Father on which the only begotten of the Father lay from all eternity.

"In the Lamb of God, preordained as such from all eternity, the righteousness and peace of God kiss each other.

"This kiss of God is the blessedness of God. This kiss is the counsel of God. This kiss is the Lamb of God Himself."

As a book of devotional reading is not to be gone through at a sitting, we think we have given extracts enough for a morning's study of Casper's "*Footsteps of Christ*." We shall miss in it that doctrinal precision which is a tradition with us from the days of the Puritans. Some expressions will seem mystical, and others extravagant. We think, on the whole, that it is safest to leave German teachers to reach the minds of their countrymen in their own way, and to follow the same course for ourselves. The differences between the English and German mind lie deeper than any of mere language. We may be thankful for any helps we may get from them by the way; but we must take our own independent course, and leave them to do the same. But we are not therefore to forget that "there are, it may be, so many kinds of voices in the world, and none of them is without signification." With differences of tongue there are also differences of modes of thought, which put a barrier between us and Germany not easily passed. Their faults are not ours, nor ours theirs. Our strong points are also contracted. We have thus to give and forgive much of each other. We can only exchange our intellectual and spiritual wealth with caution, and under many drawbacks; for, to all intents and purposes, our cast of mind is more French than German, more logical than intuitional, more discursive than subjective. These contrasts follow us into theology, and are most strikingly seen in the popular devotional writings of the two countries. Still, as the Germans are making the well-meant effort to popularize such writers as Ryle and Spurgeon and Cumming, in the shape of translations issued by the Tract Societies of Bremen, Basle, and elsewhere, we should at least meet them in the same spirit, and extend the same courtesy to the better class of German devotional writers, of which the Lutheran Prevost of Husum, Pfarrer Casper's, is a favourable specimen.

THE ITALIAN LAKES AND PENNINE VALLEYS.

THERE is no reason why a Christian Observer should not be a lover of beautiful scenery. On the contrary, if he has a natural love for the picturesque, he carries about with him, in addition to that taste, a sense of the goodness, wisdom, and

power of his heavenly Father, which must needs throw its own charming lights and tints on all which he beholds. He is not only delighting in marvellous combinations of form and colour, of softness and grandeur, but in the works of God. His thought is, "These are thy glorious works!"—it accompanies him wherever he goes, and he feels it in its greatest intensity when his perception of the beauty of a scene is most vivid.

To many who are keenly alive to this source of pleasure, the Alps and their surrounding regions are eminently attractive. But there is a fashion in touring, a readiness to follow certain prescribed lines of travel, which, while crowding the hotels in certain parts to overflowing, leaves other and perhaps finer districts to be enjoyed by occasional and more independent travellers.

Without trespassing into the province of Murray's "Hand-book," or Ball's "Alpine Guide," (both excellent and instructive helps and companions,) we desire to conduct a little party of travellers on a tour into scenes known indeed to many, and admired by all who have traversed them; but visited only by units, in comparison with the hundreds who have enjoyed the glorious views of Chamounix, and of the Bernese Oberland.

We must begin with the suggestion of a few preliminary arrangements which will be found more or less essential to the success and happiness of the travellers. Should the party consist of one family, there will be a natural director of its movements; otherwise, it is important that there should be both a similarity of tastes, and a willingness to recognize one person as the leader. Divided counsels and conflicting preferences may mar the pleasantest scheme. With regard to the number, it may be assumed that two can travel comfortably together in Switzerland, availing themselves of one-horse carriages. Over any of the great passes they will betake themselves to a diligence, and thereby lose much of the enjoyment of the scenery. A party of four or five can either adapt themselves to two of the country carriages on bye-ways, or fill one large carriage on the great roads; but generally, if there are five, one must be an outside passenger, delightful in fine weather, though somewhat inconvenient in a thunder storm. A larger party than four or five is liable to difficulties in respect of conveyances and accommodation at hotels, in the height of the travelling season.

Thought must also be given to the not insignificant subject of dress. The luggage must be light,—a moderate portmanteau, trunk, or bag, for each person, and little more. The gentleman's clothes should be woollen and light, and so made as to meet the varieties of temperature, by being worn, when desirable, one over another.

There ought to be a plan, a time-table of the whole tour, elastic enough to admit of alterations, but settled after inquiry

and reading, with reference to the objects to be seen, and the strength of the party. The place where the Sundays may be most satisfactorily spent should also be decided upon beforehand.

The part of the year when the tour is to be made is worthy of consideration. There are many places of resort in Switzerland in which every bed has been taken each day before sunset, in August and September. An earlier start may save the traveller from many disappointments and much discomfort, without any sacrifice of the enjoyment of the scenery. For some tours, an earlier or a later period than the above months is preferable; as, for the Italian lakes, April, May, June, or October. The tour now to be sketched was made between June 5th and July 14th in the present year, and the weather was all that a traveller could desire. There is an advantage in selecting the spring season, or beginning of summer, because then the flowers are more abundant and beautiful on the mountains.

Having made these preliminary suggestions, we are at the service of our party. We presume that due inquiry has been made as to the cost, in order to provide against unnecessary disappointment. The line of travel has been marked out, the day of departure and of return have been fixed, so far as is consistent with a submissive recollection that we know not what shall be on the morrow: the baggage is light, including all that is likely to be wanted, and nothing more: the travellers are four or five in number; they set out on a Monday morning; cross the channel at night by Southampton or Newhaven, if they study economy; spend two days in Paris, (not days of repose,) and on Thursday take the night train for Neufchatel, a journey of thirteen hours and forty minutes. It is cool and pleasant to travel by night; and nothing is lost, for the country is tame and uninteresting. Morning dawns; and after having been refreshed by some excellent coffee at Dol, we are rising progressively to the crest of the Jura, having a wide expanse of diversified and fertile scenery below us; we shoot on to Pontarlier, and the grandeur increases; soon we are in Switzerland; and what a scene lies before us on a brilliant day!—to the south, in the distant horizon, behold Mont Blanc!—before us, westward, the whole Bernese chain and its numerous heights, bearing names of renown, amongst them most famous the Jungfrau. To those who are here for the first time, or perhaps for the twentieth, this is an hour of intense enjoyment. We arrive at Neufchatel, and we bask and dine by the green waters of its lake; thence on to Berne the picturesque, in time for the sunset, and there we spend our first night in Switzerland; next day to Lausanne, and by the steamer to Villeneuve, and an evening visit to the castle of Chillon. It is Saturday night; we are ready to welcome the bodily rest of Sunday, and are glad to meet with brethren, and to join them.

in common prayer. On Monday we sleep at Brieg. Travellers who are ending their tour complain of the monotony of the valley of the Rhone; but when all is fresh and new, there is many a snowy peak and grand grey crag to give pleasure to watching eyes. But after Brieg the Simplon! On a day when the air is cool, and the sun warm, and the sky of the deepest blue, and clouds nowhere to be seen, no not on the mountain tops, what an ever-changing variety of beauty does that pass disclose to the traveller! As the carriage proceeds at a foot-pace for hours, you often alight, and your hands are filled with flowers and ferns, the former especially distinguished for the perfectness of their colours. But we must not linger amongst these pines and rhododendrons and gentians, nor attempt to describe the grand slopes of snow which stretch down to our road, nor yet yonder serrated mountains of the Bernese Oberland. A memorable day ends at Domo Dossola. The next takes us to the Lago Maggiore, and the new and comfortable hotel at Stresa. Lugano; Bellagio on the lake of Como; these scenes cannot be worthily described by an epithet, and we have not a page to spare, in which to do them justice. Nor need we attempt what so many have succeeded in doing with pen and pencil before us. On Saturday night we are rattling through the streets of Milan, where we also spend our second Sunday. Now what have we done in thirteen days? To say nothing of Paris, we have seen two singularly beautiful mountain passes; picturesque villages and chalets innumerable; some of the grandest mountain ranges; the towns of Neufchatel, Berne, Lausanne, and quaint Sion; rivers, torrents, waterfalls, three lakes in Switzerland, and three in Italy; trellised vineyards, the pomegranate, oleander, olive, catalpa, magnolia, and other denizens of hot climates, growing in luxuriance; pine forests, forests of chestnut, and mountain sides coloured with rhododendron; and then in Italy the campaniles, (and with what delicious chimes do they charm our ears!) the curious and pretty villages and country towns; and now this sparkling, dazzling, snow-white marble cathedral!

But Sunday at Milan! The shops are open. The population is all astir. We hear that this is the grand day for equipages and promenades on the Corso. Carriages are in full exercise all the day long. Happily, we are in a quiet street; and happily the liberality of the king of Italy has appropriated to the use of the English a part of a church which had been desecrated for years. It is neatly fitted up; and the service is devoutly conducted by the esteemed resident chaplain twice on each Lord's day. The rest is welcome. Thank God that He has given us His Sabbaths, and His word to teach us! Our hearts must needs add our grateful acknowledgment of the providence by which we still have, what the Romanists have

lost, a liturgy in our own tongue; and that we may now meet together in Italy as we could not do in Spain. Monday dawns, and soon after six we are standing near the south-west angle of the Duomo, contemplating its fretwork, and pinnacles, and statues, as they stand cut in such perfectness against the deep blue sky. Soon we are pacing its marble roof, now admiring the details of sculptured workmanship,—now learning the names of the snowy points which constitute the line of the northern horizon. There stands the great pyramid of the Matterhorn, raised at this time to a new and awful pre-eminence by the deadly fall of travellers and guides over its vertical precipices. In another direction stretches out the range of the Apennines.

The interior of the cathedral of Milan, how beautiful! The height, the general tone of its colour, the east windows, and some (not all) of the other painted windows, the double aisles, the pillars with their original but finely conceived capitals of canopied statues, all give to it a character of its own. Is there in the world a sacred edifice that rivals it in beauty, spite of all its architectural imperfections? But oh, that Church of Rome! Observe the priest at that altar performing his daily burthensome task of saying a mass, he and the acolyte alone. He hastens through the form with heartless rapidity. The various attitudes into which he throws himself, are all prescribed, not natural expressions of emotion. See, he is looking into the rubric to ascertain what next he is to do with his hands, and at what angle he is to stand. None are praying with him. That aged woman, crouching by the pillar, is following the distinct devotional forms of her own little book.

Walk round; there is much to be seen that is beautiful and interesting, much that is painful and repulsive. Stop and look at those black marble tablets beneath the east window. They tell what sacred treasures you may see, and there is a man to show them, if you pay the appointed fee. Read what they are. There are relics of the manger in which the infant Jesus was laid,—of the cloth in which Mary his mother wrapped the newborn babe, of the towel with which Jesus washed His disciples' feet, of the pillar to which He was bound when He was scourged, of the purple robe, of the crown of thorns (four thorns are shown), of the reed with which He was smitten, and of that on which the sponge full of vinegar was raised to His lips, of the cross, the spear, the nails, and the sponge, of His woven garment, even of His precious blood, of the linen in which His body was wrapped for burial, and of the sepulchre in which it was laid. There are relics of the virgin's clothing and tomb. There are relics of Abraham, Daniel, Jonah, and Zechariah; two teeth of Elisha; part of the rod of Moses; and some hairs of the beard of Zacharias, the father of John the Baptist. There

are bones of many of the Apostles and Evangelists, and many "anonymous relics," only of course all sacred ; a frightful assemblage of lying wonders.

After this we drive to the churches of most note in the city, those of St. Alexander, St. Lawrence, St. Victor, St. Ambrose, (very curious and interesting,) and St. Maurice ; we seek and admire Leonardo da Vinci's renowned picture of the Last Supper, but we lament its mutilation and decay ; we visit the noble Arca de la Pace, surmounted by its spirited horses in bronze ; and we are finally deposited at the Brera, a collection of pictures of the highest order, and not incumbered, as so many galleries are, with quantities of rubbish. Luini, whom probably we admired at Lugano, here becomes a great name in our estimation, in oil and in fresco. But if we are fond of pictures, we have a treat wherever we turn ; and having finished the tour of the ten or twelve rooms without fatigue, in two or three hours, we leave that ancient palace with the most pleasant recollections of the power of art to afford us delight. We may end the day with a drive on the Corso ; but not an equipage is there, the fashionable evening for crowding that broad boulevard is that of the Lord's day.

But now farewell to Milan, and away to the mountains. To Chivasso, a railway journey of two hours and a half ; and after a long delay, by rail to Ivrea, another hour ; thence a day and a half's journey by the lovely valley of Aosta, and through the old city of that name, with its Roman arch and walls, and other portions of enduring masonry, to Courmayeur, where awaits us a magnificent ending of a journey full of variety, beauty, and interest. At Courmayeur, the Hotel Royal is so comfortable and clean, the landlord (Bertolini) and his wife so attentive, the scenery from our balcony so delightful, and the excursions to be made so inviting, that here we are glad to remain for at least four or five days.

In these mountain expeditions there are routes for the great climbers, and there are routes for everybody ; only by everybody we do not mean the delicate and feeble, but persons who, stimulated by fine air and delightful scenery, can walk or ride for five or more hours in a day, and rejoice to lie down amidst alpine flowers, to satisfy a healthy appetite with a luncheon of bread and cheese and hard-boiled eggs. Even for many who are unequal to so much fatigue, there is the never-failing chaise-à-porteur, which may cost, everything included, some twenty-four shillings for a day, a price not too great to pay occasionally for the pleasure it will purchase. Here we are, then, at Courmayeur, on a Wednesday evening. Let our plan be an excursion to-morrow ; rest, and the enjoyment of this sweet scene, and sketching, on Friday ; and an excursion again on Saturday. On Monday we must tear our-

selves away. The Cramont towers above us, and seems, perhaps, too great for our powers—at least, until we have tested them further. Let us go and visit a glacier. So we start for the Brenva; but when we have looked down upon it from the mountain road, we find a magnet of attraction in the scenes beyond; and at length we are content with nothing less than reaching, and passing, the Lac de Combal, and enjoying our simple repast in the upper region of the grand Allée Blanche. Our resting-place is exactly opposite the fine glacier which bears the name of the valley into which it descends. For particulars, Murray and Ball, and the maps, must be consulted; but let us say that this excursion, if occasionally somewhat fatiguing, has kept us everywhere in the presence of the sublime and the beautiful, at the base of Mont Blanc, whose precipices on the Italian side spring up almost vertically into the sky, and yet not in monotonous uniformity, but rather as a group of mountains and pinnacles, varying in height and colour and form, some bare, some sprinkled with snow, many of them intersected by glaciers, and each with a distinctive character and a separate name. Beneath our feet are often flowers in abundance; our way is now through the forest, now across meadows, as yet unmown, and coloured by the sanfoin and other blossoms; and once we pass through a small hamlet of chalets, picturesque enough, but of questionable comfort. Beside us, through most of the way, is a rushing torrent, hurrying away the waters of many a glacier to swell the swift current of the Dora Baltea. Let everyone who visits Courmayeur make this excursion, whether on horse, or afoot, or by chaise-à-porteur.

The resting-day at Courmayeur will prove only too short. To read, to write, and to receive letters, to sketch, to bask in such a scene, is full of refreshment and pleasure. Before us, seemingly close upon us, are the heights of the Cramont and the Mont Chétif; turning a little, we have before us the snows of Mont Blanc; our eye dwells on the glacier du Géant, and the Col du Géant, and the Dent du Géant; and as we look up to that stupendous mass of ice and snow and rock, ever and anon through the live-long day, and watch it under varying conditions of light and shade, we are forming an acquaintance with the Giant, a friendship which will not be forgotten.

Our Saturday shall be devoted to the Mont de la Saxe, one of the most delightful excursions in the Alps for those who content themselves with what strong men characterize as “very easy” expeditions.

Of course we start early. Everything depends on our availing ourselves as much as possible of the fresh cool morning air. We must be ready at five, or half-past five, or at the latest at six.

The views on this ascent are charming every inch of the way; fertility and verdure are seen in the closest proximity to ice and sterility. There is one part of the ascent which, if traversed in the spring, will never be forgotten. Our path traverses a precipitous mountain side. The whole slope is clothed with luxuriant rhododendron, now covered with bloom. The slanting rays of the sun reach our eyes through these rosy blossoms; or we look down, and how beautifully is the brightest green mingled with pink toned into crimson! The top of the Mont de la Saxe is a plain, where we tether the mule, lie down to enjoy the most exquisite scenery, or wander away in pursuit of flowers, (not abundant, however, or rare,) or of water, which we find melting for our use out of a patch of snow. But look around. There stands before us the whole range of Mont Blanc—stretching from above the Col de la Seigne, at its western extremity, to the valley which leads up from Martigny to the Great St. Bernard, the whole thirty miles of the great monarch of the Alps. This is the grand feature of the view. But there are lovely valleys all round, and a complete mountain panorama, in which there are some fine and striking points, such as the Grevola and Rutor, in the Cogne range, and Mont Favre, filling up the interval in our circle of view between the Cogne and Mont Blanc.

On Sunday, in such a place as Courmayeur, you are likely to fall in with persons with whom you will rejoice to have become acquainted; but if you are left to yourselves, there is much external aid to raise you heavenward, if you have it in your heart to delight in the day which the Lord has blessed and hallowed, and in the Lord Himself.

A fortnight, three weeks, a month, at Courmayeur—in what great enjoyment might they not be spent! But we must hurry our party away. Assuming the command of time and strength, we should descend the valley of Aosta to St. Vincent, and there take to the mountains, with the aid of mules. More charming ninety miles would perhaps nowhere be found than in what the guide-books call the “lower passes” of the Monte Rosa district. But that is not the route by which we conduct our travellers. They continue their journey down the beautiful valley of Aosta, to the railroad at Ivrea, and by Chivasso to Novara, one of the battle-fields in the recent war, and thence by rail to Gozzano, and by an hour’s drive to Orta, which we reach on Tuesday night. We wake in the early morning on the market-day; the hum below us soon after daybreak tells of gathered crowds; and when we look out, the scene is made highly picturesque by the peasants’ costumes and their bright umbrellas. That clear green water, that island with its campanile, white houses, and terraced gardens, those mountains resting their feet in the placid lake—who ever looked

upon them without pleasure? Close to the town there is a beautiful garden, radiant with flowers, and full of the choicest shrubs and trees, (perchance we look into a nightingale's nest, and see the yellow beaks of the little brood stretched wide open for an expected feast); and after winding our way to the upper gate, we find ourselves at the entrance of the Monte Sacro. Again, for full particulars, we must refer to the guide-books; yet we must also add a few words of our own, for the information of some of our readers.

A Monte Sacro is a hill set apart for certain religious uses, of which, happily, we have no experience here in England. This one is an eminence strikingly situated, almost a peninsula, from the sides of which you look down through wood and vineyard into the sparkling lake. The hill is adorned with choice trees, which are happy in their soil and climate; the mimosa, covered in the early summer with a feathery bloom, especially claims our admiration. Dropped here and there, and so that we scarcely know why one spot was selected rather than any other, are twenty-one plain and homely buildings, most of them with a portico, and either having the front open but barred, or doors provided with gratings. These buildings are called chapels. In two or three of them there are altars, decked with poor and faded finery. But the use to which they are all dedicated is that of sheltering some illustrations in terra cotta of the life of St. Francis of Assisi. His story is that, like our blessed Lord, he was born in a stable and laid in a manger, and that in his after history there was a continual correspondence between his life and the life of Christ. The scenes in which this resemblance has been traced are represented by figures rather larger than life, the work of various artists, skilful and unskilful, the want of space for a fuller display being supplied by fresco paintings on the walls, giving greater completeness to the representations. At Varallo, distant by a few hours, the life of our blessed Lord Himself is represented after the same manner in no less than fifty chapels.

A row on the lovely lake concludes the day; and next morning we enter upon the best days of a tour which has already been so rich in every variety of the choicest scenery. Our destination is only an easy day's journey from the great Simplon road; but we find, in the comfortable hotel to which we are going, near a scene which Mr. Ball describes (p. 320) as "probably unequalled in the world," that its thirty beds are rarely all occupied, and that often many weeks of fine weather have passed before visitors begin to appear. We make our way to that centre of marvellous beauty. A carriage and pair will take us by Vogogna, on the Simplon road, into the valley of Anzasca, a valley everywhere narrow, and sometimes contracted into a gorge, beautiful for its chestnut forests and

leaping waterfalls, its trellised vines, and picturesque villages, and the great snowy Monte Rosa at its further extremity. In six hours from Orta, five from Stresa, or four from Domo Dossola, the traveller rests at Ponte Grande; or, in less than an hour more, in the homelier inn at Ceppo Morelli. Ponte Grande is most picturesquely situated at the junction of two wooded valleys. We find there clean accommodation and reasonable charges. But if we prefer it, we may proceed to our journey's end on foot or on muleback, our luggage carried by civil and pleasant porters (ask for Franz Salbette and Pietro Bassetti), in from three hours to three hours and a half—an easy walk, perfectly beautiful throughout. It ends at the Hotel du Mont Moro, Macugnaga, a house surrounded by smiling cornfields, skirted by a grove of chestnuts and oaks, and these guarded by the most magnificent and beautiful mountains that any alpine valley can boast. We are 4369 feet above the level of the sea. To the south, close upon us, are the steep slopes of the Pizzo Bianco, clothed with pine forests down to the torrent of the Anza. To the west, less than three miles distant as the crow flies, (a grand scene for contemplation from morning to night, and by moonlight also afterwards,) is the whole of the great Monte Rosa, with its five renowned peaks, its intervening plains of snow, and its grandly-massed broken precipices, nearly 10,000 feet above the spot where we are standing. The Weiss Thor, the Filar Alp, and the Cima de Jazi (12,527 feet), complete the gigantic amphitheatre, conducting our eyes northwards to the rugged crags which conceal from us the pass of Monte Moro. We expected, perhaps, to lodge in a dreary place, and to have to submit to privations as a counterpoise to our enjoyment. But Gaspard Delmonte does more than is necessary to make us perfectly comfortable. The home scene is genial and fertile, and the foreground a beautiful contrast to the magnificent solitudes which encompass it about.

The excursions from Macugnaga are numerous; but there are two which must not be omitted. The one is by the Belvedere, and over the great glacier of Macugnaga; the other to the top of the pass of Monte Moro (9390 feet). Each requires a day, and is attended with considerable fatigue; but the convenient chaise-à-porteur may be called into requisition. There is a first-rate guide, Battiste, at the hotel; and a firm and skilful hand is always ready, from some of the bearers, or the porter of our provisions, to help us in difficult places. The two excursions of which we have spoken are of totally different character. By the one we are taken into the closest proximity to the stupendous precipices of the chain, walking beneath them; by the other we are conducted to an eminence (by a steep climb of full four hours), to a point, the Joderhorn

from which we look into the same scene from a height of more than 5000 feet above Macugnaga, but also commanding a grand panorama, bounded to the north by the Bernese Oberland, and to the west by the distant snows of the Grisons.

How easy to linger in this enchanting scenery, and to admire and wonder at the infinite variety of beauty with which the great Creator has adorned the world. We might spend weeks there in the enjoyment of the purest pleasure, only to be interrupted by the occurrence of bad weather; and yet, even then, if we have resources, we are only preparing to hail with more delight the returning sun, meanwhile finding refreshment and health in the reviving and bracing air of the mountains.

But whatever the reader may see fit to do, our pen must run on, even though it has given him so imperfect an idea of the pleasure which lies before him. It is no punishment to spend a few hours in the descent of the same charming valley of the Anza. Our fourth Sunday was passed at Macugnaga. We enjoyed our beautiful Liturgy, and God's most holy Word; and did we not find pleasure in remembering that many of the Psalms were evidently written within sight of mountain scenery? But now we have begun our homeward journey. We are spending some hours of our last day at Stresa, now visited a second time, with the soft, sunny, dreamy scenery of the Lago Maggiore before us. Again our ears are soothed and pleased by the sweet notes of those mid-day chimes, campanile responding to campanile, from island to shore, and back from our village to the island. They are the bells of churches; and as we sit on this balcony in front of our windows, musing on the lovely view, we may turn our thoughts, not however for the first time, to the state of religion in Italy.

"Vigilantius," in the *Christian Observer*, has given us much to reflect upon. Other writers and speakers have helped us further to appreciate the movement which is discernible in the Italian mind; and we have not travelled so many days in this land, with our eyes and ears open, and with favoured opportunities of conversing with fellow-countrymen who have spent years in Italy, and who are noting with interest the signs of the times, amongst priests and people, without having received some further ideas of the state and prospects of Christianity where all was but recently stagnation, but where now there is at least discontentment with the present order of things in the Church, and a growing desire for some reformation.

Everywhere through our travels we meet with outward traces of that form of Christianity which has so long enslaved the Italian mind, and which has manifested such fierce intolerance towards a purer faith. The very dwelling-houses of the people, as well as the outer walls of the churches, are painted with frescoes

(some of them creditable works of art), representing the Madonna or a saint, and sometimes Christ. At Milan there are gorgeous services. Women attend them in considerable numbers, and appear to be devout. In the valleys which we have visited, where also Christianity has a visible existence wrought by the handiwork of artists, the peasant men gather round the church doors at the time of the mass, and gossip, and step in and out of the churches; the women in great numbers attend the services, with an evident earnestness of purpose; and the priest appears to preach as if there were something which he really wished to declare for the good of his flock. But, taking Italy generally, we are told that amongst the men faith is dead. The few who have discernment to mourn over the absence of religious feeling all over the land, declare that it is a mistake in terms to talk of a revival amongst them, for that there is not even an ember to be revived. One said that there is less of heart-religion amongst his countrymen than is to be found in India amongst the disciples of Buddha. Unbelief is also known to be prevalent amongst the priests. They confess it where they can do so without fear of being denounced.

Where religion is neither openly rejected nor secretly repudiated, a strong dissatisfaction with the state of the Church is felt and avowed. Thousands of the priests have declared themselves in favour of depriving the Pope of his temporal power. Not a few of them, of the better sort, are disgusted with the prevalent corruptions, and long for reform. They have spoken out as much as they dared, and more distinctly than was consistent with their safety; for nine-tenths of the priests are entirely dependent on the bishops, and the bishops are, almost to a man, anti-reformers. The maintenance of these priests is a miserable pittance, two francs a day for the celebration of one mass, with nothing else to depend upon, as also with nothing else to do. It is little enough, as one said, to provide food, raiment, and lodging, but it is their all; and a bishop, with a stroke of his pen, may reduce the whole of his clergy, excepting the curés of parishes, to absolute destitution, by suspending them all. That thousands have declared themselves so freely is only a proof of the strength of the dissatisfaction which swells within their breasts.

Statesmen in Italy have taken up the subject. Baron Ricasoli introduced a measure in the last session of the Italian Parliament, having for its object to effect extensive reforms. He would make the church national, and independent of papal supremacy; provide for the appointment of bishops by the priests and people, without reference to the Pope; allow the priests to marry, and relieve them from their abject subjection to the bishops; he would give to the people liberty to search the Scriptures, and a liturgy in their own language. The measure was

received by the country with an unexpected amount of approbation, and many think that the day approaches when it will become the law. It may not be for five or six years, said a friend, but the public mind is setting in favour of some such treatment of the case of the Church, and the leading features of Ricasoli's measure are likely enough to be eventually adopted.

With this reform, infallibility would cease to be a dogma of the Italian Church; and though at present there is no general craving for a theological reform, yet the door for it would be opened; and if only the principle of vital religion should by God's grace be diffused, we may hope that an open Bible will banish the creed of Pope Pius from a purified and independent Italian Church. It is a time in which members of the Reformed Church of England cannot fail to watch the progress of events affecting religion in that country with a lively interest.

The liberation of the Italian mind from its unquestioning acquiescence in the dominance of the Church of Rome, has naturally given rise to various efforts to direct its movements. Plymouthism has gathered a few congregations. Rigid forms, priestly power, and the exaction of mental submission, have produced a reaction in minds of a certain class, preparing them to embrace a system in which there are neither forms, nor ministers of religion, nor settled doctrines. But those who know the Italians believe that this must always continue to be a small sect, liable to endless subdivisions, and not unlikely to land many in unbelief. The chief good they have done has been an extensive circulation of the Holy Scriptures.

The Vaudois are evidently engaged in a work which God is blessing. Many a disturbed mind has found amongst them the truth it longed for, and a harbour of refuge. Constrained to forsake a corrupt church, which is deeply steeped in error, it has escaped the danger and discomfort of isolation by joining a communion in which there is truth, and piety, and love. We shall not readily forget the half hour in which an opportunity was afforded to us of speaking a few words of encouragement to a peasant family which seven years before had been taught to look to Christ alone for salvation, and which, undismayed by the alienation of friends and much unkindness, had been strengthened to hold on its way by the ministrations in a little Vaudois chapel. God bless the Vaudois in their efforts to make known the truth, and to build up those whose eyes are opened, in their most holy faith! But the Vaudois pastors themselves would admit that there is nothing to encourage them to expect that all Italy will ever join them; and it must still remain a source of great interest to watch the tendencies of the national mind towards a general reformation of the Church. Cut off the Pope's supremacy, and the doctrine of infallibility, both of which tenets are undermined already, and there may be a

reformed Italian Church established throughout the nation—the church of the people.

It cannot fail to be interesting to us to know, in connection with such hopes, that the constitution and doctrine of our own Church are beginning to be understood and valued in Italy; and that the Book of Common Prayer, of which an Italian translation has been extensively circulated, has met with remarkable acceptance. Amongst the priests who are dissatisfied with the system of their own Church, some have secretly unburdened their minds to Englishmen, and in some such cases our Liturgy and Articles have taken them by surprise, and satisfied the cravings of their hearts. “I feel,” said a priest of high character and of remarkable intelligence, “I feel myself isolated in reciting our services, we have no union of hearts in prayer; such sympathy I have craved, and the thing which my soul desires I have found in the English Liturgy.”

But here we must break off, though it be in the midst of a subject more interesting than anything upon which we have touched in this paper. So we dispose of our nine remaining days by a few suggestive names of places,—Bellinzona, the St. Gothard, Lucerne (on the fifth Sunday), Basle, Paris, and home sweet home, ending a prosperous tour on the fortieth day from our departure.

“All Thy works shall praise Thee, O Lord!
And Thy saints shall bless Thee.”—(Psa. cxlv. 10.)

(Lines written on the way home.)

LIFT up your voices, O ye lofty Mountains!
Ye Avalanches, raise your solemn strains;
Swell the great chorus, Cataracts and Fountains;
Drear Precipices, sing,—Jehovah reigns!
Vast fissured Glaciers, glittering plains of snow,
Valleys all strewn with rocks, and wildly grand,
Thunder's loud echoes, Lightning's vivid glow,
And Storms impetuous,—Own your Maker's hand!
Bring, too, your gentler notes of praises due,
Green Pastures, flowery Banks, pellucid Streams,
Reflective pictured Pools, refreshing Dew,
Soft sunny Lakes, meet for a land of dreams,—
Sunlight, now gilding yonder tapering Horn,
Now studding summit-crag with rubies bright,
Or weaving rosy mantle, to adorn
Yon mountain's massive head, ere closes night,—
And you, cool silvery Moonbeams, (joy of those
Who toiled beneath the parching heat of day,)—
Which on yon headland peacefully repose,
Or sprightly on the rippling waters play;

Leader of all this wondrous nature-song,
Thou, snow-capped Monte-Rosa, thou, arise,
With all thy domes and peaks ; or thou, Mont Blanc,
Rearing thy hoary honours to the skies !

Many your voices, let your strains be one,
One joyful psalm of praise to God above,
Praise ye the mighty deeds which He hath done,
Extol His greatness ! We will sing His love !

R. B. H.

UNIVERSALISM.

An Examination of Sir William Hamilton's Philosophy. By John Stuart Mill. 8vo. London : Longman and Co. 1865.
The Gayworthys : a Tale. 2 Vols. London : S. Low and Co. 1865.

OUR readers need be under no apprehension that we are about to trouble them with a philosophical discussion. Of what is commonly termed "Philosophy," and of all its "vain deceits," we have no better opinion than had St. Paul. Human life is short, and we set a higher value on our time, than to waste it on the "never-ending, still beginning" questions which, after more than two thousand years, remain much where Plato and Aristotle left them. The science of mind differs from all other sciences in this, that it makes no progress. Twenty centuries have not yet settled even its alphabet. Not a single first principle is yet established. For thousands of years have some men believed, that the mind of man at his birth is a blank—an empty slate upon which anything may be written ; while other men have as firmly held, that mind has intuitions, fixed within it, before it comes into contact with external facts. Here is a question which lies at the very beginning ; yet, after men have been disputing about it from the days of Plato to those of Hamilton, it remains unsettled at this moment ; and one set of men fight for the one view, and another set of men for the other. Into such a useless and hopeless wrangle we certainly shall not thrust ourselves. We are sufficiently warned by the exhibitions of folly which the greatest "philosophers" of our own day have made. Mr. Masson, in his view of "Recent Philosophy" * thus describes Comte as apostrophizing his followers :—
"Leaving all other systems, come, ye choicest spirits, my speculative kinsmen, from all ends of the earth ; here we shall dwell together in unity, understanding and even reverencing the past, but regulating the present, and looking forward

* London : Macmillan. 1865.

tranquilly to that future, to which we shall have prescribed the true problem of Philosophy, Art, and Government, all in one,—the re-organization of human society, without God or king, through the systematic worship of humanity” (p. 243.) Justly does Mr. Masson observe, that it is hard for an Englishman to listen to Comte’s ravings, “without a longing to knock him down, and put him in a strait waistcoat.”

But Comte is not alone in this sort of glory. Germany has produced his more than equal, whom Mr. Masson describes as “Hegel, the terrible Hegel, the brain-benumbing Hegel, on scraps of whose doctrines modern Germany is said to have been living for forty years; but whose entire system no German soul has yet fathomed, or got round;—who himself said, ‘There is only one man living that understands me, and *he* doesn’t.’” One of this philosopher’s first principles is thus stated:—“Nowhere in heaven or in earth is there anything that contains not both these—Being, and Nothing.” Concerning this greatest of the German philosophers, we have lately been enlightened by a devoted admirer, Mr. Stirling. “Knowing Hume long ago, it has been the labour of Mr. Stirling’s life to master Kant and Hegel. He was almost beaten by Hegel, it has taken him years to work himself into a knowledge of Hegel’s system; it was like going round and round a monstrous block of flint.”†

We postpone, then, all thought of becoming “philosophers,” until some two thinkers have agreed upon an alphabet—upon a few first principles. Up to this moment, the chief characteristic of what is called “philosophy” is this,—that every man who sits down to the study of the subject, is sure to come to a different conclusion from everybody else. Mr. Masson has given us a rapid sketch of the views of about forty English philosophers of our own day, and the leading feature discernible in all is, an impossibility of agreeing with any other writer. Mansel follows Hamilton in part, and differs from him in part: Mill agrees with Comte in some things, and differs from him in other things; Maurice praises Mill, but takes care to premise that on many points he is at variance with him:—and thus, when we ask, after all, “Where are the first principles which have been, after centuries of discussion, established or universally admitted?”—“Echo answers, Where?”

Our purpose, therefore, in the following brief discussion, is quite a limited one. A single question has been raised, between Mr. Mansel and Mr. Mill, which touches something of much more importance than “philosophy.” A literary journal, the *Athenæum*, in the course of a brief review of Mr. Mill’s *Examination of Sir William Hamilton’s Philosophy*, gave the

† Masson’s Recent Philosophy, p. 281.

following extract, which naturally excited the strongest feelings of disgust among British Christians of all classes :—

“ If, instead of the ‘ glad tidings ’ that there exists a Being in whom all the excellencies which the highest human mind can conceive, exist in a degree inconceivable to us, I am informed that the world is ruled by a Being whose attributes are infinite ; but what they are, we cannot learn, nor what are the principles of his government, except that ‘ the highest human morality which we are capable of conceiving ’ does not sanction them : convince me of this, and I will bear my fate as I may. But when I am told that I must believe this, and at the same time call this being by the names which express and affirm the highest human morality, I say in plain terms that I will not. Whatever power such a being may have over me, there is one thing that he shall not do,—he shall not compel me to worship him. I will call no being good, who is not what I mean when I apply that epithet to my fellow creatures ; and if such a being can sentence me to hell for not so calling him, to hell I will go.” (p. 103.)

It is this passage, and this alone, of Mr. Mill’s volume, which we wish now to submit to a brief examination. And we feel the more disposed to do so, because, while Mr. Mill’s language has been often censured, we have never happened to see anywhere a single serious and becoming investigation of his meaning.

The *Athenæum* itself did him injustice. It made an unfair selection of a passage which, taken without the context, was liable to be misunderstood. The whole of what Mr. Mill did say should have been given thus :—

“ If, instead of the ‘ glad tidings ’ that there exists a Being in whom all the excellencies which the highest human mind can conceive, exist in a degree inconceivable to us, I am informed that the world is ruled by a being whose attributes are infinite ; but what they are we cannot learn, nor what are the principles of his government, except that ‘ the highest human morality which we are capable of conceiving ’ does not sanction them : convince me of this, and I will bear my fate as I may. But when I am told that I must believe this, and at the same time call this being by the names which express and affirm the highest human morality, I say in plain terms that I will not. Whatever power such a being may have over me, there is one thing which he shall not make me do,—he shall not compel me to worship him. I will call no being good, who is not what I mean when I apply that epithet to my fellow creatures ; and if such a being can sentence me to hell for not so calling him, to hell I will go.

“ Neither is this to set up my own limited intellect as a criterion of divine or any other wisdom. If a person is wiser and better than myself, not in some unknown and unknowable meaning of the terms, but in their known human acceptation, I am ready to believe that what this person thinks may be true, and that what he does may be right, when, but for the opinion I have of him, I should think otherwise. But this is because I believe that he and I have at bottom the same standard of truth and rule of right, and that he probably under-

stands better than I the facts of the particular case. If I thought it not improbable that his notion of right might be my notion of wrong, I should not defer to his judgment. In like manner, one who sincerely believes in an absolutely good ruler of the world, is not warranted in disbelieving any act ascribed to him, merely because the very small part of its circumstances which we can possibly know does not sufficiently justify it. But if what I am told respecting him is of a kind which no facts that can be supposed, added to my knowledge, could make me perceive to be right; if his alleged ways of dealing with the world are such as no imaginable hypothesis respecting things known to him and unknown to me, could make consistent with the goodness and wisdom which I mean when I use the terms; but one in direct contradiction to their signification: then, if the law of contradiction is a law of human thought, I cannot both believe these things, and believe that God is a good and a wise being.”*

Now, it is clear that this second paragraph, which ought, in fairness to Mr. Mill, to be read with the first, very considerably modifies it. The first looked very much like an impious defiance. It seemed to say, “Except God be shown to be exactly such a being as I shall approve, I will never worship Him. My ignorance—not His wisdom—shall be the only criterion of His title to my submission.” But the second passage, which ought never to be separated from the first, makes several large admissions; such as, that God may be “wiser and better” than man; that “He probably understands each particular case better” than we; and that “we are not warranted in disbelieving any act attributed to Him, merely because the very small part of its circumstances which we can possibly know, does not sufficiently justify it.”

These reservations and admissions seem at first sight to make the whole statement admissible (though not reverently expressed); and they account for the fact, which naturally startled many persons, that Bishop Thirlwall, and one or two other clergymen, publicly testified their approval of the passage.

And yet, after admitting all this, and freely acknowledging that, on a view of the whole passage, we cannot see that Mr. Mill is that bold rejector of God which some persons have thought him, we still find a residue of irreverent and objectionable matter. We have two observations to offer; one merely personal, as to the controversy between Mr. Mill and Mr. Mansel; the other more vital, as to the unsafe character of the position which Mr. Mill takes up. These two points we shall consider as briefly and simply as we can.

1. At the outset we must object, that Mr. Mill, who has been unfairly represented in the *Athenæum* and other journals, had given some excuse for this injustice, by himself misrepres-

sending Mr. Mansel. Here are the Oxford professor's words, and Mr. Mill's representation of them, side by side.

Mr. Mansel said :—

"We may suppose the existence in man of a special faculty of knowledge, of which God is the immediate object,—a kind of religious sense or reason, by which the Divine attributes are apprehended in their own nature: or we may maintain that the attributes of God differ from those of man in degree only, not in kind; and hence that certain mental and moral qualities, of which we are immediately conscious in ourselves, furnish at the same time a true and adequate image of the infinite perfections of God. The first of these suppositions professes to convey a knowledge of God by direct apprehension, in a manner similar to the evidence of the senses; the second professes to convey the same knowledge by a logical process, similar to the demonstrations of science. The former is the method of Mysticism, and of that Rationalism which agrees with Mysticism, in referring the knowledge of divine things to an extraordinary and abnormal process of intuition or thought. The latter is the method of the vulgar Rationalism, which regards the reason of man, in its ordinary and normal operation, as the supreme criterion of religious truth." (p. 26.)

"In this latter case, we meet with a style of criticism which reasons somewhat as follows: All the excellences, it contends, of which we are conscious in the creature, must necessarily exist in the same manner, though in a higher degree, in the Creator. God is indeed more wise, more just, more merciful than man; but for that very reason, His wisdom and justice and mercy must con-

Mr. Mill thus quotes him :—

"Mr. Mansel combats, as a heresy of his opponents, the opinion, that infinite goodness differs only in degree from finite goodness. The notion, 'that the attributes of God differ from those of man in degree only, not in kind; and hence that certain mental and moral qualities, of which we are immediately conscious in ourselves, furnish at the same time a true and adequate image of the infinite perfections of God,' he identifies with 'the vulgar Rationalism which regards the reason of man, in its ordinary and normal operation, as the supreme criterion of religious truth.'

And in characterizing the mode of arguing of this vulgar Rationalism, he declares its principles to be, that 'all the excellences of which we are conscious in the creature, must necessarily exist in the same manner, though in a higher degree in the Creator. God is indeed more wise, more just, more merciful than man; but for that very reason, His wisdom, and justice, and mercy must contain nothing

tain nothing that is incompatible with the corresponding attributes in their human character. Hence, if the certainty of man's knowledge implies the necessity of the events which he knows, the certainty of God's omniscience implies a like necessity of all things: if man's justice requires that he should punish the guilty alone, it is inconsistent with God's justice to inflict the chastisement of sin upon the innocent: if man's mercy finds its natural exercise in the free forgiveness of offences, God's mercy too must freely forgive the sins of His creatures. From the same premises it is consistently concluded that no act which would be wrong if performed by a man upon his own responsibility can be justified by the plea of a direct command from God. Abraham may not be praised for his readiness to slay his son in obedience to God's command; for the internal prohibition must always be more certain than the external precept. Joshua cannot be warranted in obeying the Divine injunction to exterminate the Canaanites; unless he would be equally warranted in destroying them of his own accord. And, as the issuing of such commands is contrary to the moral nature of God, therefore the Book which represents them as so issued is convicted of falsehood, and cannot be regarded as a Divine revelation. In this mode of reasoning, the moral or intellectual nature of man is made the rule to determine what ought to be the revealed attributes of God, and in what manner they must be exercised.

"Within certain limits both these arguments may have their value; but each is chiefly useful as a check upon the exclusive authority of the other." (pp. 28, 29.)

that is incompatible with the corresponding attributes in their human character.'

It is against this doctrine that Mr. Mansel feels called on to make an emphatic protest.

"Here, then, I take my stand," &c. &c. (p. 101.)

Thus, where Mr. Mansel does actually say of an argument, that "within certain limits it has its value," Mr. Mill represents him as saying, "against this doctrine I feel called on to make an emphatic protest." A stranger way of proceeding, on the part of an honourable man, can hardly be conceived. And when Mr. Mill, after inventing this "emphatic protest," goes on to say, "Here, then, I take my stand," we are at once reminded of one of old, who "made the giants first, and then he killed them."

2. We do not, however, mean to represent or imply, that there is no actual difference between Mr. Mill and Mr. Mansel; or that the former has merely imagined a quarrel to exist, for the purpose of showing his skill in fight. We only object to putting words into a man's mouth which he had never uttered, as we have shown that Mr. Mill has done. After all, a very serious difference does exist between the two writers, and it is to this difference that we must now come.

Mr. Mill's position is finally stated (p. 105) as follows:—

"The Divine goodness, which is said to be a different thing from human goodness, but of which the human conception of goodness is some imperfect reflexion or resemblance,—does it agree with what men call goodness in the *essence* of the quality,—in what *constitutes* it goodness? If it does, the Rationalists are right; it is not illicit to reason from the one to the other. If not, the Divine attribute, whatever else it may be, is not goodness, and ought not to be called by the name. Unless there be some human conception which agrees with it, no human name can properly be applied to it; it is simply the unknown attribute of a thing unknown; it has no existence in relation to us, we can affirm nothing of it, and owe it no worship. Such is the inevitable alternative." (p. 105.)

Now, if we say that Mr. Mill here makes human excellence or "goodness" the criterion or standard of the Divine, we may possibly be accused, by some of his admirers, of stating the case too strongly. Let us try, then, to state it more accurately. Mr. Mill seems to us to say, "There is a quality which we call goodness in men, and of which we have a real, personal knowledge. It comes into contact with us, and we know it. Now, when you speak of God's goodness, do you mean a similar quality? If you do, then you convey to the mind a certain idea. But if, instead of this, you mean another and a different quality, of which we have no experience, then the word 'goodness' conveys to our minds no idea—no meaning; and your language speaks only of 'an unknown attribute of a thing unknown.'"

On this reasoning of Mr. Mill's we have two or three observations to offer.

1. His first proposition seems to be, that there is a thing called "goodness" among men, the character of which is well

known and universally understood ; just as men know what you mean by a circle, or a square, or twice two, the moment you utter the words. But is this assumption warranted ? Surely not.

That which is thus set up, as a criterion, or fixed idea, to which a less known thing may be compared, ought to be something well known, and universally admitted, at all times and in all places. But when Mr. Mill says, "If in ascribing goodness to God I do not mean what I mean by goodness," can he assure us, that "what he means by goodness" is the same thing which has been and is "meant by goodness" at all times and in all places ?

He can assert no such thing. This "human goodness" is an ever-varying thing ; changing its form continually, from age to age, and in various places. Men of as high rank as Mr. Mill ; men like Plato, Socrates, and other great philosophers, have included in their ideal of goodness things which Mr. Mill would call atrocious crimes. Sins for which the cities of the plain were swept away by fire from heaven, are made, in their systems, part of the character of a good man. Nay, more ; they did, of old, what Mr. Mill desires to do now. They took what they called "human goodness,"—they clothed it with great power, and raised it to heavenly place and dignity, and called it Jupiter, the chief God. And the god thus imagined, and framed after the human idea of goodness, was a being whom Mr. Mill himself would loathe to approach. Can it be said, then, that the quality of "goodness" is one respecting which all men are agreed ; or that we can safely take it as a measure by which the goodness of God is to be gauged and tried ?*

But it may be replied, perhaps, that we are here overlooking human progress, and absurdly proposing to send men back to days of imperfect light. Are men, then, in this our own day, agreed as to this same quality of "goodness." Does it bear the same meaning to men of different countries and different tribes ?

Certainly not. Go to Dahomey, and ask what the first man in the country deems to be "goodness," and you will find that it includes the idea of slaughtering in cold blood, on his father's birth-day, a number of wretched captives. Go to India, and inquire of the religious teachers of the millions, and

* Plato, in his *Republic*, book vii., thus writes :—"Unless a person can strictly define by a process of thought the essential form of the Good, abstracted from everything else ; and can fight his way as it were through all objections,—and unless he travels to his conclusions without making one false

step ;—unless he does all this, I shall assert that he knows neither the essence of good, nor any other good thing ; and that any phantom of it which he may chance to apprehend is the fruit of opinion, and not of science."

you will find that a "good man" should burn widows on the funeral pile of their husbands, and should worship supposed monsters whose filthy crimes are depicted on the walls of their temples. Go to Alabama, and the teachers of morals will tell you, that God has made an inferior race of creatures, with black skins, who have scarcely any souls, and whose sole use and duty in life is to grow cotton and sugar for the white man. In a dozen other parts of the world, under various circumstances, Mr. Mill will find ideas of goodness which he will reject with abhorrence. With what show of reason, then, can he tell us, that men have got in their possession an accurate and just idea of what goodness is; and that what is called "the Divine goodness" must in essence correspond with it, or else must be rejected?

"Goodness," as understood by men, is not a certain settled and ascertained thing. It differs in various ages, it differs in various countries; so that the very word implies a different thing to different men at different times. Hence, he who argues that "the goodness of God" must in essence resemble it, does, in effect, demand that God shall change and vary with the varying notions of his creatures.

2. And what is meant by "the essence of the quality"? Is this a clear idea;—something at once intelligible, fixed, and in no way equivocal? Let us see.

There is no surer test of a writer's honest anxiety to arrive at the truth, and to lead his readers to accurate conclusions, than his striving to make his meaning clear, and to illustrate it by instances and examples. On the other hand, a man who shrinks from entering into particulars, and from applying his principles to real life, leaves the impression that he is not, in reality, very firm in the belief of the truth of his own position. The former of these features we find in Mr. Mansel,—the latter in Mr. Mill.

The Oxford Professor's position is not, as Mr. Mill would fain represent it,—that the Divine Goodness bears no resemblance to, and has no affinity with, what we call goodness among men. At the very outset, in his preface, he thus reasons:—

"It is a fact which experience forces upon us, and which it is useless, were it possible, to disguise, that the representation of God after the highest human morality which we are capable of conceiving, is not sufficient to account for all the phenomena exhibited by the course of His natural Providence. The infliction of physical suffering, the permission of moral evil, the adversity of the good, the prosperity of the wicked, the crimes of the guilty involving the misery of the innocent, the tardy appearance and partial distribution of moral and religious knowledge in the world,—these are facts which no doubt are reconcilable, we know not how, with the infinite goodness of God; but which certainly are not to be explained on the supposition that its sole and sufficient type is to be found in the finite goodness of man."

This is the simple and explicit statement which Mr. Mansel offers to the reader at the opening of his work. How does Mr. Mill meet it? By a single question, as we have seen, of the most vague description. "Does the Divine goodness agree with what men call goodness in the essence of the quality,—in what constitutes its goodness?"

Surely, if this is to be the test, Mr. Mill should have given us some definition. What is the "essence" of "what men call goodness"? How are we to be sure that we have Mr. Mill's meaning?

Mr. Mansel, evidently desiring to be understood, had referred to some instances;—such as Abraham's willingness to slay his son; Joshua's obedience to the Divine command to exterminate the Canaanites. Mr. Mill, therefore, had here a fair opportunity of explaining his meaning; but he declines to embrace it. He leaves us in the dark as to whether he approves the conduct of Abraham and Joshua, or condemns it. All he gives us is the vague and cloudy phrase, "the essence of what men call goodness." And the uselessness of this abstract method is seen in this, that thousands of men will reply, that Abraham's and Joshua's conduct did agree with "the essence of what men call goodness;" while thousands of other men would assert, that their conduct was repugnant to "the essence of what men call goodness." And thus no real progress is made.

Without instances and examples no clear understanding can be arrived at. Let us try to find some.

The same journals which have been recently defending and applauding the very passage of Mr. Mill's volume upon which we are now commenting, have also brought to our notice a very clever and interesting story, lately remitted from New England, entitled "The Gayworthys." This book we have read, and its talent and general complexion raised a suspicion, more than once, that we had here Mrs. Harriet Beecher Stowe writing in disguise. But its religious drift resembled that of Mr. Mill's book. Both, without openly professing it, inculcate Universalism. Thus, a passage which we have seen copied with approbation by some of these journals runs thus:—

"I haven't set foot in a church for over twenty years. And what do they tell me when I do come? You heard it. That man stood up and explained the Almighty's secret plans. He don't *mean* to save everybody. Now, I'm only a poor devil of a sailor, and of course I don't know; but if I came with a life-boat to a wreck, I'd make no such half job of it, I'd save every soul on board, or I'd go down trying." (Vol. ii. p. 151.)

In like manner, Mr. Mill, when he demands that the goodness of God shall be, in its essence, the same thing as the goodness of men, does, we believe, mean the same thing which this sailor coarsely expresses. Both repeat, after their own

fashion, the action of the Nazarenes, on hearing Christ's first sermon, when He told them,—“Many widows were in Israel in the days of Elias, when the heaven was shut up three years and six months, when great famine was throughout all the land; but unto none of them was Elias sent, save unto Sarepta, a city of Sidon, unto a woman that was a widow. And many lepers were in Israel in the time of Eliseus the prophet; and none of them was cleansed, saving Naaman the Syrian. And all they in the synagogue, when they heard these things, were filled with wrath, and rose up, and thrust him out of the city, and led him unto the brow of the hill whereon their city was built, that they might cast him down headlong.” (Luke iv.)

God's right, and His purpose, to show mercy to some, and not to others, constantly excites this wrath in the minds of men. And we believe that the real meaning of Mr. Mill, when he asks, “Does the Divine goodness agree with what men call goodness, in the *essence* of the quality—in what *constitutes* it goodness?” is just this which the sailor expresses in a practical way,—“Does God mean to save *all*? If not, He is not what I call good.”

Yet this simile of a life-boat naturally carried our minds back to a story of Dr. Aiken's, which we read in our youth, in the “Evenings at Home.” A recluse, walking on the cliff on a stormy night, sees a ship on the rocks, and he prays for the crew, who are in the manifest danger of perishing. They are saved, and as shipwrecked mariners they wander up the country, and beg a shelter in a farm-house. In the night, having concerted together, they rise, murder the farmer and all his family, and plunder the dwelling. The recluse ponders,—“Would it not have been better that these wretches should have perished in the deep, than that they should have been saved to commit all these crimes?”

We see here, that when a man goes with a life-boat to a ship, he goes in ignorance. He sees nothing but a number of perishing human beings; he cannot discriminate; his natural desire is, to save them all. But when God sends out His life-boat, He cannot do it in ignorance; He knows all the past, and all the future; He can, and He does, discriminate. He acts in perfect wisdom; man, often, in perfect folly.

This poor sailor, however, in “The Gayworthys,” sufficiently answers himself. In another place he says:—

“I set out once to plant a home of my own, and see if 'twould grow. But I married a she-devil, and I tell you we made *hell*! *My* child never had a mother. It's dead; and if God *was* anywhere round, I'd thank him for it. She overlaid it in the night; she *said* she did. I know she got tired of it, and it made her mad wi' cryin', that and the gin; she didn't get stupid wi' it, only devilish; and the child lay smothered in the bed one morning. That's where *my* home went.”

Now, applying his own simile of a life-boat, and his principle, that if God be really good, He must intend to save all, this poor sailor must argue, that he and his wife should both be saved, and should dwell, after death, in heaven together. Yet what would this be, but to continue, in the eternal state, that hell which he declares she had made for him in the present life? In fact, all these foolish and utterly baseless theories only come to this, that Abraham was quite wrong when he reasoned thus with God,—“Be it far from Thee to slay the righteous with the wicked; and that the righteous should be as the wicked, that be far from Thee! Shall not the Judge of all the earth do right?” (Gen. xviii. 25.)

If there be any one principle which is written as with a sunbeam in every page of God’s Word, from Genesis to Revelation, it is this, with which the Lord Jesus Himself summed up His instructions to His disciples,—“The wicked shall go away into everlasting punishment; but the righteous into life eternal.”

We desire not, however, to evade the acknowledgment of the fact, which is equally asserted in God’s Word, that this “righteousness,” thus rewarded in His people, is first implanted in them by His Holy Spirit, and that He does not give His Holy Spirit alike to all men. It is this discriminating, this distinguishing grace, not bestowed upon all, which is the real stumbling-block with men who prefer their own wisdom to God’s. When Mr. Mill asks, “Does the Divine goodness agree with what men call goodness in the essence of the quality?” we have no doubt that he means just what the poor sailor meant when he said, “If I came with a life-boat to a wreck, I’d make no such half job of it, I’d save every soul on board, or I’d go down trying.” And we feel tolerably sure that the grace or goodness of God described by St. Paul, “He will have mercy on whom He will have mercy; and whom He will, he hardeneth,” would be rejected by Mr. Mill, as “not agreeing with what men call goodness, in the essence of the quality.” Nevertheless “the Word of God standeth sure,” whether Mr. Mill consents to it or not; and, whatever he may now, in stoutness of heart, dare to say, he will have to “worship” God’s decisions at the last, whether he chooses or not.

The real quarrel lies deeper than this. Here is another writer of Mr. Mill’s school, who styles himself “Henry Holbeach,” and who writes as follows:—

“I look around the world, and I see certain forms of evil which displease me. If I find suffering in another, I wish to remove it. If I find wrong-doing, I disapprove—my disapproval sometimes rising to the height of passionate indignation. Now, of two things, one. The

Maker of the world, and of my heart, sympathizes with me in this desire to remove all evil, or He does not. If the Maker of the world does not sympathize with my hatred of evil, and my will to make it cease, I know my part. It is contained in a word—Resistance—not Religion. If this be so, I am indeed far within the circumference of the dark cones—but I see the light, and am not, perhaps, without hope. A terrible *perhaps*. Now for the other side of the dilemma. If the Maker of the world hates evil, as I do, and has (in kind) the same will to remove it, then I pass, at one bound, from out of the shadow. For, bethink you, my will to remove evil is boundless—*i. e.*, there is no evil I would choose to let stand; and by the same rule that I know my own existence, I know that that will be so for ever, that I shall never (if I live to all eternity) cease to desire the extirpation of evil. I cannot fulfil my desire, *except in part*; simply because I have only an imperfect control of the tendency of things. But the Maker of all that is must have perfect control over that tendency; in other words, it is His will that there should be no evil.”*

We here see, at a glance, that this writer merely repeats, in other words, the sentiment and the irreverent vaunt of Mr. Mill. But he is, apparently, younger, more incautious, and more boastful, than the antagonist of Mr. Mansel. It will be easy to show, that this confident reasoner neither understands himself, nor “the Maker of the world,” nor the full bearing of his own arguments. He does not understand himself. He talks, in a vaunting way, of his “hatred of evil;” which he says is “boundless:” “there is no evil I would let stand.” Does he never sin, then; never do evil; never help to propagate evil? If he imagines this, how wretchedly does he deceive himself! But if he admits the fact, then how is it that he can blind himself to the necessary consequence? He who wilfully commits evil, cannot at the same time hate *all* evil,—he does not, at that very moment, hate the sin which he is committing. His hatred of evil is partial and imperfect, and yet he demands of God that He shall be, in hatred of evil, “altogether such an one as himself.”

Nor can he understand “the Maker of the world” any better than he understands himself. He argues, “If the Maker of the world hates evil as I do,” “He must have perfect control over that tendency; in other words, it is His will that there should be no evil.” Mr. Henry Holbeach here guesses and argues, when God’s own declarations are within his reach. If the Bible is true, then all this guessing and arguing is mere folly; our only wisdom is, to take God’s own account of the matter. If the Bible be not true, then we are just handed back to the plight of Socrates, whose confession was, “I only know, that I know nothing.” We must either learn from God’s own revelation of Himself, or remain in ignorance.

* *Henry Holbeach, a Narrative and a Discussion.* Strahan. 1865.

And His own declaration is not, that in the consummation of all things evil shall cease, and that Satan and his myrmidons shall become once more archangels, but that they shall be cast into a lake of fire, and all their followers among mankind with them.

Neither does this writer see whither his own argument carries him. He vaunts that he "hates evil," and "never ceases to desire the extirpation of evil;" and he demands that "the Maker of the world" shall sympathise with him in this hatred, and in this will to make it cease;" or else he, Henry Holbeach, will not worship, but will resist Him. Now, does he forget the fact that is obvious to all, that for almost six thousand years evil has overspread the world to such an extent, that, as a heathen confessed, the evil far exceeds the good. Would Mr. Holbeach, had he been supreme, have permitted this? His language seems to imply that he would not. "My will to remove evil is boundless; there is no evil I would choose to let stand." Yet God has, for nearly six thousand years, left the world under the dominion of the Evil One. Does not Mr. Holbeach see, that already he is setting himself up as more holy, more benevolent than God; as one who, if he had the power, would have ruled the world better than it has been ruled?

And, after all, where does all this arguing land us, but in the very same difficulty which Prudentius described some fifteen hundred years ago, and Epicurus some seven hundred years earlier. The latter argued,—“Either the Deity wills against evil, but cannot accomplish His will; or He can, but wills not; or He neither wills nor can; or He both wills and can. But if this last be the truth, then why all this evil prevalent in the world?” The former despairingly asked, “If God does not wish evil to exist, why does He not hinder it? It matters not whether He be the author or doer of evil things. If He were to please that all should live innocent, the holy will would not degenerate, nor the hand pollute itself with any evil deed. Thus, we must deem Him to have created that which, if He is able to banish it, He does not abolish, and permits to run riot by long continuance.”

The folly of all such reasonings is, that men insist upon coming to conclusions, and pronouncing a judgment, without having the facts before them. They are like children in a coal-pit, seeing vast machinery at work, and great results gradually working out, and insisting on giving their opinions as to the plans and purposes of the Great Owner of the estate, who lives far above them, knows a hundred times more than they do, and has never chosen to explain his resolves or reasons to them. The first great fact in the universe we can all see, and reason and revelation entirely unite in their testimony—that God is mighty, and wise, and benevolent, and

has filled the world with countless proofs of His power, and wisdom, and goodness. But when we come to the second great fact, the presence of Evil, we are utterly at fault. Nearly 2300 years ago, Plato, or Socrates, could clearly see, that "that which is good is not the cause of all things, but only of what is as it should be; being guiltless of originating evil. Hence God, inasmuch as He is good, cannot be the cause of all things; on the contrary, He is the author of only a small part of human affairs; of the larger part He is not the author; for our evil things far outnumber our good things; and the good things we must ascribe to no other than God; while we must seek elsewhere, and not in Him, the causes of the evil things." (*Republic*, book ii. 379.)

Here, then, are we arrested, in the second step of our inquiry. A difficulty presents itself, which no skill or acuteness of man has ever been able to overcome, and which it has not pleased God to remove. He is powerful, and wise, and good, and yet there is evil in the world; "far outnumbering," as Plato says, the good. How comes this? Who can answer? No one.

But how, then, shall we dream of coming to a decision, when the second fact in the case is wholly obscure and unintelligible to us? How shall a conclusion be reached? Shall we hope to find it by Reason, or Philosophy; or shall we seek for it in the volume of Revelation? If we take the first course, we shall either rashly and foolishly guess and surmise, or shall humbly conclude, with Socrates, that "the only thing we know, is, that we know nothing." And if we take the second, we soon discover that God has not chosen to give us any clear light on this difficult question. Such passages as these block up our way:—

"The Lord said, I will destroy man whom I have created from the face of the earth; both man, and beast, and the creeping thing, and the fowls of the air; for it repenteth me that I have made them." (Gen. vi. 7.)

"And now, O inhabitants of Jerusalem and men of Judah, judge, I pray you, betwixt me and my vineyard. What could have been done more to my vineyard, that I have not done in it? Wherefore, when I looked that it should bring forth grapes, brought it forth wild grapes?" (Isa. v. 4, 5.)

"Jesus beheld the city, and wept over it, saying, 'If thou hadst known, even thou, at least in this thy day, the things which belong unto thy peace! but now they are hid from thine eyes.'" (Luke xix. 42.)

It is scarcely possible to read these and similar passages, which are "given for our instruction," and to cling to the notion, that nothing but a single volition of the Almighty God is needed, to banish all evil from His wide dominions.

To be able to construct a complete scheme of "the moral system of the universe," we want three or four great leading facts. Well, as we have said, we have the first; but when we search for the second, the origin of evil, we find it beyond our reach. And hence it follows, that such guesses or conclusions as these of Mr. Mill and Henry Holbeach are wholly worthless and impertinent. When a man says, "Of course God could banish all evil from the universe by a single volition," we ask, "How do you know that? The philosophers of old confessed themselves ignorant: whence do you derive your superior knowledge? Does the Bible anywhere tell you that "God's omnipotence includes a power to convert and save all creatures, however perverse and rebellious, by a momentary act of His divine will"?* If so, please to refer us to the passage. If not, in what page of the book of Nature do you find it written? In such discussions as these, we cannot venture to take anything for granted."

"But what then?"—Mr. Mill may answer;—"Do you espouse the Manichæan notion of two independent powers in the world, and of an evil as potent as the good?" We answer, "Certainly not. We espouse neither that nor any other theory; we can believe nothing, in these all-important questions, without proof; and that proof neither Mr. Mill nor 'Henry Holbeach' offer to give us."

"The Maker of the world," says Henry Holbeach, "either sympathizes with me in a desire to remove all evil, or He does not. If the latter, then He is an evil spirit, and not a good one, and I will fight against Him. If the former,—if He hates evil, and wills its removal,—then, as He is all-powerful, it will be removed, abolished, and swept away."

This may appear a very plausible dilemma; but Mr. Henry Holbeach must disbelieve and close up the Bible before he can adopt either the one or the other of these conclusions. Neither in the Word of God, nor elsewhere, will he find anything to support the idea that God does not hate evil. That supposition must be abandoned, as wholly destitute of proof, and equally so of probability.

But are we, then, shut up to the other conclusion, that as God hates evil, and is all-powerful, it is certain that evil will be destroyed out of the universe? Where is the proof of this? Evil has existed and has predominated in the world for nearly 6000 years. Whence do we derive the hope, that in 6000 more, or even in ten times 6000, it will come to an end, and will cease and vanish away? Not from the Bible, which tells us a very different story. Whence, then, can such a hope be derived, and upon what does it rest?

* Birks's Ways of God, p. 3.

It may help our endeavours to arrive at the truth, if we throw the question into a personal form. There is not only evil in the world, counteracting and oppressing the good; but there is an Evil Spirit, leading and instigating multitudes of other evil spirits, and constantly withstanding and opposing God's benevolent purposes. This we learn from Scripture, and it is not opposed to the general belief of mankind, even in the heathen world, but agrees with it. Now, this Evil Spirit has, for nearly 6000 years, cruelly and malignantly tempted and perverted the human race. He has succeeded in covering the earth with "habitations of cruelty;" slaying men by thousands, by war, and rapine, and intestine strife; poisoning their blood by vice; and turning them into rebels against God, "hateful, and hating one another." Now, God will at last triumph over this cruel foe of the human race; and, if the Bible be true, He will then condemn him to a fitting punishment. Does Mr. Mill, does Henry Holbeach regard this final overthrow and condemnation of Satan as inconsistent with the goodness of God? Would they deem it better that the enemy should be changed, by Divine power, into a holy and benevolent being, and replaced on his archangel's throne in heaven? Or do they dream of "annihilation"?

In a word, do they set themselves up as more merciful than Jesus—more righteous than the Judge of all men? Will they venture to

"Re-judge His judgments!—be the God of God"?

For it is to this that the question ultimately comes. If we know anything of the words and deeds of the Lord Jesus Christ—if the Gospels are to be received as a true history—then nothing can be more certain than this, that the Saviour Himself, not once or twice, but frequently and constantly, did speak of Satan as His bitter and malignant foe, and did declare his destined and final end to be everlasting punishment. Nor is it less certain that the fate of Satan's followers, angelic and human, is continually associated, in Christ's discourses, with the fate of their leader and guide. We cannot reject or disbelieve these things, without rejecting the Gospels themselves—without disbelieving or contemning the recorded words of Christ. And no honest man will do this, and yet continue to call himself by the name of Christian.

To return, and to conclude: the real mystery, the real difficulty, which none of these writers have touched, is, the existence of evil. They may foolishly imagine that they know man; they may much more foolishly imagine that they know God. But do they know, or can they throw the least light upon, the history of the birth and appearance of evil? Will they deny,

or question, the statement of Plato, that "our evil things far outnumber our good things," and that "we must seek elsewhere, and not in God, for the causes of these evil things"? If they cannot question this statement, then they must find themselves confronted by a vast difficulty, which they cannot measure, or surmount, or evade, and of which they can give no reasonable solution. But if they know not its beginning, how should they be able to prophesy its end? They may safely predict that, sooner or later, God will triumph, and evil will be overthrown. But of the mode and manner of that triumph and that overthrow, what can they know, except as they find both briefly described in the pages of God's word? If they reject that revelation of the Divine will, what is left to them but the merest surmise? Of the value of such surmises it is enough to say, that if five or seven of these would-be philosophers set themselves to work to invent or imagine a "consummation of all things," they are sure to produce five or seven day-dreams, all of equal worth, or rather, of equal worthlessness. There would be needed, to the formation of a complete system or code of belief as to the final consummation of all things,—

1. A knowledge of God.

2. A knowledge of Evil; whence it came; why it was permitted, and how far it can resist and counteract the designs of God.

3. Then would follow some ideas of the probable ending; whether by the annihilation of Evil, and of the Evil Spirit; or by their separation, and consignment to a place of punishment.

The second of these great facts is hidden from us. Not a single "philosopher" of the least reputation has ever thrown the slightest light on this great problem. But, in this state of darkness, to stumble on into some guessed conclusion on the third point, is in the highest degree irrational. And to adopt and cling to such a guess in spite of its opposition to God's own word, is worse than irrational,—it is impious.

Mr. Mill's error consists in this,—that he insists on having a God whom he can measure, estimate, and understand. The God of the Bible is a very different being. "How unsearchable are His judgments; and His ways past finding out!" Which of these ideas is confirmed by the present state of the world? If neither Epicurus, nor Prudentius, nor any other of the great philosophers of old, could solve the problem: "God is good, and mighty, yet evil exists, and far outnumbers the good;"—can Mr. Mill solve it now? Has he even attempted it? But if he is constrained to confess, of the present time, that "God's judgments are a great deep," what basis can he find for his surmise—and it is nothing more—that at some future day they shall be made to appear, not only righteous and just and holy, but exactly what certain philo-

sophers of earth have imagined and prescribed? Mr. Mansel points to "the infliction of physical suffering, the permission of moral evil, the adversity of the good, the prosperity of the wicked, the crimes of the guilty involving the misery of the innocent, the tardy appearance and partial distribution of moral and religious knowledge in the world," and he maintains that these facts, everywhere visible around us, "are not to be explained on the supposition that the sole and sufficient type of the Divine goodness is to be found in the finite goodness of man." Mr. Mill's reply, if it was to be pertinent and sufficient, should have shown that these facts *were* to be explained on ordinary human principles. But this he has not attempted. All that he offers by way of reply, is a sort of execration. He is told, that God's judgments are "far above, out of our sight." He replies, that to such a Power he will never submit. But this his resolve in no way alters the state of the case, or improves his prospects. The wheels of the universe will not stop for him, as they roll along to

"that far-off Divine event

Towards which the whole Creation moves."

Nor, in that day, will any such tone of defiance be heard, from any human lips, as that in which Mr. Mill now indulges.

Those who have rejected the offered salvation in this world, will, when the next dawns upon them, stand "speechless."

WILBERFORCE AND HIS CONTEMPORARIES:

WILLIAM WILBERFORCE.

THE course and close of Wilberforce's life were strongly contrasted with that of Pitt. Happily Wilberforce was allowed to pursue his labours for many years, and in a great degree to complete them. Not at the early age of 47, but at 74, the philanthropist passed away. The year after Pitt's death, Wilberforce accomplished the object on which his heart had long been set. The slave trade became illegal, and the English flag ceased to cover the hateful cargoes of human suffering. This object gained, the philanthropist proceeded to push his efforts to other countries, and to persuade other nations to follow the example of England. This labour occupied himself and his friends for many years. But while engaged in this, another object (such is the law of benevolence) rose before him. In England, the traffic in slaves had ceased; slavery remained. The state of boudage was legal, and the lot of the bondsman was hard. He was a chattel, without the rights

of a citizen. The next step was to gain for him the rights of a freeman, and in this struggle Mr. Wilberforce spent his remaining years. On his retirement from Parliament in 1825, he handed over this great cause to his successor, Mr. Buxton; and his life was prolonged till he saw the victory won—till he, the Moses of the African Israelites, witnessed the children of his watchful oversight step into their promised land.

But while engaged in this, the work of his life, he had other objects in view; and one of these, almost equally momentous, was found in the lands of the East. That country of romantic story and fabulous wealth had attracted his notice in the early years of his political life. It was the battle-field on which was fought one of the fiercest conflicts of parliamentary warfare. On the question of India, Pitt and Fox had staked their fortunes. That ancient empire, which Alexander had sought but hardly touched, which Rome had coveted but never conquered, with its thrones and dynasties and races, had fallen, by strange incidents, through unlooked-for victories, through the agency of a private company and in the operations of mercantile adventure, into the hands of England. But of this new empire it was held, among its foremost traditions, and as one of the grand secrets of its safety, that we were not to name the name of Christianity, or to recognise its duties, or to set up its worship. If we ever departed from this restraint, it was said that our empire would pass from us, and that the various races, with their differing creeds, uniting against a common enemy, would cast off an alien yoke. Hence, when zealous Christians, impressed with the convictions of their faith, repaired to India to teach Christianity to the natives, the British government, in a paroxysm of alarm, seized the intruders, incarcerated them as culprits, and drove them as exiles from their shores. That Christianity should be tolerated, far less legalized, in India, was a notion generally discarded. These traditions, deeply rooted, and held by most statesmen, Mr. Wilberforce set himself to refute and overthrow. He began in 1793, when he entered on the journals of the House a resolution binding us to introduce Christianity into India. But the resolution remained a dead letter for twenty years. And whenever he or any one referred to it, he was met at once by the adjurations and warnings of experience. But it was a characteristic of Wilberforce, that he was as persevering as he was bold. An official, whom he had occasion often to assail with his remonstrances, said, "It is the fashion to speak of Wilberforce as a gentle, yielding character; but I can only say that he is the most obstinate, impracticable fellow with whom I ever had to do." With his settled convictions, he returned in 1813 to the resolution which he had carried; and by that time the public feeling, trained by long practice in the agitation of the slave trade, had learned its resources. No doubt, had the House of

Commons been polled, they would have decided by a large majority against any legislative change. They were keenly alive to the political risk ; and cared very little for the religious duty. But the popular feeling was aroused ; important evidence was collected ; experienced witnesses appeared at the bar ; timid fears were allayed ; the unreasoning panic ceased ; the arguments of the philanthropist, enforced by brilliant eloquence, told on the House ; and a reversal of our policy succeeded. The Christian faith, throughout our Eastern empire, was not only tolerated, but endowed.

To these services, which were the most conspicuous, we add the activity of Wilberforce in every philanthropic work of his busy age. The societies which sprung up in the beginning of the present century—one for Missions, one for the circulation of the Bible, others for purifying the press and for extending and elevating education—were all associated with him. He took part in all ; of many he was the prominent advocate. To the change which took place in the habits both of the clergy and laity, during the first thirty years of this century, Mr. Wilberforce contributed more than any one. How great that change was in the clergy, if any one cares to see, he will find it incidentally shown in the letters of Sir Arthur Wellesley, when Irish Secretary. That illustrious man, with the brusque frankness of his character, presents us with the view, then taken by official men, of the uses and habits of the Clergy. That a man should enter the Church in order to bury himself in humble labours in an obscure hamlet of England, spending his life in raising the vulgar mind, was an idea that never entered the head of a public man. Natural, of course, it was, that if a youth was a blockhead or an idler, too dull or too careless to succeed in a civil profession, he should be thrust for a livelihood into the Church. Quite right, that if his habits of life as a clergyman were too scandalous for the Church of England, he should be drafted into the Irish Church, where, if he had influence, he might be pushed, in spite of character, into a deanery or a bishopric. But any other notion of clerical life never crossed the mind. How entirely these ideas, and the standard of ministerial duty, are changed, we need not remark. Let us remember that this change dates from the early period of this century, and that, among other influences, not the least were the writings and example of this eminent philanthropist.

Nor must we forget what he did for public life. That was his sphere. He was placed in it early. He resolved not to abandon it. He drew across that sphere—dark then, and hazy—lines of light which chequer it still. His ideas, when he first entered Parliament, were the current ideas of his day. A seat in Parliament brought with it consequence. If accom-

panied by a turn for public speaking, or aptitude for business, it led to office. In the distance glittered, like stars on the horizon, a seat in the cabinet, a place at court, and the peerage. That any man should enter Parliament merely to do his duty and serve the cause of truth, was treated as a romance or a sham. Every member had his object and his price. "Conscience," said a shrewd Scotch member, "is quite unparliamentary. I vote always with Pitt. I never voted but once according to my conscience, and then I voted wrong." These notions, unaltered since the days of Andrew Marvel, William Wilberforce and his friends met and overthrew. Fools they might be, fanatics, and visionaries; but of this there was no doubt, their practice was consistent, and their decision was fixed. Henceforth the vulgar view of public life ceased to be universal. It ruled many; it did not govern all. It swept hundreds into its ranks; but outside there remained a band united and courageous.

When we ask how Wilberforce accomplished a work like this, so strange and hard—the work of changing men's opinions—we find in his life the answer. We see at once that this was the work of no common man. Mere sincerity was not enough, nor disinterestedness, nor integrity. These were possessed by several friends of Wilberforce, whose acts were hardly noticed, and whose minds exercised hardly a perceptible influence on their age. In fact, if any one would mould opinion in a country reflective as ours, he must rise above the mass in his intellectual stature, and be looked up to as a ruler among men. And nowhere is a man's position tested as it is in the House of Commons—and the measure of his powers and his qualifications ascertained. For in that assembly is gathered the choicest intellect of the nation; which is tested by experiments, and tried by the most rigorous judgment.

Now, Wilberforce's place in the House of Commons can be clearly ascertained. His early life was cast among the most remarkable passages of our parliamentary history, and he was placed alongside of our most eminent men. It was an age of vehement contention, and the men who guided Parliament were giants in power. Their eloquence exceeded the oratory of any other period; for Burke and Fox and Pitt and Sheridan and Canning surpassed previous examples and later times. Yet among men distinguished for the gift of eloquence, Wilberforce held no inferior place. Open Hansard through half a century, you will find on every great question not only his vote, but his views. Treaties of trade with France, assessed taxes, the income tax, the revolutionary war, the French invasion, the national defences, the volunteers, the negotiations for peace, the peace of Amiens, its interruption, the war with Napoleon, the invasion of the Peninsula, the Wal-

cheren expedition, the seizure of the Danish fleet, the Orders in Council, war with America, the case of Lord Melville, the case of the Duke of York, the case of Col. M'Mahon, down to the case of the unhappy queen Caroline, the Roman Catholic claims, the suspension of the Habeas Corpus in 1817, parliamentary reform, public economy, the state of Ireland, the employment of spies, the question of criminal punishments (1814—18), law reform, trials for blasphemy, the distress and discontent of the manufacturing class (1819), popular education,—on all these subjects he spoke, and spoke well. Mr. Pitt, standing on his high pinnacle, said, "Of all the men I ever knew, Wilberforce has the greatest natural eloquence." Burke passed on one of his first speeches on the slave trade an imperishable eulogium. Romilly said he thought him the most efficient speaker in the House of Commons. Mr. Morritt, a shrewd observer, said that, though Wilberforce often spoke with want of preparation, and was at first diffusive, yet, as he warmed, the mind poured forth so copious a stream of eloquence, that the House, enchanted by voice and manner and words, hung on his lips with delight. True, it was not mere eloquence which gave him power, but an intuitive discernment of men, and a lively sympathy. These enabled him to catch the temper of the House of Commons. He learned how to handle that powerful instrument, which vibrates, like an organ, to the master's hand, but jars and creaks and groans when touched by unskilful fingers. Mr. Pitt used to say that no one understood the House better than Wilberforce. In later days Mr. Canning remarked, "If there is any one who understands thoroughly the tactics of debate, and knows exactly what will carry the House along with him, it is certainly my honourable friend the Member for Bramber." But his oratory had to encounter many hindrances. In a life busy as his, passed in a whirl of work, he had no time for reflection or preparation. His speeches suffered from this cause. He became, as fluent speakers do, diffuse. What he could have done had he had more time, he showed in those few efforts where the importance of the subject constrained him, contrary to usage, to prepare. On these occasions he showed himself a master of oratory. His first speech on negro emancipation, his great speech on India, one of his speeches on the Roman Catholic question in 1821 (when he had an hour to prepare), were regarded in his times as master-pieces of oratory. Of his speech on the question of India in 1813, and its effects, we have authentic information. Every thing was against him: the current of feeling in the House; the fears of the merchants; the timidity and indisposition of Government; for Lord Castlereagh, then the leader, had no mind to touch this thorny question; the Directors and their friends, in and out of Parliament, were united, resolute, and hostile. Tierney and many of the Opposition were as much

against him as the Government. But his speech changed the opinions of the House. An eye witness, who did not concur with him, has recorded its effect. The mass of facts, in lucid order, the arguments strong, various, and earnestly pressed home; the copious words; the graceful images; the silver voice, pleading so tenderly for neglected and degraded outcasts. The House, wavering and undecided, yielded itself to the charm. Wilberforce had every quality of an orator: a voice flexible and singularly musical; action easy and effective; a competent knowledge of books; great experience of human life; the tact which deals with men; a tenacious memory, rich in facts; a fancy stored with images, and the wit which suggests contrasts. The latter quality greatly impressed Madame de Staël:—"Mr. Wilberforce is the best converser I have met with in this country: I have always heard that he is the most religious, but I now find that he is the wittiest man in England." It was not often, (such was his habit of severe self-restraint,) that he allowed himself the exercise of repartee, or that he brought out his powers of ridicule. These were indeed remarkable. Often, as he sat by his friend Bankes, he poured into his ear, in passing comments, witty thoughts which bubbled up in his mind at the moment; but as soon as he got upon his legs, these were held in check and suppressed, that he might not inflict pain. Once only, when attacked with unbecoming personal sarcasm, he put forth his strength, and proved his power. For, to the personalities with which Sir Francis Burdett assailed him, he answered in such a way, that the stately baronet seemed a pigmy in the hands of the orator, and from his high seat crouched, subdued and craven, under the pelting storm.

While thus, through his self-restraint, Wilberforce dropped one of the most effective weapons of oratory, he had to encounter obstacles from the course of action which he had prescribed to himself. His philanthropy was energetic and aggressive, and though temperate in tone, and considerate of men's feelings, it of necessity raised against him many enemies. A large section of the merchants were angry on account of his interference with the slave trade. The directors and holders of East-India Stock regarded him as a meddling fanatic. The West Indian interest looked on him as a robber. These animosities ranged against him a section of the House, and they also united against him many organs of the press. Nor had he, to counterbalance these obstacles, the support of either of the great parties in the House; for he was wedded to neither party, and neither party could rely on him. Hence, as Henry Thornton remarks, the House heard him at times with impatience. The way the press dealt with him was summary, though certainly not singular. The reporters disliked his religious views; they sneered at his

disinterestedness ; so they inflicted the punishment within their power. They drew their sponge across his speeches ; or else they jumbled his thoughts and sentences into an unintelligible chaos. If you open Hansard during the many years that Wilberforce was in parliament, you will find his name in the debates, and remarks appended to it ; but the remarks give you no idea of his speech ; they are either a mutilated fragment, or a miserable caricature. His great Indian speech of three hours, which dazzled and delighted the House, shrinks in the report to a few incoherent lines. All these things were against him, yet over all these obstacles he forced his way, and sat in parliament for half a century, prominent in the first rank of our parliamentary speakers.

No doubt, whilst his opinions marred his oratory, his high character assisted it. His speech had a moral weight beyond its talent. His sentence was looked for as a judgment—the judgment of an impartial mind. Sidney Smith said of him, with a little pardonable exaggeration, that he could do anything with the House ; Flood wrote to him in 1813, “ Your opinion has more weight than that of half the House besides.” Pitt watched for his decision in Lord Melville’s case with trembling solicitude ; and Lord Melville’s friends abused him as the person whose speech had carried and misled the House. When the scandals of the Duke of York became notorious, and Wilberforce’s opinion was announced, the Prince had no option but to retire. The remarks of Sir Arthur Wellesley, in his despatches, show how the ministerial phalanx feared and disliked his influence. When he spoke, as he did in 1817, in favour of the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, his adhesion was hailed by Government as a great stroke on its side. In 1818 the ministerial speakers charged Tierney with framing his motion on spies, so as to catch Wilberforce’s vote ; and the Opposition leader admitted that there was no one who, when he came out decidedly on the side of Government, could more powerfully help them. Lord Castlereagh, when leader of the House, repeatedly appealed to him to suspend his judgment till he heard the ministerial case. Canning did the same on many occasions, not only on West Indian questions, but, in 1823, on foreign affairs. The same feeling led Lord John Russell to appeal to him for his intervention in the case of the unhappy queen Caroline ; and the resolutions which he proposed and carried in the House, ineffectual for their object, remain monuments of his influence in parliament.

While these things mark his influence and his powers of oratory in the contentious arena of parliament, we are not surprised to find its sway in the more congenial field of benevolence. In the meetings called from time to time for philanthropic purposes, or in those May-meetings which gradually during his lifetime assumed consistency, he was the

undoubted favourite. He himself, with characteristic simplicity, used to wonder at the tumult of applause which greeted his appearance, and to fancy that the meeting were cheering some remark of the speaker who was then addressing them. But it was not only admiration of his services which drew forth the tribute, but delight to find that they were to enjoy his eloquence. On such occasions his speeches combined every quality of demonstrative oratory, earnest, fervent, affectionate, with graceful images and flowing words, the fancy that lights the sky with gleams of sunshine, the love which beams in every accent and look. The admiration for him was not confined to home-audiences. Count Pecchio said of him, in 1818,—"When Mr. Wilberforce passes through the crowd, on the day of the opening of parliament, every one contemplates this little old man, worn with age, and his head sunk upon his shoulders, as a sacred relic, as the Washington of humanity." When Blucher sent his aide-de-camp to convey to England the news of the battle of Waterloo, he was desired to call on the Prince-Regent, but several times over the bluff field-marshal bade him "let Wilberforce know all that had passed." When, the year before, some of the Cossacks had accompanied the allied sovereigns to England, they were so wearied out and worried by sight-seers, that they shut themselves up in the Portman Barracks, and refused to admit any more. But when Wilberforce appeared, their door flew open, and "the roughest of them, who looked as if he had never smiled in his life, unbent his ebon brows, and relaxed the muscles of his iron face, and even kissed his hand when he came away."

These tributes to his character were a righteous compensation for a life of sacrifice. No man can follow the line which Wilberforce took in public life without encountering severe trials. He must give up all hopes of place, all dreams of official power, all chance of serving his country through administrative effort. These are great sacrifices. Less felt by such a man are the dignity and station which attend power. But these also must be resigned. Wilberforce admits that he felt the sacrifice. "Often, in my visits to Holwood, when I heard one and another speak of this man's place or that man's peerage, I felt a rising inclination to pursue the same objects; but a Sunday in solitude never failed to restore me to myself." In 1800 he writes, "I was for a little while intoxicated, and had risings of ambition. Blessed be God for this day of rest and religious occupation, wherein earthly things assume their true size and comparative insignificance; ambition is stunted, and I hope my affections in some degree rise to things above."

But there are attendant on this course of life some public trials sharper than these. In a free country political parties

will always be found; and party has its ties, its friendships, and its antipathies: join it, and you are welcomed; stand aloof from it, and you are watched; desert it, and you are reviled; all the more bitterly, the more nearly you have approached the party you abandon. These trials fell severely on a sensitive mind. Wilberforce's opposition to Government on the French war drew on him a storm of attack—taunts from Windham, rebukes from Burke, and an ostracism from Pitt's party. He felt this keenly: altered looks, confidence withdrawn, intimacy discontinued, these leave sharp wounds.

He indeed justified his course with manly courage, but not the less did he feel its penalties. Accused by Windham of petulant arrogance in following his own judgment, while he professed to revere the wisdom of Pitt, he answered, "his high opinion of the minister's integrity and his understanding ought certainly to make him give due weight to his opinions; but when, after coolly and gravely and repeatedly weighing the circumstances of the case, I have formed at last a deliberate judgment, that judgment, whatever it be, I am bound to follow. I am sent here by my constituents, not to gratify my private feelings, but to discharge a great political trust; and for the faithful administration of the power vested in me I must answer to my country and my God." He had to bear, from the same cause, the buffets of his constituents; they were as angry as the ministerialists in parliament, and more coarse in their expressions. His friends from Yorkshire wrote to him that his conduct was universally condemned. When he visited the county, his supporters received him coldly; the ladies would not speak to him. He felt too—no one is insensible to it—the attacks of the press. Their arrows may be small as those of Lilliput; but if they are thick enough and continued, they pierce at last. Pamphlets, reviews, leading articles, made him their target. "Thou vile hypocrite," was the summary in which one of these writers characterized his conduct.

Let no one fancy that he was callous: he was keenly sensitive; but he tells us whence he drew his strength and his power of self-restraint. "All may be done through prayer—Almighty prayer, I am ready to say—and why not? for that it is Almighty, is only through the gracious ordination of the God of love and truth." Such were his powers of intellect; but, after all, in his character lay his chief power. Strange to see the feelings of the man come out incidentally in busy seasons. In the midst of his engagements, let a friend appear with a careworn look or sad expression, in an instant his sympathy is roused—he must find out the reason—he stops to inquire, or he writes a note of anxious affection. In the midst of his labours he disappears, and you find him seated by the bedside of a sick servant, or in the chamber of a sick friend; then all bustle is laid aside,

restlessness and perturbation are over ; and, tender as a nurse, sympathizing as a woman, he pours his comforts into the sufferer's ear. Or you find him harassed by business ; and with most men, at such seasons, the nerves become impatient of noise ; but he hears a burst of his children's voices, and instantly they soothe him : " How can I be worried by such trifles, when I have such constant remembrances of God's goodness to me." You may suppose that this man of multifarious engagements has no time for small matters. You are mistaken. There is no incident in a child's life which does not interest him. He is staying at a friend's house in Norfolk, and a child is sick. He finds time to talk to her and cheer her. " Nothing," she writes, " can exceed his kindness and his tenderness. He delighted me yesterday by telling me that he had still got that purple silk bag I made for him above two years ago." Wordsworth could not look on the sports of children with intenser interest. " I delight in little children ; I could spend hours in watching them. How much there is in them that the Saviour loved : their simplicity, their confidence in you, the fund of happiness with which their beneficent Creator has endued them."

You follow him to London : you trace him from his house in Kensington Gore to committees in the City, and committees of parliament, and deputations to ministers, and ante-chambers in Downing Street ; then through long nights of debate, till you become wearied in reviewing his day. But in all this whirl of business, his thoughts, untrammelled, are turning to his home. When Romilly was passing upon him his eloquent praise in the House of Commons in 1807, on the success of the Abolition measure, and Mr. Hey subsequently asked him how he felt at the unusual burst of applause, he answers, " I can only say that I was myself so completely overpowered by my feelings, when he touched so beautifully on my domestic reception (which had been previously realized a few evenings before, on my return from the House of Lords), that I was insensible to all that was passing round me." In the waiting room of a minister, at the table of a Parliamentary committee, he snatches his pen to write to an absent son to praise him for past attainments, to stir him up to fresh exertion, to urge him to give up his heart to God and to find in His service his strength. He is touched with some account of his child's misconduct, and " though writing at the committee table, with people all round me, I can scarce refrain from tears." When anxious to see in another child the change he longed for, he writes to him in the midst of his parliamentary work with the eager longing of a father's love, " I would willingly walk barefoot from this place to Sandgate, to see the change." He comes home after midnight, worn out by toil, and then he learns that his daughter is sleep-

less; he flies to her room, he takes her hand, and kneeling by the bed he whispers to her of the tender Shepherd and His loving care, and he pours forth his prayer beside her, and leaves her comforted.

No wonder that such a man was the charm of his home. Mr. Harford (to whom we owe the interesting volume which in our first article we noticed, and to whom now in our last we tender our grateful thanks) describes his first introduction to Wilberforce. The philanthropist entered the dining-room, after his friends were seated at table, and his appearance was like sunlight coming into a dark chamber, the countenance of each brightening as he passed; for each he had a pleasant word. Widely different from what one knew him in later years, his step was then springy, and his movements elastic. His frame indeed at all times spare; "his eyes, though small and singularly set, beamed with the expression of intelligence, and of comprehension quick as lightning. The features plain, but the mingled emanations of imagination and intellect, of benevolence and vivacity, diffused over his countenance a sort of sunny radiance, which irresistibly acted as a powerful magnet of the hearts of all who approached him." Robert Hall said,— "Wilberforce, sir, is a little creature; he is an ugly creature; but look in his face, hear him speak, you forget it all; he is the incarnation of love." That love, though it expanded over others with a comprehensiveness rarely equalled, turned with intense force on the circle of his home. On this point, as misapprehension has prevailed, the facts should be noted. His thoughts and anxieties were constantly directed to the education and well-being of his children. "My own soul," he says, "should doubtless be my first object, and combined with it my children." "As to my plan of life, I conceive that my chief object should be, first, my children; secondly, Parliament." Here is one of his days in a summer vacation. "I get up about seven; then devotions for an hour; then dressing, and hearing one of the children read to me for three quarters of an hour. We dine together early, and then some of the children read till we walk out." On another occasion he says he had begun to walk with his children and examine them in their books, and talk them over. He postpones his journey that he may spend the Sunday with one of his boys who is going to school, that he may make piety attractive through family love. He reads the Scriptures daily with some of them; when incidents of note occurred, he gathers them together to comment on them. He gives up engagements, that he may spend his day with them. When they are absent, he calls them round him in thought, and commits them to the Great Shepherd. To each of them he writes once a week, and stops at friends' houses that his letters may not fail. He writes to them, in the

midst of business, loving thoughts and gentle counsels. He imparts to them, in free communication, his pleasures, his interests, and his cares. When he is about to leave parliament, they must know it first ; to them must be addressed his last frank. Their interests occupy him ; their trials touch him ; their failings wound him to the heart's core. He retires from business and society that he may pray and weep for them. In special troubles he gives up a day to fasting and prayer for them. He is anxious about the habits of their instructors and their companions. He chooses for their holidays those who are likely to influence them for good. No worldly ambition mixes with his desires for them : his one wish was that they might serve God as His ministers. When he saw one of them turning to politics, he conjures him not to think of it. "Do not be a politician ; it is the most unprofitable of all subjects. It has been my business all my life ; but I hope you are meant for something better." It is not to be wondered at, that such a father should find in his children warm affection : "the boys coming out to welcome me, and receiving me with humiliating kindness ; God bless them !" When losses fell upon him, it was their delight, and his, that a home under their roofs should open to him. He thanks God for "granting us in the evening of life, after the tossings of the ocean of this world, such a quiet and comfortable haven."

Mr. Harford has called Wilberforce's power over others magnetic. The secret of its magnetism was his moral purity and his love. Love, rising first to the great object of dutiful homage, and then falling in showers of sympathy over the earth and its inhabitants. Catch him where you will, he is always the same. In his early years he had been an idler ; but when his views changed, he became a student, turned every moment to account, and read books, a catalogue as large and multifarious as John Wesley—books of poetry and fiction, philosophy, history, and belles lettres. His memory, always good, became strengthened by exercise. He could give you long passages of poetry ; he could repeat the whole of the 119th Psalm. He committed to memory several of the Epistles of St. Paul while he walked the pump-room in Bath. His books were always a delight to him ; his marginal comments show how he talked with them as friends, differing from them at times, yet delighted with them. His reading was natural, as a child is natural that talks to itself, and converses with the objects round it, unconscious that any eye observes it.

The infirmity of his eyesight made him dependent upon others, and either a friend, or some one engaged for the office, became his reader. Happy he who discharged for a time that pleasant duty. Specially happy if he caught him in the morning hour, when he had risen thankful, with unjaded strength, or was strolling, after

he had met his household in family worship, into the garden, the sloping walks of Broomfield, or the sunny verandah of Kensington Gore, or the shaded alley of Highwood. Nimble must be his companion ; for the little figure, brandishing its spud, flew about like a butterfly on a summer's morning ; now lighting on a flower, bending over it, and pointing out its beauties ; now watching the flight of an insect, charmed with its movements ; then pausing, with serious reflection, to dwell on Him who made it, that bright Being who had so adorned this our stricken earth, and filled it with beauty and fragrance. "Surely flowers are the smiles of His goodness." Then extracting a book from his pocket, which was loaded with volumes, that dragged his coat to his heels, he pointed out some lines of poetry, or recited them ; and as the leaf, which marked the passage, was swept off by the wind, a greater vagrant than himself, he ran to catch it, and failing to replace the missing one, stooped down to gather other leaves, covering all the while his button-holes with flowers, talking, listening, gesticulating, bright and volatile and restless as a child. But if his companion dropped a grave remark, told of some deed of kindness or trait of worth, his face lighted up at once ; or if he mentioned some noble act, his eyes filled with tears ; but if he told of evil deeds and evil men, the face, changing, became overclouded ; and if he dwelt on the ludicrous aspect of sin, he did not smile, but became grave, as if some bright being, sent down from a happy world of purity and peace, encased in a decrepit frame, and marred by many infirmities, threw out from time to time, out of the shattered tenement, flashes of inherent life, drawing from objects round it sources of spiritual thought ; yet at the touch of evil, shrinking into itself, and mourning with an angel's pity over so sad a fall. After the morning walk, the conversation flowed on round the breakfast-table, protracted often to noon. Nor could any one break away. For, if he were a talker, he found such a listener ! "I know little of science," we heard him say, "but you will find me an attentive hearer." And if his guest were shy and silent, he could watch with delight the expressive pantomime of looks and movements ; or listen, as Arthur Young in blindness used to do, to that soothing voice of music. So it was that his table always overflowed. To be sure, in earlier days, when the crowded dinner-table gathered its guests at Broomfield or Kensington Gore, it was not always easy to find seats, or supplies either of food, or knives and forks. Those whom the butler favoured often had a hint to take their seat early, or they would find none. Yet people crowded there in spite of all inconveniences ; for, as an *Amphitryon*, who gave grand dinners, said to Wilberforce, "You can do what you please ; people go to hear you talk, not for a good dinner." And his talk, what was it ? Can we recall it ? No. His conversation

was like an ethereal essence, which fills the atmosphere with fragrance ; you enjoy it, but can't recall or impart it. Yet one trait was constant : he never gave or left a wound. He never willingly dwelt on evil, or on the foibles of others. If he could, he would pass them by ; if pressed on him, he spoke of them with reluctance, and was always on the watch for some redeeming feature.

His conversation was rich ; for he had lived a long life with men, and had passed through stirring scenes. He could speak of almost all the notable persons who had appeared during two generations, in an age remarkable for eminent men. Entering Parliament under the old régime both of England and France, acquainted with the contemporaries of Lord Chatham, and seeing the end of the long ministry of Lord North ; visiting Paris while Louis XVI. and his beautiful queen held their high court at the Tuileries, he had watched the first tiny streamlet, and then the torrent, of the French Revolution. He had seen the dynasty of the Bourbons pass away, and the old institutions of France ; and the meteor of Napoleon's empire rise in the firmament and blaze as if it would last for ever, then fade and vanish. He had lived through a long European war, and had seen a settled peace ; and during peaceful times, great changes, the passing away of old customs, traditions, and parties, till he observed the politics of England recast and changed. Old habits disappeared with the celebrities of his early life ; a new generation filled the stage with new ideas. Living through so long a life, he, of whom at the age of twenty-nine his physicians declared that he had not stamina to last three weeks, was preserved to gather experience from a long and varied observation. So that, with his mind enriched by recollections, and stored with the treasures of a busy life passed among great events in which he had taken part, he approached the season when the body usually decays, and the mind and the eye are weakened, to find that with him age had not dulled his mental vigour nor blunted his moral feelings. It had only ripened the thoughts and mellowed the affections. So, not less in his later years was his company sought, and his house frequented by friends. Those, for whom he had felt in days of sorrow, came thankfully to cheer him in his years of weakness. He himself, with deepening humbleness, acknowledged more and more, as he advanced, his own shortcomings. For he had set up a high standard, and he was abased as he fell below it. But others judged him differently. They, as they watched him, could scarce believe that human worth could reach so rare a purity. Spirits so buoyant, yet so self-restrained ; a temper so cheerful, yet so calm ; wit so playful, yet so harmless ; affections so expansive, yet so true ;

a courtesy so uniform, thoughtfulness so considerate; such reverence for the will of God, yet such gentle charity to man; such inflexible obedience to the Revealed Word, yet such indulgence to human failings, and such toleration of the widest differences; thoughts that came and went quick as rays of light, yet, like light, bright and pure. They who looked on him wondered at him in that peaceful evening, as Bowdler had admired him in the mid-day of a busy life, or, as the sanguine girl pronounced him, a being of angelic goodness when she saw him, in his early days, in Gisborne's forest home.

But let us resume and close the story. When Mr. Wilberforce left Parliament in March, 1825, he purchased a house at Highwood Hill, ten miles from London, with 140 acres of land. Till his house was ready, he remained in a cottage near Uxbridge; and there his friends resorted to him—his long-tried friends, Macaulay, Babington, Butterworth, and Lord Gambier; the younger men, Tom Macaulay, and the Thorntons, and Inglis, and Buxton. There also came Joseph John Gurney, Dr. Lushington, North, and Leslie Foster, and Sir Stamford Raffles; travellers from the East or from New Zealand, men of note in the Church and the State, all glad to open their budget to him, and to hear his lively impressions. In 1827 he was settled in his new home, and part of that summer he spent in visiting his old county of York; to find there towns which had swelled far beyond his early recollections, and lands which had flushed into a wider and more advanced cultivation. In the ranks of men alone he found blanks. Many of those, whom he had known in his younger days, were long departed; and the gaps painfully reminded him of friendly faces and warm greetings not to be seen again. "My friends are daily dropping round me; the companions of my youth are worn out, while I still remain." But where it was the faithful and true-hearted who were taken, he had abundant comfort: "We may follow them in our thoughts and sympathies into that paradise into which we trust they have been received, and may hope at no distant period to see them once more." But though a generation had thus passed, his name was not forgotten. In Wentworth House, as in humbler halls, he was gladly received; and when his bent figure was noticed again in the cloth-halls of Leeds and Huddersfield, they rung once more to the shouts which in old days had welcomed the name of Wilberforce.

He was cheered by the sight of a marked progress in morals and religion. To this he had contributed both by example and words. His work on "Vital Christianity" produced in its time a wide impression, and did more to introduce religion into the higher classes than any work of former or later times. He, indeed, while he rejoiced at the change, never thought of

his own exertions as producing it. But the public were not unmindful of his services. "They treated me as if I were some great person," was his simple remark. More touching was a testimony which reached him from the humblest and rudest class of society, which comes to us from an eye-witness. In one of his last visits to Bath, the little dwarfish figure, twisted now into a strange transfiguration, was wending its way up one of the steep streets by which loaded carts bring up coals to the inhabitants of Bath from the port on the Avon. Two rough carters were urging their feeble horses up one of the steepest of the streets, when one of the horses slipped and fell. The man to whom the cart belonged, a burly specimen of a savage race, infuriated by the stoppage, rained blows and kicks, mingled with hoarse curses, on the prostrate animal. Wilberforce, who was near, and who forgot everything in his sympathy, rushed forward, when the giant had raised his hand for a further blow, and interfered, pouring upon him at the same time a torrent of eloquent rebuke. The fellow, arrested in the very height of passion, and furious at the language used, stood with his face like a thunder-cloud, as if meditating to turn the stroke on the puny elf who appeared before him. At this moment his companion, who had recognized Wilberforce, stepped up to him and whispered his name. The word acted like a charm. In an instant the lowering face brightened, and from rage and sullen hatred the look passed at once into wondering reverence; as if, in the midst of his brutal passions and rude debasement, there was suddenly presented to him an object that awakened the better feelings of his nature, and drew out his slumbering sympathies. When the old statesman first settled in his new home, he felt strange and perplexed. The routine of a life so different from his former activities troubled him. "I feel strangely awkward in returning to my ordinary duties." The stream of friends was for a moment suspended. The absence of his boys tried him. "My spirits quite sink at the idea of being here when my boys leave me." But soon he fell into his old course. He drew round him his friends. "As I grow older, I find myself growing more attached to such of the companions of my youth as are still left to me." But he also kept his friendships in "repair" by younger friends. In his younger days he had admired intellect; but now he said he preferred the company of "the simplest person who fears God to the best company of a contrary kind." As to differences of opinion on secular matters, or differences of sectarian views, he trod them down: "Oh, when we really believe a man to be serving God, I delight in trampling on all these little points." Moral purity he felt transcended far all the efforts of intellect. "Much mystery," he says, "overhangs knowledge, and time

with an oblivious touch effaces the little we do attain of science ; but blessed is he who attains some lineaments of the moral image of God, for they shall see Him as He is." But he held that, for those who sought knowledge, Christianity was the only sure access. When some one cited the saying of an astronomer, that there are things which must be for ever hid from man, he exclaimed, "No ; that they shall not. I shall know all these things." "I feel elevated and thankful to bear part in this magnificent creation, to be the child of Him who is the Governor of these boundless dominions." "I find unspeakable pleasure in the declaration, so often reiterated in the Word of God, of the unvarying truth of the Supreme Being. To me there is something inexpressibly sublime in the assurance, that, throughout the whole immeasurable extent of the all but infinite empire of God, truth always extends, and, like a master-key, unlocks and opens the mysterious wisdom, goodness, and mercy of the Divine dispensations." Again he says, "Only think of that one declaration, 'God is perfect truth and perfect love.' That one thought worked out is enough to fit a man for heaven." "I wish I could send you," says one of his later visitors, "something of what I have heard in the beautifully simple explanations that he gives every day of a chapter that he reads from the Testament. I should have much to tell you, at some future time, of sentiments and ideas of his, all so beautiful, and so true, and so indulgent, for I think nothing more striking in him than that spirit of general benevolence which governs all that he says. . . . Then he seems so thoroughly pleased to hear any anecdote in praise of any person who is talked about, and so ready to make allowance in others for the faults that he has not a taint of himself." "I spent a few days," says another, "at his house, just after Moore's *Life of Lord Byron* was published. I brought it with me, and read parts of it to him at night, while he was pacing up and down the room with all the quickness and gaiety of a child. What struck me particularly was his anxiety to find out anything in Lord Byron's favour." His fund of spirits, and his interest in everything, made him of all men most easily pleased. "If I were called upon," says Sir James Macintosh, "to describe Wilberforce in one word, I should say he was the most *amusable* man I ever met with in my life. Instead of having to think what subjects will interest him, it is perfectly impossible to hit on one that does not. I never saw any one who touched life at so many points. When he was in the House of Commons, he seemed to have the freshest mind of any one there. There was all the charm of youth about him. He is quite as remarkable in the bright evening of his days, as when I saw him in his glory many years ago." In 1830, losses fell upon him, and with losses slanders.

Neither of them touched him. The calumnious attack he bore calmly. "I meant it well," he said; and he could refer his act and its motives to a better Judge. Had he been so minded, his losses would have been repaired. His admirers (among whom were many West Indians) offered to restore the loss; but this he declined. Freedom from cares, a happy home under the roofs of his children, more than compensated for the blow. "Our heavy loss has led to the solid and great increase of our enjoyments;" his life, he said, seemed prolonged in order to show that a man can be as happy without a fortune as with one. Other losses touched him more—deaths in his own family and the circle of his friends; but for these pangs the old man had a sure anodyne. "I have often heard," he said, "that sailors on a voyage will drink 'friends astern' till they are half-way over, and then 'friends ahead.' With me it has been 'friends ahead' this long time."

Politics, with which he had been so long conversant, he gladly dropped. Their excitement had never been alluring to him. His love was for the country and a quiet life; and often, when he left the country at the call of business to return to London, "I really could scarce refrain from tears." Now he could abstain, and rejoice that he was freed from the turmoil. But to younger men, entering on the scene which he had left, he was always ready to give his counsels, and to tell them of the talisman which he had used to carry him through the conflict. "Prayer, almighty prayer, is the grand maintainer of the spiritual life. Prayer to be undertaken by realizing the unseen world, and endeavouring to feel ourselves in the presence of our God and Saviour." On himself the infirmities of age crept gently: "I am becoming yearly more stiff and crazy;" but he could write, on completing his seventy-second year, that he suffered no pain; and that when he had a complaint, it was always mitigated. "What thanks do I owe to God that my declining strength appears likely not to be attended with painful diseases. How good a friend God is to me. I am abashed to think of the afflictions of others. Still more, I am quite ashamed of my comforts, when I think of Him who had not where to lay His head. God has so crowded His mercies on me." The infirmities of such a mind were deprived of much of their bitterness. "When the cup presented to me has some bitter ingredients, surely no draught can be deemed distasteful which comes from such a hand." In 1830 he took the chair unwillingly at a great meeting of the anti-slavery society. This was his last public effort. When solicited to resume the chair the following year, he declined. The public horizon looked dark in 1832, but the darkness could not cloud his sunny repose: "I trust that I may calmly, though humbly, resign myself to the gracious disposal of that great Being,

who has poured out on me such unnumbered blessings." His one desire was, "that he might become more and more harmonised with the sentiments and dispositions of a better world." All reference to his past services vexed him; the language of praise pained him; flattery was odious: "I had much rather he had spit in my face." To himself he seemed an unprofitable servant; his only comfort was, that "we serve a gracious Master, who will take the will for the deed."

In 1833 he went, for the last time, to Bath; but there his illness increased. Visited by Joseph John Gurney, he opened to him his inner feelings — his delight in the Psalms, and the various Epistles of St. Paul. "With regard to myself," he added, "I have nothing whatsoever to urge but the poor publican's plea, 'God be merciful to me a sinner.'" He removed to London to consult an eminent physician; and there the vote of £20,000,000 for the abolition of slavery greeted him. When he received the tidings, he had revived under a temporary rally. He was able to be wheeled into the garden, and, though he himself felt that his end was near, he talked to those about him with his wonted animation. "I do declare," he said, "that the delight I have in feeling that there are a few people whose hearts are really attached to me, is the very highest I have in this world; and as far as the present state is concerned, what more could any man wish at the close of life, than to be attended by his own children and his own wife, and all treating him with such uniform kindness and affection." On the 27th of July fits of unconsciousness came on; and on the morning of the 29th he died, having nearly completed his seventy-fourth year. At the request of a large number of members of both houses of parliament, among whom were princes of the blood, cabinet ministers, and the most distinguished statesmen, a public funeral was awarded; and to Westminster Abbey, the ancient resting place of worth and genius, attended by a large procession of members of both Houses, all enmities closed and all opinions blended in a national tribute, the remains of Wilberforce were borne. His tomb is in the north transept, beside the tombs of Pitt and Fox. Public meetings at York and Hull were held, to erect memorials to his memory; and, when the news of his death reached New York and the West Indies, the coloured population went into mourning. The abolition of slavery, sure one day to be universal, remains a monument of his public efforts, and the growing worth, the virtuous integrity, and the manly independence of our public life, no less than the enlarging philanthropy and piety of the English people, bear witness, with an emphatic testimony, that Wilberforce did not live in vain.

A LADY ON THE EDUCATION OF WOMEN.

MAY a wife and mother, who has devoted many years to the work of education, suggest a few thoughts on the subject so ably treated by "Oxonienensis" in the July number?

He mentions the startling fact, that thirty per cent. of the women of England never marry, but are dependent through life on resources within themselves. How all-important, then, is the training which, by God's grace, will fit them for either lot—to become true wives and mothers, and to stamp the impress of character on another generation; or to live a happy, useful, honoured single life—a life whose unselfish loving influence shall brighten many a home. The trifling or querulous old maid would have been a trifling or querulous wife, no true helpmeet for any man. A congenial union, and the "heritage and gift" of children, are earth's choicest blessings; but there are joys higher and deeper even than these; for it is not the dearly-prized marriage-ring, but the *mind within*, resting upon, or struggling against, God's holy will, that makes life to each of us what we find it.

Referring to the great natural differences between a man's mind and a woman's, "Oxonienensis" touches upon the erroneous decisions of a supposed jury of women; but this remark is one that does not readily admit of proof, since jury-service is happily no part of woman's work. A Cantabrigian of high ability once said, "A man may almost implicitly trust a sensible wife's judgment in matters within her province; her intuition is more reliable than his reason; but she will perhaps weaken the force of her conclusions by trying to explain her grounds for them."

"Oxonienensis" states that the education of women is not only lamentably deficient, but "undeniably frivolous and superficial." This may be a correct description of schools where the principal leaves the teaching to others, who feel only a secondary interest in it; and employs herself chiefly in keeping the accounts, writing letters, and receiving callers. But schools differ widely in aims, plans, and results. Where the presiding head regards each child as a separate trust, committed to her by God and by the parents, and gives herself thoroughly, lovingly, and intelligently to the work, her influence and example tell on every pupil, governess, and master in the house. That there are such schools in different parts of Great Britain and Ireland, the writer has good reason to know; and she has to thank many an earnest teacher, personally a stranger, for the glad harvest she often reaps where others have sown. She constantly receives girls whose earlier instructors by no means

"rested and were thankful" when they could conjugate a reflective verb negatively, in its simple and compound tenses (which is doubtless what "Oxoniensis" means), translate *Télémaque*, and write a French letter.

The writer, in the name of all earnest faithful teachers, modestly ventures to assure "Oxoniensis" that he wrongs the women of England if he deems this the standard of female education. It would be as fair to judge of Oxford and Cambridge by the attainments which barely enable a youth to graduate. Not a few thoughtful men, reading the remarks of "Oxoniensis," and learning from them how narrow is the range of female acquirements, will be ready to say with the Jew, "I thank God that He did not make me a woman." To describe in detail what the work of education really is, would fill an octavo; so that a mere outline here and there is all that this brief paper can attempt. One of the points at which we especially aim is to teach our pupils to think and to observe; to learn intelligently what they learn: *e.g.*, a superficial lesson in geography may teach a girl that such a town stands on such a river; but may leave it quite an open question in her mind whether it is a comparatively modern town, or was once inhabited by the old Romans. The same lesson, intelligently taught, will settle this point and many others; fixing it in her memory as a town worth knowing something about, on account of its peculiar situation, or productions, or some bygone event connected with it; or as the spot where some great man lived or died. Cornwell's Geography, and Chambers' England, are valuable little books for giving information of this kind.

Nor is history made a bare catalogue of names, and battles, and isolated facts; but a living interest is blended with it as recording how human beings, some of them perhaps not so very unlike ourselves (except in the importance of the spheres they filled), lived and acted, rejoiced and suffered, and then died; and "their works do follow them" still, though the current of a thousand years may have rolled over their dust. Thus read, history is full of deep interest; especially when girls are taught to compare one historian with another, and to notice how one event hangs upon other events, and how God's unseen Providence overrules the whole.

Another delightful part of their training belongs to the hours of out-door exercises—hours of untold value to the mind as well as to the body, particularly if diversified by free, active, joyous play. No one who has not tried it knows how instructive country walks may be made by using them as an opportunity for teaching girls to *see*—to watch the every-varying lights and shadows on hill or stream, meadow or woodland, and to note the exquisitely-finished touches of God's hand.

Some teachers may say, "How can anyone have energy

enough to make walks instructive when wearied with hearing lessons in a close school-room?" Poor tired sister of mine, well may you ask; and well may teaching degenerate into mere lesson hearing, if carried on in a close school-room. But why need the school-room be close? Why not keep the windows wide open whenever it is possible to do so? Why are you not as careful to give your pupils good air to breathe, as you are to give them good food to eat? Few know the value of pure air in its effects on the mind as well as the body.

To enable mental training to reach safely its highest point, the physical and moral and religious training must each take its rightful place. If we love study ourselves, we shall be successful in teaching others to love it, but not otherwise. So, too, with respect to the highest love of which the heart is capable. If we can reverently say, in entire sincerity, "I love Him, and His love makes me glad," it will outweigh a thousand exhortations, if those to whom we say it, and who are ever watching us with the keenest scrutiny, see that our love is a living reality, that makes us true to them and to ourselves.

When the foundation is thus laid, and girls know *well* what they know, and learn to be *thorough* in every occupation, doing each little duty as for Him who cares how they do it; then the rest is easy and delightful, especially if the mind be continually rested and relieved by the recurrence, at stated intervals, of those feminine employments which train the hands to neatness and dexterity, and render girls observant of the small things on which the comfort and elegance of home depends. Has "Oxoniensis" ever watched the progress of an intelligent girl carefully and lovingly trained on plans like these, which embrace the whole of her complex nature?

Many of the books he names are admirable, and are in constant use in good schools—so that it is hardly quite fair to mention "Corneille, Molière, Dante, Tasso, Goethe, and Schiller," as "sealed books to which masters and mistresses seldom aspire." How does "Oxoniensis" know this? In studying German, girls constantly read the "Jungfrau," and "Wilhelm Tell," and "Marie Stuart," and "Wallenstein," by Schiller; or "Undine," by La Motte Fouqué; and "Soll und Haben," by Freytag. In French they read Molière, and Corneille, and Racine, and La Fontaine, and the "Lettres Choiesies" of Madame de Sévigné; and sometimes a little of Massillon, or Bossuet, or Pascal, with a few very carefully chosen books of the present day, such as "Léonie," or "Le Philosophe sous les Toits." "Oxoniensis" would confer a real boon on teachers by explaining how a residence of a month or two in Paris enables an Englishman to read any French author he pleases, since the power to do this cannot come naturally even to a Parisian.

Italian is as easy a language as "Oxoniensis" describes; for

Ariosto and Dante being, on different grounds, unsuitable for girls, their Italian reading is generally confined to Silvio Pellico, Manzoni, and Tasso. "Oxoniensis" should, however, distinctly explain on what plan "half the languages of Europe may be fairly learned in the time required to master *Æschylus* and *Thucydides*." As regards Latin and Greek, a bright girl beginning the former at eight years of age, may read *Cæsar*, *Livy*, *Sallust*, *Virgil*, and perhaps an expurgated *Horace*; and then go on to the Greek Testament, and to old *Homer*, who will be a well-spring of pleasure to her; or, if she "aspires" to mathematics, she may study algebra and the first five books of *Euclid*; but Greek and mathematics are exceptional studies for young ladies. A girl seldom begins Latin before fifteen; and it is desirable then to make it a great point to give her a sound knowledge of *Virgil*, and a really intellectual delight in it; so that long after leaving school she may prize it next to her *Milton*, and be as familiar with its pages.

As regards music and drawing, the most rational plan is to study the pupil's ability, and act accordingly; not keeping a girl at the piano, if she has no ear for the difference between sevenths and octaves; nor confining her to the easel, if she has no taste for drawing. "Oxoniensis" describes the peculiar adaptation of "the true" to the character of man, and "the beautiful" to that of woman; but we who know the dangerously powerful hold that imagination often has on young minds, would earnestly teach our girls to feel, with Bonar, that the Divine order is, "first the true, and then the beautiful," not "first the beautiful, and then the true;" or, with a higher authority, "Whatsoever things are true . . . whatsoever things are lovely, think on these things" (*Phil. iv. 8*); in other words, to teach them that the beautiful is only beautiful when its foundation is the true. The closing remarks of "Oxoniensis" are excellent; all earnest teachers will thank him either for pointing out defects, or for seeking to raise the tone of education. The writer will rejoice if her present effort to defend, not schools in the mass, but faithful workers wherever they may be found, helps to convince so able and good a man that its present tone is not universally quite so low as he fears. We deeply feel that the education is never finished; for when we enter our Father's house, and have seen Him whom unseen we love with a love which is our life's constraining motive, one part of the work "the Master" will assign to us will doubtless be to begin our education anew on an immeasurably wider scale, and to continue it for ever.

THE AUTHOR OF "MEMORIALS OF A BELOVED MOTHER."

POETRY.

HYMN.

"The rich and poor meet together: the Lord is the maker of them all."
(Prov. xxii. 2.)

O God of heaven! before Thy feet
We rich and poor together meet;
And on our bended knees we fall,
To own Thee Maker of us all.

We meet in wishes,—meet in wants:
We meet in all thy goodness grants:
We meet in sorrows,—meet in joys:
We meet when fear our peace destroys.

We meet in feeling,—meet in prayer:
We meet in crosses,—meet in care:
We meet in weakness,—meet in sin:
We meet salvation's prize to win.

We meet in Jesus Christ our Lord:
We meet to hear His holy word:
We meet in hope,—we meet in love:
We meet as we would meet above.

We meet in birth,—we meet in death:
When we yield up our mortal breath,
We meet at last before Thy throne,
And there our human kinship own.

Here, then, in worship at Thy feet,
We rich and poor together meet;
And at Thy gracious footstool fall,
Owning Thee Maker of us all.

STEPHEN JENNER.

The Vicarage, Camberwell; Aug. 10, 1865.

CORRESPONDENCE.

SIR GEORGE STEPHEN ON OUR NOTICE OF HIS FATHER'S LIFE.

To the Editor of the Christian Observer.

Melbourne, 19th June, 1865.

SIR,—Though it is clear that your biographical sketch of my father, in your number for February last, is derived from some person well acquainted with the family, there are some mistakes in it worth correcting. He did not return a widower from the West Indies; my mother died, I believe, in child-bed, about three years after his return. She died in Sloane Street; he then resided in the Middle Temple for several

years, my brothers being sent to school, and my sisters and myself placed under the care of an aunt at Cambridge. Mr. Wilberforce did not "seek him out." On the contrary, my father sought him; for he returned from St. Kitts disgusted with slavery, and his anxiety to render his knowledge of the subject practically useful led to his first intercourse with Mr. Wilberforce. From my intimate knowledge of his character, I do not believe that he ever was under a cloud of despondency," or "wished or expected soon to die." On the contrary, he was not only generally hopeful, but rather inclined to be sanguine. "His prospects" were never brighter than on his return, and for many years after, when he enjoyed an absolute monopoly of the business of Prize Appeals. In early life he certainly was inclined to democratic policy; so much so, that he christened me "Washington;" but the French revolution cured him, and he never allowed me to go by that name. In or about the year 1802 he had become, what he continued till his death, a thorough Tory, though with liberal views. He never suffered from ill health, either bodily or "mental"; even at the age of seventy-one he walked thirty miles between breakfast and dinner, as a mere matter of amusement. That he loved Mr. Wilberforce with all his heart, and deferred much to his parliamentary experience, is most true; but that "he would take no step separately from him, nor on public questions, without his sanction; that his works, his pamphlets, his prepossessions were all submitted to his overruling judgment," could never have been written by anybody who personally knew my father, or the tone of his general intercourse with Mr. Wilberforce. In fact, my father's fault was, that he carried out the principle of sturdy independence, or rather of self-dependence, to an inconvenient extent on all points of a public or political character. Were it expedient, I could give some striking instances of this. The writer of the article has also mistaken the character of Mrs. Stephen. She was an excellent woman. Perhaps a more conscientious or unselfish character has seldom existed; but she was very unlike her brother; it is not however necessary for me to enter on her merits or demerits, whatever they might be.

In my "Anti-slavery Recollections" (published by Hatchard), I have endeavoured to delineate my father; and I submitted my sketch of him to some then living, who knew him even better than myself. They made a few trifling alterations, but it was considered, on the whole, to be faithful and impartial, or I should not have ventured to publish it. I think the writer of your article would peruse it, and perhaps the whole book, with some interest.—I remain, Sir, your's a very obediently,

GEORGE STEPHEN.

It is rather singular that I should, at the age of seventy-one, be addressing the *Christian Observer* on such a subject, when, about the age of fifteen or sixteen, my first essay as an author appeared in the *Christian Observer*, in a boyish criticism on some of the very men who are enumerated among Mr. Wilberforce's contemporaries. It was a mere sally, which Mr. Macaulay, in his good nature, inserted by way of encouragement to a juvenile pen, I fancy.

[We thank Sir George Stephen for his corrections, and feel assured the writer of "Wilberforce and his Contemporaries" will do so too.—
EDITOR.]

ON CANON BOYD AND BAPTISM.

To the Editor of the Christian Observer.

DEAR SIR,—Many besides "Notans" will, if I mistake not, be perplexed and alarmed at Canon Boyd's statement of original sin being removed by Baptism; because, in admitting it to be thus removed, we are forced to acquiesce in the Popish idea, that infants dying unbaptized are damned. Now our blessed Lord expressly tells us, that their angels do always behold the face of our Father which is in Heaven. I pause not now to inquire, being an unlearned person, whether "angels" here means "departed spirits," or "ministering angels;" for even if the latter, we are expressly told that they are sent to minister unto them that are heirs of salvation, *ergo*, those who are watched over by angels must be of that blessed class. I beg, however, to observe, that the meaning of the passage would be far clearer and simpler if we are allowed to consider it as meaning their "spirits;" and the same words, the same at least in English, occurring in Acts xii. 17, where it *can* mean nothing but what is commonly called "ghost," would certainly favour such an interpretation. If, however, original sin is accounted against every infant while unbaptized, what a fearful number of unconscious infants must thus be sent to hell; and yet there seems no escape from this alternative, if we do not allow that original sin, in its results for eternity, has been atoned for by the blood of Christ, irrespective of any knowledge any of us may have had of that sacrifice. At what age personal responsibility commences, we cannot and dare not pronounce. I do not believe, however, that it commences in the cradle; and though fully holding the duty of Christians offering their children to the Lord at the earliest period at which it is feasible to do so, I do not and cannot believe, that until that rite is performed the helpless being lies under the weight of imputed guilt. "The Saviour of all men, especially of them that believe," implies, to my mind, that birth-sin is forgiven to all, while believers have their *actual* sins blotted out when they come to Christ to seek forgiveness through His precious blood. It is grievous, to my mind, to see so many of the wise and good going back to the beggarly elements to which they were once in bondage, and from the fear, as I doubt not, of falling into the Latitudinarianism of another party in the Church, upholding dogmas which can only be consistently maintained by the High or Sacramentarian section.

I remain, Your constant reader,

G. M.

For enlargement on these subjects, I would refer your readers to Dr. Cumming's work upon "Infant Salvation," a little treatise which does honour to its writer, and to the section of the Church to which he belongs.

[NOTE.—We are induced to insert this letter, from the respect and esteem we have for the writer, with whose name we are favoured. With regard to Canon Boyd's statement, we have neither undertaken to impeach nor to defend it. It must stand upon its own merits.



But we have said—and, now that we have looked into the authorities, repeat with still greater confidence—that his view of the remission of original sin in baptism is “that which was generally held by the reformers and fathers of the Church of England.” This is a simple question of facts. If any of our readers can contradict us, we are quite willing to be set right; but at the same time we are determined not to be drawn again, at this time of day, into the Baptismal controversy. Neither Canon Boyd, nor any of the great writers we have in view, would, however, for a moment accept the alternative, which G. M. offers to them, of consigning all unbaptized children to perdition. Indeed, no man ever protested more strongly than some of them against this horrible doctrine. We shall content ourselves with quoting two writers of very different schools; Richard Hooker, and Richard Baxter. Hooker wrote under the eye of Archbishop Whitgift, in the reign of Elizabeth, and may on the whole be regarded as having summed up and presented to the world the most able defence of the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England which has ever appeared. In his Ecclesiastical Polity, Book v. Sec. 60, he writes thus:—“Baptism is a Sacrament which God hath instituted in His Church, that they which receive the same might thereby be incorporated into Christ, and so, through His most precious merit, obtain as well *that saving grace of imputation which taketh away all former guiltiness*, as also that infused divine virtue of the Holy Ghost which giveth to the powers of the soul their first disposition towards future newness of life.” Hooker was a moderate Augustinian, and he proceeds to show that this doctrine is perfectly consistent with the doctrine of Election. Baxter, at the Savoy Conference with the Bishops, expressed great dissatisfaction with our Book of Common Prayer. He found fault with the baptismal service on several grounds; especially that it spoke with too much confidence of the spiritual change wrought in baptism. The bishops, it is well known, requested him to draw up a revised or reformed prayer book. He did so; and in own baptismal service, we find the following passage in the address to parents. “Is it a small mercy for this child to be accepted into the covenant of God, *and washed from its original sin in the blood of Christ*, (which is signified and sealed by this sacramental washing in water,) to be accepted as a member of Christ, and of His Church, and for you to see this happiness of your child?” This, as Dr. Blakeney says in his valuable work on the Prayer Book, “is neither less nor more than the Church of England teaches.”

We now take leave of the subject.—EDITOR.]

NOTICES OF NEW BOOKS.

THIS is not the publishing season, and the works which have come before us are either reprints of standard works, or what may be called stock books, suitable for all times and seasons. Thus we have, *The Student's English Dictionary*, by Dr. John Ogilvie, LL.D., published by Blackie and Son, Edinburgh and London. We can highly recommend it to students of both sexes, especially to ladies. It is a pronouncing dictionary and a pictorial dictionary. We believe that ladies find great difficulty in spelling correctly, and still more in pronouncing accurately, words of foreign derivation; and to us it is a perfect marvel how, without some acquaintance with the old languages of Greece and Rome, they acquit themselves so well; the ear being their only guide. This is a pronouncing dictionary, and will assist students as well as foreigners greatly. Again, there are scores of words in occasional use of which ladies in general cannot be expected to know the meaning; such, for instance, as *catamaran*, *cresset*, and many technical and scientific terms. Now, in this dictionary, an exquisitely drawn vignette is given to illustrate the meaning of such terms. The reader sees, as well as learns from description, what is meant by words of rare occurrence, terms of science, and so on. Thus, if his taste incline him to matters of church millinery, and he would fain know the difference between cope and surplice, here is the effigy of a gentleman with shaven crown, clothed in a cope, which at once explains the mystery. So of matters of more importance, mathematical figures, outlandish animals, with strange names, as, the *glyptodon*, and "other ill-shaped fishes," here may they be seen, described first and pictured afterwards, so that knowledge enters through two senses instead of one. We must add, that the derivations of words are well given, as well as their accentuation. Altogether, we do not hesitate to pronounce it a very meritorious work, which old students no less than young ones will consult with advantage.

Life in the World. By the Rev. Harry Jones. Rivingtons.—This little book consists of several short sermons on the different phases of Christian life; such as "Peace," "Hope," "Conviction and Forgiveness," &c. They are earnestly written, and only too short. The Author has given much food for thought, if the reader will only follow out the ideas for himself. Carefully to think over such a chapter as the one on "High Motives," must be productive of good to any earnest reader. The remarks which the author makes upon motives, are extremely good, and we cannot do better than quote his own words:—"We are tempted to think that, in great matters, God must be consulted, and the action performed with an eye to His glory and honour; but that, on ordinary trifling occasions, the ordinary motive is sufficient."

"But St. Paul teaches a different lesson. He would have us learn that no duty is too small, no occasion too insignificant, for the exercise of the noblest motive. His rule, God's rule, the Christian's rule, 'as unto the Lord and not unto men,' is the only one he admits. It was not intended for saints, or philosophers, or great men alone; but for

children and slaves, in the daily round of domestic life, and the discharge of the most menial duties. Whoever we are, whatever our station, the will of God, done from the heart, is the only principle of our work, if we be true Christians."

We frequently meet with new books, especially biographies, in which, while there is much which we cannot but disapprove, there are some things which we feel assured that our readers would wish to be made acquainted with. Thus we have the *Life of Joseph Sturge*, by Henry Richards, published by Partridge, London. Mr. Sturge stands before the world in two very different characters; a plain quaker, and a political reformer of the extreme school, the avowed enemy of religious establishments, and the advocate of manhood suffrage. On these points we need not add another word; his own townsmen seem to have felt that his politics were extreme. He contested the borough of Birmingham soon after it was enfranchised, and was rejected in favour of his fellow townsman, Richard Spooner, of more moderate politics, though a reformer. But it is as a philanthropist that the name of Joseph Sturge is known and honoured. And his example is one which ought to be recorded: here is an instance of what may be done by a man of fair education, moderate fortune acquired in business, good health, and those other gifts which ardent love to man, founded on religious principle, inspires. He was the son of a farmer, and himself in youth a farmer likewise. The family had long been Quakers; and he seems from his youth to have adopted their principles heartily. After a few years he abandoned farming, and settled in Birmingham as a cornfactor; and here he remained till the close of life, a shrewd man of business, and of fine integrity. He was convinced that drunkenness is the curse and scourge of the lower classes, and took refuge in total abstinence. Having done so, he published a circular informing his customers that he could no longer supply them with that kind of barley which is generally used for malting, and adding plainly his reasons for so doing. As a philanthropist, nothing seemed to come to him amiss. He had no reason to blush when he heard the taunt, that men of world-wide sympathies forget that charity begins at home. The writer of this saw him for the first time at a meeting of cabmen, who had assembled, after a public notice, to discuss their grievances in a large dim chamber in Birmingham. Except the men themselves, and their chairman, Mr. Sturge was the only visitor. He came to see what could be done for them, especially with regard to their Sunday labour. So, too, when the question was of chimney sweeps and the cruelty of climbing boys, or in short of any scheme of social improvement, his heart was always open, and his purse too. It is a matter of history, that when England resolved to abolish slavery in her colonies, five years' apprenticeship was agreed upon as a preliminary period, during which both slave and master were to learn their duties to each other. It was a foolish scheme, acquiesced in by Abolitionists in England, to get rid, on any terms, of the frightful evil which had so long disgraced us. Rumours soon reached us from every colony, that great injustice was still practised, and in many instances that the negro was in a worse condition than before. Mr. Sturge at his own cost crossed the Atlantic, and returned home in a few months with a plain statement of what he himself had seen. None attempted to discredit his

assertions. The apprenticeship system fell at once, in a burst of national indignation; and the slave found himself, a few months afterwards, really free. When the Russian war threatened, Mr. Sturge, with several others, resolved to visit the Emperor at St. Petersburg, and dissuade him, if possible, from plunging into war. The result it was easy to foretell; he was received with the utmost courtesy, and returned home without success. We mention this mission, not to applaud its wisdom, but to draw attention to its self-denial. Mr. Sturge now in a great measure retired from an active share in the business—it was chiefly conducted by his brother—and gave all his energies to works of philanthropy. We cannot even afford an outline of his labours in connexion with Lord Brougham, Sir F. Buxton, Mr. Cropper of Liverpool, and other Abolitionists; his labours were incessant for the abolition of slavery, wherever it existed. Mrs. Stowe, when in England, was his guest; and in 1851, at his own cost, he had purchased an estate in the West Indies, with the sole object, we believe, of showing what might be done to ameliorate the condition, and improve the mind and morals, of the debased negro. He died in 1859. His townsmen honoured him with a public funeral; it was neither sought by his family, nor indeed expected; and they have since erected a marble statue to his memory. The late John Angel James, who had known him for many years, thus speaks of him in a funeral sermon:—"Mr. Sturge was a great and good man. His goodness, in fact, constituted his greatness. He was a Christian, a patriot, and a philanthropist. He had a noble mind, but a nobler heart. He considered philanthropy his vocation; he traversed continents and oceans, he sacrificed ease and domestic comfort, and gave not merely his money, but his time, his labour, and his influence, in the cause of our common humanity." And he has been well described as a "rare specimen of a Christian man of the world." And one whose information may be relied upon asserts, "that up to the time when his family increased, he devoted more than half his entire income to charitable purposes, afterwards about one third."

Debrett's Peerage and Baronetage, two handsome volumes blazoned with gold and arrayed in scarlet, may seem strange books to be reviewed by the Christian Observer. Yet, why not? Surely they contain, or at least suggest, some useful lessons. If there are "sermons in stones," there are many sermons under these gilded coverings. If the reader is of a democratic turn, it will do him good to learn to what a great extent the House of Lords, even more than the Baronetage, is recruited from plebeian families; and *that* not on account of their wealth, but for important service rendered to the state by themselves or their ancestors. If he be a proud aristocrat, he may learn a lesson of deep humility, if he considers how few of the brave barons of old are represented by direct heirs in the present august assembly of the House of Lords; where the titles, or even the family name, survive, they are seldom borne in a direct line. All are comparatively modern.

The senior Earl Shrewsbury was created in 1442; but the present Earl is not a lineal descendant of the Talbots, the ancient Earls. Lord Derby follows, created on the field of Bosworth in 1485. The Marquis of Westminster is a descendant of Hugh Lupus; but his name is a modern one on the rolls of the peerage. Thus ages pass away, and

those once illustrious are soon forgotten. Here is a commentary upon the meditation of the Psalmist! "Wise men die, likewise the fool and the brutish person perish, and leave their wealth to others. Their inward thought is, that their houses shall continue for ever, and their dwelling places to all generations; they call their lands after their own names. Nevertheless man being in honour abideth not."

Still the House of Lords is a noble branch of our constitutional government. Let us be thankful for the great men and great names of the peerage; thankful, too, that we have not a king-president who awards pardon or a dungeon to penitent "rebels" without so much as consulting a privy council or a cabinet minister; such is Republican liberty!

We have received the following letter from a Correspondent, and gladly insert it; remarking only that a censure we felt it our duty to make on one work, is not very logically met by proving that it does not apply to another by the same author, with which we were not acquainted:—

DEAR SIR,—Permit me to enclose you an extract from "Thoughts on Personal Religion," by Dr. Goulburn, which has led me to regard a remark in the review of "The Idle Word," contained in the August Number, as somewhat severe.

Your Reviewer writes,—"*One thing he (Dr. Goulburn) seems still to want, a clear sense of the reality of the believer's personal union with Christ Jesus, and of our completeness in Him.*" I am sure you will be glad to insert any statement of Dr. Goulburn's doctrinal views which shows it to be undeserved. The book referred to by your Reviewer treats entirely on a practical subject, namely, the government of the tongue; but the subjoined paragraphs from "Personal Religion" appear to me to prove that Dr. Goulburn's sense of the reality of the believer's completeness in Christ Jesus is one that fully accords with the evangelical language of your journal.

You will permit me to add, that I am not defending Dr. Goulburn as a theologian from every censure your journal might think fit to make, but simply from the particular remark referred to.

The extracts I subjoin are taken from Part III., Chapter i., of "Thoughts on Personal Religion."

"... And so the Christian's holiness; it is never held independently, but derived from the fountain-head of holiness, and that fountain head is Christ. And what we have to do is, to keep open continually the communication between Christ and the soul by repeated exercises of the same simple faith (or trust) in Him, which at first was the instrument of our justification. *We stretched forth the hand of faith, and received out of Christ the forgiveness which He purchased for us; we must stretch it forth again and again and again, to receive that meetness for glory which He gradually imparts.* Without holding this fundamental truth before our eyes, without the most entire trust in Christ to work in us every grace of the Christian character, and the utter renunciation of trust in ourselves, all our efforts in the pursuit of holiness will be only an unblest toiling."

Again:—

"We are justified or forgiven simply by throwing ourselves upon Christ for forgiveness, renouncing all merit in ourselves, and looking to His agony and bloody sweat, His cross and passion. And in exactly the same way we are sanctified by

simple dependence upon Christ to work in us by the Spirit every grace we need. Blessed things are prayer and sacraments, and watchfulness, and rules of life, and self-discipline, and self-denial, when they occupy their right place in the spiritual system, as means, channels, and instruments; but if they be unduly magnified, so as to cover the whole field of view; if we for a moment allow our minds to regard them as sources of grace, and trust to them to work in us sanctity, we shall be as utterly disappointed in them as the poor woman who had the issue of blood was with the many physicians from whom she had suffered many things, but never brought away a cure.

"Mark me, reader, our sanctification is in *Christ, not independent of Him*; and, therefore, not to be had independently. Touch His sacred person, in simple faith that in Him doth all fulness dwell—fulness of light and love, of holy tempers, holy impulses, and of all the fruits of the Spirit,—and the virtue which is in Him shall instantly begin to flow through the channel which faith has opened into your soul."

The italics are my own. I could find many more similar extracts, but think the above amply prove that Dr. Goulburn has a true sense of the believer's union with, and completeness in, Christ Jesus.—I am, obediently yours,

A READER OF THE CHRISTIAN OBSERVER.

PUBLIC AFFAIRS.

WITHIN the last few days we have been startled by the sudden, but, as it now seems, by no means premature, action of Government in consequence of an extensive conspiracy in Ireland. We had all heard of the Fenians, and their childish but impudent sedition, and thought that neither the men themselves, nor their treasons publicly avowed, deserved any farther notice than ridicule and sheer contempt. But Government, it seems, were in possession of much fuller information. Their organization was far more extensive, their plans were much more complete; Fenianism, in short, was more dangerous than the public either in England or in Ireland supposed. Government acted wisely, with secrecy and dispatch. They made a considerable number of arrests, and discovered, it is said, sufficient materials to prove that the conspiracy was of the most formidable character. There is no doubt that it originated in America, where public meetings have been held and subscriptions opened for the avowed purpose of wresting Ireland from the English Crown, and establishing a republic. Several American agents, with treasonable papers, have been seized; and, what is far more serious, some of our English soldiers are amongst the disaffected. A sergeant, and several others, have been seized. Not one Irishman of respectability or influence seems to have been connected with the senseless plot; nor has one Irish priest—let us do them justice—given it, as far as we know at present, the slightest countenance.

We hope that the countenance this contemptible treason has received in America, will not cause the slightest coolness between the two governments. In free States, boasting what we proudly call a

constitution, it is very difficult for the government to interfere upon the mere suspicion of a treasonable plot against a foreign State. We should not forget that in England the plot was laid which so nearly terminated in the assassination of the Emperor at the door of the Opera House in Paris. The shells, some of which we have seen, were cast by English manufacturers, and filled with their explosive materials by a desperate Frenchman, who resided in one of our manufacturing towns. They were of the most murderous description, and no secrecy was observed; but as the manufacturers were not made cognizant of the plot, our Government was powerless to interfere, further than to inform our ally, the Emperor, that suspicious proceedings were on foot.

The state of things in America is just what was to be expected after so tremendous a convulsion. It is difficult to arrive at the truth; there is no doubt, however, that the Southern States present an awful spectacle. Desolation and misery, hunger and nakedness, stalk abroad. The horrors of war are depicted, by reporters on the spot, in stronger colours than novelist or historian would dare to use. To these must be added the special, and yet in some respects ludicrous, condition of the millions of emancipated slaves. What should we think in England, if a starving population of agricultural labourers, to whom food and work were offered with fair wages, refused employment, and hesitated to accept of wages, being chiefly concerned to know whether they should be entitled to a county vote? Yet this is the condition of the emancipated slaves. Emancipation itself seems poisoned, unless they are placed on a political equality with the white man. In America manhood suffrage is the great idol, which they too must fall down and worship. To them this appears the only test of freedom; and the probability is that it will be conceded. To our minds this is supremely ridiculous; but in their circumstances perhaps it is but natural. It may at least have the good effect of teaching Americans in general, what their wisest men have long felt, that manhood suffrage is the curse of the Republic. In other respects, the restoration of the Union proceeds, slowly indeed, but yet more rapidly than we in this country, at any period of the war, should have thought possible. The South is utterly prostrate; they regard slavery as utterly extinguished, "as dead," says one of their writers, "as a red herring;" and they accept the union with all the submissiveness of a conquered province. The bright vision of one vast republic extending from Canada to the gulf of Mexico, and from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean, dazzles once more the bewildered imagination of the Northern States.

Lord Russell has issued a despatch to our representatives abroad, in which his sense of the injustice of what is called the Gastein Convention is expressed with becoming indignation. This convention between Prussia and Austria is equalled in bare-faced injustice only by the partition of Poland. The two powers, in defiance of the treaties of 1815 and 1852, to which they themselves were consenting parties, and from which indeed both of them received considerable advantages, now assert their determination to seize upon the Duchies of Schleswig-Holstein, and to divide them between themselves. "All rights," says his Lordship, "old or new, whether based upon a solemn

agreement between sovereigns, or on the clear and precise expressions of popular will, have been trodden under foot—the authority of force is the sole power which has been consulted and recognized. Violence and conquest—such are the only bases upon which the dividing Powers have established their Convention.” We can add nothing to the expressive comment of the *Times* upon this iniquitous Convention:—“As we are certain that no State was ever yet established by iniquity, or has prospered by violence, we are equally sure that some signal retribution will sooner or later vindicate the supremacy of law, and teach Europe that it must be observed and upheld.”

When the new Parliament sits, we may expect that the crusade against the Irish Church will be renewed; whether with the bitterness and unblushing misrepresentations of some speakers in the last Parliament, will depend in no slight degree upon the wisdom and courage of those who may, on the right grounds, undertake her defence. The right grounds are these,—that it is the duty of a Christian State to provide a national religion of the purest form, in doctrine and in discipline, within its reach. Men are ashamed to avow this principle; yet we do not hesitate to say, that neither in England nor elsewhere can a national church be justified upon any other plea. Again, the assertion, that the Irish Church is a burden upon the Roman Catholic population, ought to be met with a firm denial; and those Protestant members are disgracefully ignorant, who cannot bring forth proofs, as well as assertions, to the contrary. Nor, thirdly, is it true that the Church in Ireland is now a slothful inefficient body. While it was so, Roman Catholics did not discover that it was “a nuisance;” nor ultra-liberals that it was “a burning shame.” It is because it is now waking up, assuming the character of a missionary church, and making its presence felt in Ireland, that it has become exposed to these explosions of wrath and bitterness. The warmer champions of our English Convocation are but cold in their defence of the sister Church. She stands upon her rights. She says that she will not submit to the dictation of a Convocation which sits at Westminster, in which she is not represented, and to whose proceedings her sanction has not been asked. She demands that the Act of Union be observed; and it is said that there are those on the Episcopal bench who would willingly see the Churches severed, and leave the Church of Ireland to stand alone. But if the Act of Union may be so lightly dealt with when the Church is concerned, why not in secular matters of possibly much slighter moment? Why not propitiate the shade of O’Connell, and restore an Irish parliament to College Green? At present, however, we are in danger of no such folly. No ministry, nor any politician worthy of the name, will listen to either of these proposals. Yet we hope that some Protestant members will undertake the defence of the Church of Ireland on the highest ground, and that she too will arouse herself more fully to her duties, and become, what she ought to be, a great missionary church; less than this she was never meant to be; though evil influences have for centuries encumbered her path, and sorely hindered her in her work.

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SENSATIONAL LITERATURE.

It is extremely difficult to stand in the midst of a flood of fresh, and perhaps transitional materials, and judge impartially concerning them. We ourselves, whilst pretending to criticise, may be carried away by the torrent, and led to treat the matter too lightly. Or, on the other hand, we may be induced to give too great a prominence to what is present and pressing at the moment, and is yet only another of the world's changing fashions. Or, again, supposing the importance of the question confessed and settled, it may still be difficult to know exactly where the evil lurks; whether the crisis is come at which it is best to raise the voice of protest; and then how to do it without prejudicing a world that is infinitely to be pitied, even while it is being exposed and rebuked.

We think the Archbishop of York has done good service to the Church and country by calling attention to the rapid increase of sensational literature; and we think also that he has done a thankless task with considerable address. It was time to speak; and he has spoken decidedly and yet discriminately.

The view taken by the "Christian Observer" for many years is essentially the same as that of Dr. Thomson. It is an important subject—a question of the morals of a country. If so much stress has been laid upon the ballads of a country, how much more must be thought of that which includes all its light reading, and tinges more or less the whole of its literature?

That we may not be misunderstood, we will state first, as distinctly as we can, what we consider the evils of sensational literature, and then offer a few suggestions by way of remedy. *Fiction* is not an evil in itself. It may, no doubt, be readily

abused, and made a vehicle for conveying poison to the mind; but a good story may be invented or feigned, and then employed for the benefit of society. The Holy Scriptures sanction the use of fiction in the form of parables and allegories; and who would venture to deprive us of the "Pilgrim's Progress," or even "Robinson Crusoe"? Nor is *sensationalism* in itself a necessary evil. We fancy the word is of American origin, and so comes to us laden with suspicion. But surely it is often a close associate of truth—proverbially stranger than fiction. Do not the plots and episodes revealed every day in our courts of law excite "sensation"? And even in the presentment of Divine truth in our pulpit exercises, we cannot help thinking that, were sensationalism altogether ostracised, many a strong and telling method of impressing men and moving the conscience would have to give place to tame platitudes and intolerable iteration.

Nevertheless there *are* real evils connected with a sensational literature. There is, of course, an enormous evil when the story has an *immoral tendency*. Every instinct of our nature agrees in condemning wickedness, especially when covered with an elegant veil or half-concealed inuendo. Such writings are more dangerous than those openly profligate, because they tempt the innocent, and contaminate their minds, without being felt to do so. The state of France, where this kind of romance prevails, is a lesson to us. A fiction of the late M. Balzac is so utterly vile, that even Parisian taste, we are told, has sickened, and the work has been peremptorily suppressed by the State as corrupting to public morals. It is perfectly shocking to think that, in our own country, the annual issue of publications of an immoral tendency should be some millions more than the issue of all our religious publishing societies. So far as sensationalism, directly or indirectly, assists in swelling this awful tide, its tendency is infamous.

It is an evil where it represents *exaggerated and false views of life*. We cannot be too careful about speaking the truth, and encouraging habits of truthfulness. It is an evil to have society painted in false colours, partly because it opens the door for mendacity in general, and partly because it leads our youth to disappointment, despair, and sometimes to crime. Not long since, a boy confessed that he had been tempted to steal by perusing the adventures of some Dick Turpin. Even in its better aspects, novel-reading of the modern stamp is a wretched business. Mr. Dickens and his class have done no little injury by multiplying unnatural, and morbid, and altogether one-sided views of society, overlooking for the most part the homely and the virtuous, for the tragical and humorous. But others are far outdoing these well-meaning writers by dishing up at second-hand what is *merely sensational*

out of the French novels, without any pretence at a moral. The eager perusal of such stories, for excitement's sake, has always been attended with after misery, with increase of crime, carelessness about the marriage bond, and a large addition to the cases of suicide.

Then, further, fiction and sensationalism are evils, where they are used with a moral and even professedly religious purpose, it may be, but upon principles *not in harmony with the Gospel of Christ*. That Gospel, while it sweeps away all vain efforts of man to save himself, teaches us two great truths in one: viz., that we are only to be saved by the vicarious death of Christ, and only to be sanctified by His Holy Spirit working in us; and conforming us to His example. For a tale, therefore, to put forward quite another system of ethics, or one with the faintest possible resemblance to this only efficacious one, and that under the pretence of special Christian teaching, is at once an impertinence and a wrong. Yet this is one of the most popular modes of diversion just now. The taste of the age is peculiar, going after everything that is new, even in Religion, finding fault with old truths and forms of faith, and fancying a fresh system of sympathy and sentiment which, it is professed, has lately been discovered—very much like some of those Welsh gold mines we hear of from time to time. The purveyors to this taste tell us of conversions and reformatations effected now by natural means, turning upon the sight of a little child; a surpliced chorister or a brave school-boy is the ideal of humanity; unfeminine characteristics are attributed to the gentler sex; idolatry of art and outward forms of religion are commended—all under the auspices of fiction, and in the name of God's truth.

Yet another form of the evil of sensationalism is when it prevails to an *excessive degree*. Many innocent things become hurtful by over-indulgence in them. We are inclined to think that this is the way in which English society suffers most. There is much of truth and sobriety, it may be, in the story or in the magazine, as a whole; and if there be some fiction, and some pleasant excitement, what of it? But what if there be too much of this latter element, qualifying and overwhelming the residue? Then we contend that the mind, fed so much on appeals to the imaginative faculty, will find itself proportionably drawn aside. Quakers prohibit novels on this very account—that they have a tendency to produce undue excitement, and to alienate the attention from subjects of serious import. It is doubtless so: a character formed from such aliment becomes weak, flighty, credulous, and ready for any delusion; altogether unprepared to relish the simple and solid, or to cope with the real difficulties of life.

So much for the evil; now for what we consider the specific

remedy—a good education, and general cultivation of the powers of the mind. Each faculty requires simultaneous cultivation, if we would aim at anything like completeness of character. For this purpose, historical and scientific subjects should be studied, and mixed in due proportion with light reading. An acquaintance with the world we dwell in, the Heavens above us, and the vestiges of Creation under our feet; some knowledge of the laws governing our own minds and bodies; business habits—something to do in these busy days—with a degree of interest in the occupations and enterprises of other men: all these things should be cultivated by those who are anxious to rise to the dignity of thinking men. And not less, where it is in any way possible, should some attention be given to the practical and benevolent institutions of the day, designed to encourage honest industry and provident habits among our labouring classes. A little of this sort of unselfish work soon becomes sweeter than the indefinite and insatiate feelings produced by much novel reading.

Again, the introduction of *modern literature of a like kind, but of a right and solid character*, would be very efficacious. This is on the principle of counteraction—the filling the sack with wheat, that there may be no room for chaff. It is a magazine age: there can be no doubt about that. Other books are but little read in comparison with the monthly or weekly serial. The short article and condensed review, to occupy scraps of time, and make reading a thorough relaxation, is the rage now. How shall we meet this taste? Not by opposing it, we are persuaded, for it would laugh our efforts to scorn; but by throwing ourselves into it, and trying to guide and utilize it by encouraging and placing on our tables those serials and papers which supply the new taste indeed, but supply it with wholesome and satisfactory materials. We should be thankful that there are these periodicals to be found; and it is only for our clergy and laity to see to it, that their young men's associations, their school-libraries, and their own drawing-room tables are stocked with them, in order to have the danger, so complained of and dreaded by many, forestalled and averted altogether.

Once more, we feel bound to recommend a *deeper study and wider use of the oracles of God*. To the mind of every intelligent Christian this speaks for itself. Here is the unfailing fountain whose living waters put the soul out of taste for everything else—the true standard to which every thought and every pursuit is to be brought. Yet we know not how it is that, in an age when the Bible is more diffused than formerly, it seems to have less influence on manners. What with our vain philosophers, who begin to look down from their fancied eminence upon Jesus of Nazareth with pity, if not contempt,—

and then the pretended dissatisfaction of an imperfect science, and captious criticism with the details of this blessed book,—it has come to pass that our people seem inclined more and more to separate its holy principles from the affairs of common life. To talk of the spirituality of the New Testament, or of the example of the early Christians in the Acts of the Apostles, only excites a smile in well-bred society, and makes men impatiently ask for something more suitable to the times and circumstances of the nineteenth century.

But what, we ask, is the Word of God? Is it not a message from the eternal bosom, informing us on all important matters relating to time and eternity? Does it not propose itself as “a lamp to our feet, and a light to our path?” Hither, then, we must retrace our steps as a nation, and seek to have our minds directed and elevated. The question before us is only part of that difficult one touching the amusements proper for ourselves and families in a professedly Christian state. The Bible disentangles the difficulty with marvellous skill. When this world is viewed in the light of revelation as a scene of probation, and the grandeur of eternal things bursts upon us, we learn truly to estimate other things—the perishing things of time and sense. Imagination may be exercised here without danger, because it will be properly chastened and directed. A quick understanding is vouchsafed to those who bring their conduct to this test, and they hear a voice behind them saying, “This is the way, walk ye in it,” when they would otherwise turn to the right hand or to the left. It enters into the very minutiae we speak of also. Whilst setting aside distinctly the ruinous pleasures of vice, the cup of revelry, the mask of Comus (twice forbidden by name in the Epistles), and all the vanities and frivolities of life, it points pleasantly to every verdant landscape, to every healthy engagement of soul and body, to the cheerful fireside with all its legitimate recreations, and bids us be “men”—happy, because Christian, men. The essence of the novel, as the name indicates, is a passing excitement. Like every other stimulant, it draws upon the future for the gratification of the present; and when its power is over, there is a proportionate depression and enervation. The Word of the living God shows the folly of all this; and by its own perfection of contrast, its pure joys, its infinite grace, its everlasting consolations, sets up a throne of judgment which governs all tastes and actions. “All amusements,” said Lady Jane Grey at the close of her life, “are but a shadow of the pleasure I enjoy in reading that Book.” And thus it will always be: the more the mind is imbued with Bible literature, the less will it be able to put up with the world’s sinful and shallow literature; and the love of the best of books will serve to guide us in the choice of all other books.

BLAKENEY'S BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER.

The Book of Common Prayer, in its History and Interpretation; with Special Reference to Points Disputed in the Present Day. By the Rev. R. P. Blakeney, LL.D., Incumbent of Christ's Church, Claughton, Birkenhead. London: James Miller, Berners Street. 1865.

THE intrinsic value of a book is often greatly increased by its seasonable appearance. Books are no exception to the general law expressed by the sagacious dramatist, when he said,

"How many things by season seasoned are
To their right praise, and true perfection."

Dr. Blakeney is well known among the ranks of the Church Militant as a Protestant champion. At any time, "The Book of Common Prayer in its History and Interpretation," from such a pen, would have been interesting and valuable. But at a time like this, when the encroachments of popery are so marked and so marvellous, and secret treachery is more to be apprehended than open apostasy, the views of a sound and thorough Protestant upon the true meaning of the Prayer-book, with special reference to points disputed in the present day, have a four-fold value, and a ten-fold importance. What true Churchman has not from time to time burnt with the warmest indignation, at the various attempts of false brethren to attach a popish interpretation to any part of our beloved Prayer-book? We knew well that this could never be fairly done; and that only by a *non-natural sense*, and most evident wresting of their words, could the framers of our incomparable liturgy be charged with upholding superstitious vanities, and building again the things which they destroyed. It is well known to all our readers that this journal is conducted by members of the Established Church. It has been so from its first commencement, and it continues still to be so. As conscientiously attached to our national Zion, we are jealous for "The Book of Common Prayer" with a godly jealousy. Every effort that is made, either to explain its principles, or to unfold its beauties, awakens our attention, and elicits our observations. We have such a deep sense of the unmingled evil and tremendous delusion of popery, that no writer, we are fully persuaded, upon the English Prayer-book, who feels the slightest drawing to "the mystery of iniquity," is able to treat his subject properly.

Dr. Blakeney has proved in the most triumphant manner, that in the language of our Church, when properly understood, there is not even the slightest accent to be heard of papal

superstition. He shows the entire separation of the pure and reformed part of the Catholic Church from that which is corrupt and apostate, and which, while it professes to hold, yet virtually overthrows, the foundations of the faith. By doing this, he most decisively proves that it may be truly said of the English Church—what we have known long ago, and what he most appropriately chooses for the motto of his book—"Her foundations are upon the holy hills."

The work before us has very forcibly carried us back to a controversy somewhat similar, which greatly occupied the minds of Churchmen soon after the *Christian Observer* commenced its labours, at the opening of the present century. We refer to a book famous in its day. In the year 1801 appeared "The True Churchmen Ascertained, or an Apology for those of the regular clergy of the Establishment who are sometimes called Evangelical Ministers." Great was the sensation produced by this publication at the time, and both important and lasting were the results which followed after. The Apology for the Evangelical Clergy was carefully and repeatedly reviewed in several numbers of the *Christian Observer*.* The Editor conceived that the apologist was sometimes lost in the antagonist; and he regretted that there was not more of the *suaviter in modo*, where there was so much of the *fortiter in re*. But he could not fail to perceive, and was not slow to acknowledge, that the author of "The True Churchmen Ascertained" had most completely established his argument. From the acknowledged formularies of our Church, as well as from the known sentiments and published writings of our Reformers, he proved to demonstration, that the teaching of those of the regular clergy who are sometimes called Evangelical Ministers, is in strict accordance both with the letter and the spirit of the Prayer-book, while those who brand them with odious names are in reality the true dissenters. It was thought, that in giving a reason for the hope of the Evangelical clergy, if the language of the apologist had been as meek and reverent as his arguments were sound and conclusive, his work would have excited less prejudice, and might have been more extensively useful. Still, however, it may not be forgotten, that the apology, in the form in which it came, was pronounced by no mean judge (Bishop Horsley) to be unanswered and unanswerable.

Very few of our readers are left to recall the controversy that was carried on in the Established Church sixty years ago. "Your fathers, where are they? and the prophets, do they live for ever?" (Zech. i. 5.) When we look upon the past, through the vista of years, with the single exception of those who were contending earnestly for the faith once delivered unto the

* See *Christian Observer* for 1802, 1803, and 1804.

saints, how worthless and insignificant is all the striving and contention of all the various opponents that we behold. "The memory of them is forgotten. Also their love, and their hatred, and their envy, is now perished; neither have they any more a portion for ever in anything that is done under the sun." (Ecc. ix. 6.) For our own part, though unable to identify ourselves with the struggles for the truth which marked the first decade of the present century, a most vivid recollection we have of what took place about thirty years ago, when life was in its spring, and when the Tractarian movement began to arrest the progress of Evangelical truth. The apology for the Evangelical clergy had not been made in vain. The true principles of the Establishment were better understood; and it had begun to be "a more creditable thing to preach the real doctrines of the Church in the Church." The wise and judicious counsel of Archbishop Secker was beginning to be generally admitted, and largely followed. He had said, what the Apologist for his brethren had placed on the title-page of his Apology,— "We have in fact lost many of our people to sectaries by not preaching in a manner sufficiently Evangelical; and we shall neither recover them from the extravagances into which they have run, nor keep more from going over to them, but by returning to the right way." The Milners, and the Scotts, and the Venns, and a host of others that might be mentioned—such as Newton and Walker and Cecil and Simeon—every one of them, from the inward conviction of their hearts, acted upon this advice. The result was exactly what the Archbishop had foretold. Wherever Christ was faithfully and earnestly preached, He fulfilled His own most gracious word: "And I, if I be lifted up from the earth, will draw all men unto me." The deserted churches were crowded with anxious inquirers; the folds were full of sheep; and when they began to be nourished in the parish church with the wholesome words of sound doctrine, they had no longer any temptation to wander into strange pastures. Under teaching like this, the Church of England was beginning to lift up her time-honoured head; and the bright and blessed hope seemed about to be realized, "The Highest Himself shall establish her." Then it was that these bright and hopeful prospects were cruelly disappointed by the blight of Tractarianism. We are deeply persuaded it was an enemy who did this. The genial current of Evangelical truth was most mournfully arrested by the freezing influence of the resuscitated theology of Archbishop Laud. While all this mischief was taking place, they who were quenching the light, and distracting the minds of men, by their unprotestant teaching and their childish ceremonies, began most confidently to affirm that they, and they only, were the true churchmen; and that their brethren, who determined to know nothing else but Jesus

Christ and Him crucified, were really dissenters, and could not with a good conscience remain in the Established Church. Then it was that we felt an earnest desire awakened within us for another "True Churchmen ascertained," to be written. We knew well, by many infallible proofs, that the compilers of our Liturgy were as soundly Protestant as they were thoroughly Evangelical; and we wanted some Protestant champion, as clearly and as fully and as decisively to vindicate the former, as the Author of the "Apology for the Evangelical Clergy" had vindicated the latter. We do not hesitate to express our deliberate conviction that this has now been accomplished by Dr. Blakeney in the volume before us.

We cannot more suitably introduce our Author to our readers, than by permitting him to speak for himself. This he shall do in the Introduction to his book. It reminds us of the beautiful gate of the Temple; and is an entrance worthy of the goodly fabric to which it leads. Far better than any criticisms of ours, it will convey to our readers a right notion of what they are to expect in this history and interpretation of the Book of Common Prayer. Here, then, is Dr. Blakeney's Introduction to his book. Our readers, we are sure, will expect no apology for giving it in *extenso* :—

"Archbishop Laud was unable to effect any innovation in the formularies of the Church of England, but, aided by the arbitrary power of the King, he produced an impression upon the Church which is felt to this day.

"The Reformers of 1552 and 1559 were thorough Protestants, who, if they now lived, would be regarded as *ultra* in their views. They pulled down altars and crosses in the reign of Edward VI., and they pulled them down again in the reign of Elizabeth.

"When the fires of martyrdom were kindled under Mary, they rose superior to fear, and sealed their testimony with their blood. When days of worldly prosperity succeeded under Elizabeth, they yielded not to royal favour. The queen was desirous of restoring altars and crosses, and gorgeous ceremonials, but the Reformers withstood her to the face. Their letters and protests to Elizabeth are convincing proofs of their fidelity to truth. The Lord blessed their efforts, and altars and crosses were pulled down everywhere, and the peculiar vestments of the Papacy allowed by the first book, were never restored.

"The Reformers were Calvinistic in doctrine, and Episcopalian in Church government. Including Cranmer and Ridley, as is evident from the "Catechism of 1553," and the "Reformatio Legum," they held election unto life, and the doctrine of justification by free and sovereign grace. While holding and professing the Episcopal form of government, they never thought of denying the validity of the Orders of the foreign Churches. They unanimously regarded the Pope as the man of sin, and the Church of Rome as Babylon. These features in their theology appear in all the great works, private or public,

of the latter part of the reign of Edward VI., and throughout the Elizabethan period.

"But Laud arose, and, aided by the King, with a high hand, set himself to reverse what the Reformers had done. He restored altars and crosses. He introduced unauthorized ceremonies into public worship. And while he denied the validity of the Orders of the foreign Reformed Churches, he taught that the Church of Rome is *not* Babylon, nor the Pope the Man of sin. And with all this, he craftily attached the epithet of Puritan to all who held fast to the views of the Reformers, and who were in fact the successors of those *who had fought the battle of the Church in the days of Elizabeth*. It was no wonder that the Romanists were in an ecstasy of delight, and that an offer of a *cardinal's hat* was made to the occupant of the archiepiscopal see of Canterbury, who was so cleverly doing their work.

"The result is well known; the Great Rebellion broke out, and the Church and the Throne were swept away.

"As we have said, the influence of Laud is still felt. Some of his party, though exercising little power, returned at the Restoration. In the Revolution of 1688, they seceded, and formed themselves into a distinct sect, which soon died out. Unhappily, Laudianism has been revived in the Oxford Tract movement of recent times.

"But the influence of the arch-innovator is especially felt in the position which his party has been allowed to assume. Laud at the first had to fight for *toleration*; but having won the prize, he advanced, with the aid of the king, to an ascendancy in which he refused toleration to men of the *Old Church* school. Since the Restoration, happily, that ascendancy has ceased; but the successors of the Edwardian and Elizabethan Churchmen are too often regarded as Puritans, whom it is necessary to tolerate. The terms *High Church*, as assumed by Laudians, and *Low Church*, as applied to their opponents, are calculated to foster the idea that the former are the true Churchmen. It is a misnomer to apply the designation of Catholic to the Romanist, of Unitarian to the Socinian, and no less so of High Church to the Laudian. The Romanist is most un-Catholic; and the Laudian, in his theology and views, is diametrically opposed to the teaching of the Reformers, and the Formularies of the Church, which is THOROUGHLY EVANGELICAL AND PROTESTANT.

"It is the Author's object to bring out plainly and fully the views of the Church in her Reformers and standards, and, doing so, he has kept closely to authorities, citing only those which admit of no dispute."

We do not remember to have seen anywhere, in so small a compass, such a clear and full and truthful statement of the case as it is, as that which Dr. Blakeney has here presented to his readers. Some of the assertions which are made in this introduction, at the first may appear bold and startling; but we have only to read what follows, and to consider the authorities that are cited, in order to be completely satisfied that every one of them is proved to demonstration.

The volume before us consists of two parts. The subject of

the first part is, the Book of Common Prayer in its history ; and that of the second is a minute and elaborate criticism of everything that the Prayer-book contains. In the first we have a most interesting and instructive history of the Prayer-book in all its successive phases, from its first crude and imperfect publication, to its last final and finished revision. In the second we have a lucid and thoughtful commentary upon all the different parts of the Prayer-book, from the calendar that is stamped on its first page, to the rubric that is appended to its last service.

We shall have no difficulty in giving our readers a clear idea of the book we are reviewing, and for this evident reason : in addition to his copious references, Dr. Blakeney has appended a summary of each chapter as soon as he has brought it to a close. By doing this, he has almost anticipated the work, and rendered unnecessary the toil, of a reviewer. His own summaries form a good review of his book. Our readers shall judge for themselves. It will not be necessary to give the summary of the first two introductory chapters. Only we premise, what it is very important to recollect, these chapters abundantly show, and unanswerably prove, these two plain and palpable facts : first, the original independence of the British Church, which was neither planted by Rome in the beginning, nor subject to that see until many centuries after ; and secondly, the enemies themselves being judges, the absolute necessity that existed for a thorough reformation in the Romish Church, in government and in morals and in doctrine, at the opening of the sixteenth century. The mighty change which then commenced in England was not the formation of a new Church, but the reformation of the old one. As our author expresses it, "At the Reformation the Church went back to her original position." And now we may give, in his own words, Dr. Blakeney's summary of his third chapter. The subject of this is the first commencement of English Reformation in the reign of Henry VIII. :—

"The Papal supremacy was abolished by Convocation in 1534. The Bible was printed in 1537. In 1536 ten articles of religion were published, which, with much error, contained some germs of truth. In 1537 'The Institution of a Christian Man' was published ; but 'The Erudition, &c.,' commonly called the King's book, appeared in 1543, retrogressive in its character. In 1539 monasteries were abolished. In 1544 the Litany was published in the vulgar tongue, for public use. Cranmer, the advocate of the Reformation, was strongly opposed by Gardiner and others."

Our readers will remember that, from the nature of the case, we must not form our estimate of an author's style of writing from the perusal of his summaries. The one we have just quoted is perhaps the unhappiest of all. We have no doubt,

in another edition, Dr. Blakeney will give the stirring events of this memorable era, connected with the Reformation, in consecutive order. After the suppression of the Papal supremacy, the next step was the publication of the Ten Articles. Then followed the Bible, and the "Institution of a Christian Man," in the same year. Monasteries were next abolished. After this came the "Condition of a Christian Man," clearly proving that Gardiner was in the ascendancy; and then, lastly, there followed, in the next year, the English Litany, in which every one could detect the hand of Cranmer. At that time this great and good man was only partially enlightened. He was then in a state of transition, and saw men as trees walking. This is clearly seen in his revision of the ancient service, which forms the basis of our present Litany. It had previously been translated into English, and was now for the first time introduced into the Church Service. Cranmer expunged altogether the long list of saints, to whom invocation had been made; but he retained the prayers to the Virgin, the angels, the patriarchs, and prophets.

We pass on now from the commencement of the Reformation, in the reign of Henry VIII., to its further development under the much shorter, but far happier, reign of Edward VI. Here is our author's summary of the important events that transpired under the reign of him who has been called the English Josiah.

"The Injunctions of 1547 provided for the removal of images that had been abused. An order from Council in 1548 commanded their total removal. An office for Communion was published in March, 1548; and the first Book of Common Prayer was adopted throughout the country on the 9th of June, 1549. This service-book being censured by Calvin, Bucer, and others, and Cranmer and the Reformers advancing in their views, a revision was completed in 1557, by which the corporal presence, the altar and the sacrifice of the altar, prayers for the dead, and other Romish opinions and practices, were rejected. An Act of Uniformity, April 6, 1552, provided that the new book should be received by the whole Church on the Feast of All Hallows. The Forty-two Articles having been agreed to, the Reformation was complete."

We ask for the most earnest heed of all our readers to the memorable transactions of this important reign. Without this it will be impossible for them to come to a right decision "with reference to points disputed in the present day." Cranmer may safely be regarded as the moving spirit, and the presiding genius of the glorious Reformation. But neither he, nor his noble associates, were brought suddenly out of the miserable darkness and bondage of papal error into the marvellous light and glorious liberty of protestant truth. Their path was that of the just, which, as the shining light, shineth more and more unto the perfect day. After once they had

entered upon their mighty task, except when hindered by circumstances which they could not control, they went forward, from strength unto strength, and never looked behind them until their work was done. Already we have seen their work in three different stages. We have seen the rude elements of the Prayer-book even in the reign of Henry; afterwards we beheld it considerably advanced, but still mixed with much remaining error and superstition, in the first book of Edward. Then, a few years after, when the light had increased, and the scales had fallen from the eyes of the English reformers, in the second book of King Edward we have the English Liturgy well-nigh purged from every taint and tinge of papal error and papal superstition. Now, here is the grand fault and the unfair dealing both of Laudians formerly, and Tractarians recently. They teach for doctrines and plead for practices they find in the first book of King Edward, but which were carefully expunged from the second. Rome was not built in a day; neither were all her delusions and abominations exposed and denounced at once. What is it but the spirit of apostasy that leads men to prefer the half-accomplished reformation to its finished completion? The reformers, even when they were only half way out of the superstition in which they had been brought up, were going forward, and on their way to perfect truth as it is in Jesus; but nominal Protestants, when they prefer the crude elements of the Reformation to the Reformation itself, are going backward, and on their way to Rome. How marvellous is the difference between the rough timber, rudely hewn from the forest, and the same timber modelled into the carved work of the temple. We have thought of this as we compared the first with the last Liturgy of the Reformers. "He that hewed timber afore out of the thick trees, was known to bring it to an excellent work."

We pass on to the reign of Mary. Here is Dr. Blakeney's summary of that trying period:—

"False hopes were at first entertained that Mary would not persecute, but these were soon dissipated by the imprisonment of Protestants. Cranmer at this crisis boldly came forward, and offered, with Peter Martyr, to maintain in public the reformed faith. Cardinal Pole entered London on the 24th of November, 1554; Parliament soon after restored the Papal supremacy. Many Protestants, men, women, and children, suffered at the stake.

"Two significant events occur in this reign: the dispute at Frankfurt about the Prayer-book, and in England about predestination. The conduct of Cox and others proved that the English churchmen, though free from state influence, loved their ritual; and the conduct of Bradford and others, in the discussion of predestination, proves that free-willers had as yet no *locus standi* in the Church."

Very properly does Dr. Blakeney call the two events referred

to above, significant events. The troubles at Frankfort among the Marian exiles, set before us in miniature the mighty struggle between the ritualist and puritan, which a century afterwards in the mother country overturned the Establishment. Then with regard to the doctrinal disagreement. They who so unduly contended for free will, were silenced or convinced by the first great Reformers. "It was not," says our author, "until many years after, that, by the efforts of Laud, this very system received toleration in the Church of England."

The sixth chapter is the history of the Prayer-book in the reign of Elizabeth. Deeply interesting, and, as we might expect, more elaborate than before, is this chapter. Here, in the author's own language, is the summary of this part of his work :—

"The accession of Elizabeth brought liberty to the Gospel and its professors. The promptitude of the Queen in renouncing the Papal supremacy contrasts with the tardiness of Mary in establishing it, and was indicative of the views of the nation.

"The second book of King Edward was adopted by a committee appointed in December, 1559. It was the natural wish of the Queen to win over the Romanists, but the Reformation was not a compromise. Parker and the Bishops nobly stood out against altars and images, and succeeded in procuring their removal, despite of the royal prepossessions.

"The controversy which arose about vestments, in course of time extended to polity in general; but there was no difference as yet about doctrine. An able letter was addressed to the Puritans, written, it is supposed, by Jewell or Cox, showing that the Bishops and Conformists had been valiant for the common faith in times of persecution.

"Differences as to doctrine were at length introduced by Overall, Andrewes, and others. Calvinism, however, maintained its ascendancy in the Church of England throughout the reign of Elizabeth, as it is evident from the Lambeth Articles, and other circumstances."

The alterations made by the divines appointed to revise the Liturgy "were few and trivial," and referred rather to matters of taste than points of doctrine. The Commissioners were unanimous in selecting the second book of King Edward, in preference to the first, for the Church of England. They consented to omit in the Litany the deprecation, "from the tyranny of the Bishop of Rome, and all his detestable enormities;" but this was not because they thought his tyranny less terrible, or his enormities less detestable. They left out also the decisive protest against the corporal presence, appended to the rubric of the second book in the communion service. They did this, because they considered the doctrine of the Church of England on this point was elsewhere sufficiently declared. Recent events, however, have shown the immense importance of this protest being made in the communion

service; and we entirely agree with Dr. Blakeney, when he says, "Let us be thankful that this declaration was restored in 1661." While for the sake of peace they conceded what was circumstantial, on all essentials they were firm as a rock. Against the reintroduction of altars and images and sacrifices they set their faces as a flint, and feared not the displeasure of the Queen. But it is important to remember, that while the doctrines of the first great reformers were in the ascendant, during the long reign of Elizabeth, England was producing a new race of scholars and divines towards its close. This was the school of Andrewes and Overall. These divines form the connecting link between the first reformers and the high churchmen. Their theology cannot be identified with either; and yet they approach nearer to both, than those between whom they stand advance to each other. It is said especially of Bishop Overall, "without materially receding from the principles of St. Augustine, or exposing himself to the reproach of Pelagianism, he advocated doctrines extruded from the Calvinistic system." It remained for Laud, in the next generation, to triumph over the old theology, a triumph so fatal both to himself and the Church.

It should be carefully noticed here, as one amongst many remarkable proofs of the holy wisdom of our reformers, that they seem to have been anxious not to bind anything upon the conscience of Churchmen, whether lay or clerical, that is not essential to salvation. Calvinists, as no doubt they were, there is nothing to prevent evangelical Arminians, such for instance as John Wesley and his followers, from subscribing even to the 17th Article, and remaining contented members of our Church. It should be noted, too, that the "Freewillers" who were silenced or convinced by the first great Reformers, and the "Arminians," who were so often denounced by the Long Parliament, were men who altogether overthrew the doctrines of Grace; these parties had a strong leaning to Popery on the one side, and Socinianism on the other. Laud, violent in every thing, was especially so in his Arminianism. He went far beyond Arminius himself. The nine Lambeth Articles were wisely rejected by Elizabeth on account of their difficulty.

The addendum to this chapter, respecting the Irish Church and the Reformation, is peculiarly seasonable. Our author points out the false policy of England with regard to Ireland at the time of the Reformation. "Unhappily," he says, "no real effort was made to instruct the Irish people in the principles of the Reformation; on the contrary, spiritual promotions were given to those who spoke English, and the vernacular tongue was forbidden in the Parish schools, as though it were of more importance to Anglicise than to Protestantize." *Hinc illæ lachrimæ.* How enduring and how painful have been

the consequences of that first wrong step! We agree entirely with Dr. Blakeney, when he says, "Unhappily England is now, by national endowments, propping up the Papal system in Ireland, and so perpetuating a gigantic evil."

We were sorry not to find the usual summary at the close of the seventh chapter, on the influence of Foreign Reformers in the English Reformation. No one, however, can read the authenticated quotations which are here brought together, without perceiving at once how material was that influence. Calvin and Peter Martyr, Luther and Melancthon, Bucer and Bullinger, Alasco and Fagius, each and all, in different ways, contributed to promote the English Reformation. The Reformers neither accepted themselves, nor imposed upon our Church, all the particular views of any of these Foreign Divines; but they borrowed something from every one, and accepted truth wherever they found it. Cranmer, we are assured, was delivered from his erroneous notions on the sacrament, by the instrumentality of that most upright and judicious man, Master John Alasco. How wise and discriminating is the way in which the blessed Hooper, bishop and martyr, speaks of these foreign divines: "Lest man," he says, "should glory too much in himself, he permitted them to err in certain things; as Luther of blessed memory, which wrote and preached the gospel of justification, no man better; yet in the cause of the Sacrament he erreth concerning the corporal presence, no man more." With an open Bible laid before them, and with all the lustre which the burning and shining lights of the Reformation have thrown upon it, how marvellous it is to hear, from the pen of an Englishman in the middle of the nineteenth century, such a charge as this: "Evangelicals cleave to the soul-destroying heresy of Luther!" (Ward's Ideal.) He means his doctrine of justification by faith; and charges it with poisoning at the root, not Christianity only, but natural religion.

We will not recapitulate the doctrinal views of the Reformers, as given by our author in the eighth chapter. It is well known by friends, and confessed by foes, that these most assuredly were what are called the doctrines of grace. In addition to the abundant testimonies from the Reformers themselves in proof of this, very remarkable are the two testimonies adduced by Dr. Blakeney from a different quarter. The British Critic acknowledges that, at the first, "the whole Church was flooded with Calvinism; and that Laud and his party were innovators in their day." While Mr. Maskell, upon leaving the Protestant for the Papal Church, makes this acknowledgment:—"I was not prepared to learn, as I have learnt, that, perhaps without two exceptions, all the divines, bishops and archbishops, doctors and professors, of the Elizabeth age—the age, be it remembered, of the present Common

Prayer Book, in its chief particulars, and of the Book of Homilies, and of the Thirty-nine Articles—held and taught doctrines inconsistent (I write advisedly) with the true doctrine of baptism.” From whatever quarter his advice came, our readers, we are persuaded, will think the true doctrine of baptism as likely to be with the great fathers and founders of the glorious Reformation, as with Mr. Maskell and his advisers.

The reigns of the first James and the first Charles are joined together. This proved a most disastrous period for the English Church and English Prayer-book. In these words, our author has given us the brief summary of all that he has so fully written of this most marked and mournful period.

“King James, though a Presbyterian by education, disappointed the Puritans in the Hampton Court Conference. There was as yet no difference between Churchmen and Puritans on doctrinal points; but Laud succeeded in effecting great innovations both in discipline and teaching. King Charles supported Laud, and a moral revolution took place in the Church, the precursor of the rebellion in the State. Altars were everywhere set up, the Irish Articles were put aside, and an attempt was made to force a retrogressive liturgy upon the Church of Scotland. The Romanists were so pleased, that a cardinal’s hat was offered to Laud, who, while he maintained that the Church of Rome is a true Church, denied that Protestant Churches, non-episcopal, are true. The despotism of the King, and the Romanizing of the Primate, led to the fall both of Church and Throne.”

This chapter, as well as its important addendum, which gives us “the views of Martyrs and Reformers as to the Papal Antichrist,” is explicit and decisive in the extreme. It shows us the rapid working of the evil leaven, which so speedily accomplished the destruction both of the prelate who introduced it, and the monarch who cherished it; which overthrew for a while the national church; made it well nigh desolate for two hundred years; and which, again putting forth its evil influence in our own times, has enticed already great numbers into the lap of the spiritual harlot, and is one of the mightiest barriers in the present day for arresting the onward march of evangelical truth. The views of Arminius were condemned, and the doctrines of grace as strongly maintained, in the Synod of Dort; the representatives of our Church concurring in the decision, and at that time no one venturing to deny either that the Pope was Antichrist, or that Romanism was idolatrous. Laud was the first who raised up a standard in the Established Church against the well-known and recorded sentiments of our great reformers on all these points. By his earliest sermons on Baptism and Episcopacy, he was accused of sowing the seeds of discord between the Church of England and the reformed churches beyond the seas. He went forward according to this beginning. The day of his consecration to the see

of St. David's (Nov. 18, 1621) has been called a dark day in the annals of the Church of England. Very striking was the language in which his views had been condemned by his superior, a few years before he had reached the Bench. It was with reference to a sermon preached by Laud, that the Vice-Chancellor had said: "Some are partly Romish, partly English, as occasion served them, that a man might say unto them, *Noster es an adversariorum?* Under pretence of truth, and preaching against the Puritans, they strike at the root of the faith and religion now established amongst us."

Laud was tolerated rather than patronized by James; but upon the accession of Charles, his influence was almost unbounded, and he soon reached the primacy. He made no secret of his intention to revolutionize the Church. He strove hard to change the "honest table" of the Reformers into the forbidden altar of the Romanists; and gave directions "that every one should bow towards the altar." He was mightily taken up with processions and ceremonies. Among the Articles of the Irish Church, under the primacy of the profound Usher, this decisive language was found:—"The bishop of Rome is so far from being the supreme head of the universal Church, that his works and doctrines do plainly discover him to be the Man of Sin, foretold in the Holy Scripture, whom the Lord shall consume with the spirit of His mouth, and abolish with the brightness of His coming." With the real object of removing this decisive testimony, so painful to all Tractarians and Papists, but under a very different pretext, Laud succeeded in substituting, for the English, Irish Articles. His proceedings were as disastrous in Scotland, as they were mischievous in Ireland. In his determination to establish episcopacy in that country, it was not the English Prayer-book which he wished to introduce, but the book which was only half purged from Romish error and superstition. We think Dr. Blakeney has clearly proved, that the failure of episcopacy in Scotland is to be attributed entirely to the semi-popery of the primate, and the determined despotism of the monarch. His ill-treatment of the Protestant churches abroad was in strict accordance with his unprotestant proceedings at home. We entirely agree with our author when he says, "If he had studiously laboured to overthrow the Church of England, he could not have proceeded more effectually in his work."

We refer our readers (without quoting them) to the decisive testimonies adduced by Dr. Blakeney to prove that all the great martyrs and fathers and confessors of the English Reformation believed, to a man, that the Pope was Antichrist, and Rome Babylon. What he says also upon Laudianism, in the same chapter, is very important. He proves clearly that, both in doctrine and practice, the school of Laud, and the

first Reformers, were entirely antagonistic. When this system became dominant in the Church, under the patronage of Charles, it led to her overthrow. The Tractarianism of our own times is nothing else but revived Laudianism. These are its leading characteristics, as described by our author:—"The absolute necessity of episcopal succession; a moral change in baptisms *ex opere operato*; the sacrifice of the altar; the adoration of Christ in the elements; auricular confession; prayers for the dead; and the use of images." No sound Protestant will hesitate for a moment to say, with the late Bishop of London, of all these superstitious vanities, that "they are a poor imitation of the Roman ceremonial."

It was a master-stroke of Laud, to brand with the odious name of Puritan all who objected, from conscience, either to his unprotestant doctrines, or his superstitious ceremonies. "The word Puritan," says our author, "may be properly applied to those who, whether with tendencies to Dissent or Romanism, object to the Prayer-book as it is; but it is in no way applicable to those who hold the views of the Reformers, and who are now designated by the word Evangelical."

The history of the Prayer-book in the reign of Charles II. is the subject of Dr. Blakeney's tenth chapter. Here is his summary of this memorable but mournful epoch:—

"The King, at the Restoration, seeing the necessity of conciliation, appointed a commission, consisting of an equal number of Episcopalians and Presbyterians, to revise the Prayer-book. The Episcopalians were chiefly of the Laudian school, and the attempt was unsuccessful. Convocation revised the Prayer-book, and made some important concessions which had been refused by the Episcopal commissioners. The declaration against the corporal presence and the Ubiquitarian doctrine, was restored. The Laudians who came into power with the king, were few in number, while the great body of the Church was opposed to the Laudian system, of which also Parliament manifested a vigilant jealousy. The Church in the reign of Charles II. retained much of the Puritanism of the Commonwealth; and the animus of 1661 was very opposite to Laudian. We are indebted to this era for one of our greatest Protestant bulwarks—the above declaration."

There are two points to which we would draw the special attention of our readers in this important chapter. The first is the addition to the Prayer-book of the form of general thanksgiving, attributed to Bishop Reynolds. It is well known that all the sympathies of Reynolds were, at the first, with the Puritans. At the Hampton Conference he acted as their speaker. But we confidently appeal to every person of real piety, whatever may be the peculiar bias or tendency of his mind, if he does not think this beautiful prayer a most seasonable addition to the Book of Common Prayer; and if he would not

regard its abstraction as the rifling of one of the brightest jewels from the many bright gems that shine in it. The other point to which we refer is, the restoration of the declaration, in the rubric of the Communion Service, against the corporal presence. We agree entirely with all that Dr. Blakeney says about the importance of this declaration. When we consider the close approximation of the Laudians to the sacrifice of the mass; and when we behold the strenuous efforts of Tractarians in our own times, not only to tread in their steps, but even to outrun them in the Rome-ward direction, we feel what an immense advantage it is to have such unmistakeable and authoritative words as these for our guidance:—

“It is hereby declared that thereby (kneeling at the Communion) no adoration is intended, or ought to be done, either unto the sacramental bread and wine there bodily received, or to any corporal presence of Christ's natural flesh and blood. For the sacramental bread and wine remain still in their very natural substances, and therefore may not be adored (for that were idolatry to be abhorred of all faithful Christians); and the natural Body and Blood of our Saviour Christ are in heaven, and not here; it being against the truth of Christ's natural Body to be at one time in more places than one.”

The revisions of the Prayer-book are recorded in chapter xi. At this juncture, when many are turning their thoughts to the subject of revision, a calm consideration of what is past will greatly help us to form a right decision with regard to the future. Our author gives us, in three elaborate sections, these important particulars: first, the revisions effected by authority; secondly, the revisions proposed by authority, but not effected; and lastly, the private revisions that are in nowise obligatory upon the members of the Church. He concludes thus:—

“At the present moment there are various parties who desire revision. There are those who would conduct it on the principles propounded in 1689 (immediately after the glorious Revolution); but there are also Rationalists and Laudians, who claim a share in the work. It is perfectly unreasonable to suppose that such a revision could be effected as would satisfy all, and it is better to leave the book as it is, than to attempt a compromise. It may be possible to amend the lectionary, to abbreviate and reconstruct services, but a revision affecting doctrine, such as would satisfy all, is out of the question. Even the word altar, as applicable to the table, would undo the work of the Reformers; and when we contemplate the remaining character of Non-juror, Scottish Episcopalian, and Irvingite books of Common Prayer on the one hand, and the Arianism of other books of Common Prayer on the other hand, let us be thankful that our Prayer-book is still a witness for those great truths which the Reformers handed down and sealed with their blood.”

We come now to the twelfth and last chapter of the first part of Dr. Blakeney's seasonable volume. Here we have, first, an account of the Latin translations that have been made of

the Prayer-book ; secondly, the Liturgical services of Elizabeth ; then the Puritan works ; and lastly, the unauthorized offices, some of which have even been bound up with the Prayer-book. It is not necessary to make any special reference to the Latin versions of the Prayer-book. Several devotional works, or Liturgical services, were published in the reign both of Edward and Elizabeth. Those in Edward's reign were the First and Second Primer. The former contains much Papal superstition, and the latter for the most part is entirely purged from it. The forms of prayer that were published in the reign of Elizabeth were very numerous, and some of them both very seasonable, and wholly unobjectionable. As more immediately entering into his subject, Dr. Blakeney has given an elaborate account of the Puritan books which were intended to supersede the Book of Common Prayer. For awhile it was revised and modified in a private way, those parts being left out which were objectionable, and everything being altered that did not please. But some there were who rejected the Prayer-book altogether. The first separation was made in 1567, when not extemporary prayers, but such as were taken for the most part from the Geneva form, began to be used. Two books, which we may call Puritan Liturgies, were presented to Parliament, at the beginning of the great rebellion ; but both were rejected. The Directory was preferred to either of these forms. This, without giving any particular forms of prayer, gave general directions to the minister how to conduct the service. It is entitled, "A Directory for the public worship of God throughout the three Kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland ; together with an ordinance of Parliament, for the taking away the Book of Common Prayer, the establishing and observing of this present Directory throughout the kingdom of England and Wales." It is no part of our design to criticise the Directory. Still there are two observations which we cannot refrain from making respecting it. Those who thought it an intolerable grievance to have the use of the Common Prayer-book imposed upon them by authority, made no scruple whatever in requiring by law their own Directory to be used throughout the three kingdoms ; and forbidding, in the straightest manner, the use of the Prayer-book, although many from their inmost conscience preferred it greatly to that which was to supplant it. He who takes upon himself to pull down the house in which we have comfortably dwelt for many years, should not only be satisfied himself, but should be able to satisfy us also, that he can replace it with a better house before he begins the work of demolition. For our own part, when we look at this picture and at that, we do not hesitate to say, *ex animo*, "Give me the Prayer-book : there are no prayers like the prayers of my mother the Church

of England." The other remark we have to make upon the Parliament's substitution of the Directory for the Prayer-book is this. How completely had the divines of the Laudian school, by putting a semi-papistical interpretation upon the Prayer-book, alienated both the hearts and the minds of the nation from it. Dr. Blakeney does not give us the quotation, but we think Lord Falkland's description of the Laudites in the reign of the first Charles directs us to the true source of the strong tide of opposition that set in against the Prayer-book at that time. These are his words:—"It seemed their work was to try how much of a papist might be brought in without popery; and to destroy as much as they could of the Gospel, without bringing themselves into danger of being destroyed by the Law. Some of them have so industriously laboured to deduce themselves from Rome, that they have given great suspicion that in gratitude they desire to return thither, or at least to meet it half-way. Some evidently laboured to bring in an English, though not a Roman popery. I mean not only its outside dress, but equally absolute—a blind dependence of the people upon the clergy, and of the clergy upon themselves. They have opposed the papacy beyond the sea, that they might settle one on this side of the water." How true it is that there is no new thing under the sun. If the Anglicans of our own day, instead of the Laudites in the time of the first Charles, had been standing for their photograph, who does not see that every feature would have been exactly the same? We remember the shrewd remark of the Pope (for he had the eyes of a man) with regard to the Tractarians in the early commencement of their unprotestant career. "I perceive," he said, "they want my religion without me." Ultra-Protestants we may be called; but we want neither him nor his religion.

Our author gives us a comprehensive digest of Baxter's "Service," presented at the Savoy Conference, after the Restoration. This, he says, is a beautiful and Scriptural composition, and yet suffers from comparison with the Book of Common Prayer. If these prayers were composed either entirely or principally by Baxter himself, it was utterly impossible for any single mind, though of undoubted piety, and of a higher order than that of Baxter's, to compete with the concentrated piety of "the Holy Church throughout all the world" that breathes in the Prayer-book.

The last section in the twelfth chapter refers to unauthorized superstitions, and Romanistic services. At the head of these stands the "Service for the cure of the King's Evil." It was composed before the Reformation, and never had the sanction of our Reformers. It is marvellous, after this superstitious claim has been relinquished by our sovereigns for above a century, that Dr. Hook should speak of "all evi-

dence being in favour of its truth." This service we ourselves have seen bound up with an ancient Prayer-book. Our author next gives us in full "The order of consecrating plate for the altar." This was composed by Andrewes, and has recently been republished in the Anglo-Catholic library. Both wise and seasonable is the observation with which Dr. Blakeney introduces this to our notice. "The Reformers," he says, "expunged such services from the English ritual. This service has not a particle of authority, and its use would be absolutely illegal." The same remark applies, with still greater emphasis, to the grosser and more evidently idolatrous additions in our own times. Several Prayer-books, and works of devotion professing to be of the Church of England, have recently been published, of a decidedly Romanistic character. In some of these are found doctrines essentially and unmistakeably, as our Reformers would have called them, the ware of Babylon. Here we have prayer for the dead, the corporal presence, and adoration of that corporal presence in the Sacrament. Surely it may be said of all who presume to introduce again such exploded delusions, that after professing to have come out of Egypt, already in their rebellion they have returned to their bondage.

Here for the present we must close our review of the important volume before us. We will not now take even a glance at the Second Part. We rise up from the perusal of this history of the Prayer-book with a still deeper impression than we ever had before, of its genuine and essential Protestantism, both in tone and character. It is the exhibition of this distinguishing feature of the Prayer-book which makes Dr. Blakeney's new work so peculiarly seasonable for the present times. About nine months have only rolled away since, with all the pomp and pageantry of a Romish funeral for one of her princes, the silent grave was opened to receive the first Cardinal Archbishop that had ever been tolerated here in England since the completion of the Reformation. Upon that occasion the funeral oration over the departed Cardinal was pronounced by one of the most conspicuous of all the perverts that, since the Tractarian movement, have passed from the light and liberty of Protestant England, to the darkness and bondage of Papal Rome. Dr. Manning once professed to subscribe *ex animo* to the Book of Common Prayer. He professed to believe, what we do actually believe, that "the worship of the Virgin Mary, as now practised by the Church of Rome, is idolatry;" and that "the sacrifices of masses, in the which it was commonly said that the priest did offer Christ for the quick and the dead, to have remission of pain or guilt, were blasphemous fables, and dangerous deceits." In his funeral sermon for the departed Cardinal, Dr. Manning selected his text, as

the fallen Church is wont to do, from the Apocrypha. These were the words according to our translation: "And among the elect was Neemias, whose renown is great, who raised up for us the walls that were fallen, and set up the gates and the bars, and raised up our ruins again." (Ecclesiasticus xlix. 13.) He wished to point out a close analogy between Nehemiah and Cardinal Wiseman. The great praise of Nehemiah was this: after the Babylonians had burnt the temple, and thrown down and demolished the walls and the gates and the bars of the holy city, it was the happy lot of Nehemiah to restore all things, and to build them up again. A like praise Dr. Manning conceives to belong to the late Cardinal. He thinks the corrupt and apostate and idolatrous Church of Rome is the temple of God; and that the Romish hierarchy, and the Romish persuasion, is the household of faith, and the commonwealth of Israel. This temple, he thinks, was wickedly demolished; and all the walls and gates and bars of the holy city, in this Protestant country, were rudely overthrown, and pulled down, and reduced to ruins, at the Reformation. But Cardinal Wiseman devoted his life to the mighty task of counteracting the Reformation, and bringing back this country to its former subjection to Rome. Dr. Manning thinks that he wonderfully succeeded in his design; and that England is now in a state of transition from the prostration into which, by her heresy, she has fallen, to the former happiness and glory of her Papal days. Because the late Cardinal has thus far succeeded in bringing back the wandering nation to the feet of the Pope, he conceives that his renown is great, and that his name will be had in everlasting honour. But, unhappily for Dr. Manning's analogy, the work of the Romish cardinal and that of the Persian governor were as diametrically opposite as darkness and light. Nehemiah came to comfort, and to restore, and to liberate those who had long groaned under the heavy yoke of *literal Babylon*. The work of the Cardinal in this country—

"Never did Cardinal bring good to England!"—

was to bring back a nation, that had clean escaped from the tyranny and idolatry of the mystical Babylon, once more to crouch like a slave under the feet of the mighty oppressor, and again to groan under the miserable bondage and the degrading superstition of "the Babylonian woe." They who have drunk the wine of the sorceress cannot discover it; and they who are blinded by the smoke of Rome will not perceive it; but we simple members of the Protestant Church of England, by God's mercy established in this kingdom, both perceive and know the true character of the Church of Rome. We see "upon her forehead a name written, *Mystery, Babylon the great, the mother of harlots, and abominations of the earth*. Is it then, we ask

with all solemnity, a blessed thing, or a cursed thing, to raise up and to build again the walls, and the gates, and the bars of the devoted city, after once they have been so marvellously and so gloriously demolished? Good Bishop Hall, who left this watchword for the Protestant Church of England, "No peace with Rome!" shall give a full answer to the momentous question we have just proposed. These are his words:—"If any nation under heaven could either parallel or second the land of Israel in the favours of God, this poor little island of our's is it. The cloud of His protection hath covered us. The blood-red sea of persecution hath given way to us, and we have passed it dry-shod. The true manna from heaven is rained down abundantly about our tents. The better law of the Gospel is given to us by the hand of his Son from heaven. The walls of the spiritual Jericho are fallen down flat before us, at the blast of the trumpets of God; and cursed, cursed shall he be that goeth about to build them up again."

What then, in conclusion, can we think, and what can we say, of those who, with the open Bible in their hands, and the history of the past before their eyes, prefer the Romish Missal to the English Prayer-book? Surely, unless they had quenched the light which they once enjoyed, and had been "given up to strong delusion to believe a lie," (2 Thess. ii. 11,) it would have been impossible, utterly impossible, for them to have preferred the darkness of Papal delusion to the light of Protestant truth; they could not have put the bitterness of antichristian bondage for the sweetness of Christian liberty; they could not have called the true faith, which is drawn clear as crystal from the oracles of God, evil, and the lying wonders and blasphemous fables of that Man of Sin, good. Let all who are in any danger of being blinded by the smoke of Rome, or intoxicated with the wine of fornication, ponder in their hearts very seriously, how unmistakeably they are exposed to "the Babylonian woe," in all its tremendous severity: "Woe unto them that call evil good, and good evil; that put darkness for light, and light for darkness; that put bitter for sweet, and sweet for bitter!" (Isa. v. 20.)

LORD ROBERT MONTAGU'S "FOUR EXPERIMENTS IN CHURCH
AND STATE."

The Four Experiments in Church and State. By Lord Robert Montagu, M.P. London: Longmans.

BEFORE a man sits down to write a book, he should first fix not only the subject, but the object. What Lord Robert Montagu's object was in the work before us, it would be rather

difficult to say ; but he has at all events supplied a subject on which others may write with an object.

There is no one question on which more confusion of thought prevails than respecting the union of Church and State. What does that familiar expression, "Church and State," imply? Does it imply two distinct Powers acting in concert under a compact? or does it denote, under two names, one and the same thing? Is it an alliance which may at any time be dissolved? or is it an essential union like that of the body and the soul, in which the action of the one is the life of the other?

Dissenters, and all who are disaffected towards the National Church, wishing not to see the question in its true light, are more or less guilty of confusing it with their own objections. They will persist in speaking of the "alliance between the Church and the State," because they wish it to be viewed only as an "alliance;" they will accuse the Church of being under "State patronage;" and then, with all the abuses of patronage, private as well as public, before them in misapplied revenues and unfit appointments, they have a fine subject for railing and misrepresentation by which to prove their zeal for religion. But all this, though they think not so, only serves to prove how little they understand their own ignorance.

He will be doing good service to religion (for it is one part of religion to speak the truth) who shall strip this question of all false representation, and place it before the community in its native simplicity, undisguised alike by priestly assumption or sectarian prejudice. We know not that we are equal to the task ; but we will at all events endeavour to place the question in the dry light of *fact*.

Before, however, we proceed to the discussion of our subject, we will dispose of the author who has supplied us with it, considered as a writer and a legislator. We have said that he hardly seems to have had any distinct *object* in view in his book : we are at a loss to tell why the book was written, or what it proves. If we might hazard a conjecture, we should say that his object (so far as he had any) was to prove that he *could write a book*; and that, as he was just starting as a legislator, he thought an imposing octavo volume, on such a stock question as "Church and State," would of itself be a good capital on which to embark in his new enterprise. The House of Commons often hears his voice, youthful as he is : whether it will ever suffer its cold indifference to the National Church to be modified by the gulf-stream of his warm wisdom, it is beyond our power to determine. It is hard for any man to alter the temperature of the times in which he lives.

We have a friend of our own, who once inflicted the caustic remark upon ourselves, "I always set a man down for a fool who writes a book." Our own reply to this was, "Fools write

books, but wise men read them." It is far from our purpose to intimate by this that Lord Robert Montagu is a fool. He has probably calculated correctly as respects himself, though not as respects the House of Commons. That august body is never at any one time young, neither is it middle-aged, nor old, but always in a condition of unchangeable constancy, according to the nature of a permanent body composed of transitory parts. Hence its "collective wisdom" is always, in its own esteem, the highest possible exhibition of wisdom. The comfort with regard to our author is, that, though young now, he will, as time speeds on its course, grow older.

There are two things, and two things alone, any one of which will redeem a book; these are—either the *thought*, or the *style*. Where there is a good style, it will excuse the want of brilliant or original thought; where there is striking thought, it will compensate for the want of a finished style. But where there is neither thought nor style, what shall we say? What the style of the book before us is, may be judged by the last sentence in it, which is as follows:—

"For negotiations are studiously concealed; and the secret is carefully kept and defended by multiplied circumvallations and impregnable quadrilaterals of deluding Blue Books, and obfuscating ministerial explanations."

So ends a work on the "Four Experiments in Church and State." Should it not be, Experiments on patience?

The very first thing a writer who intends to publish should study, is a good style. Unless an author has learned to express his thoughts clearly, and without encumbrance, he had better not publish at all. For why should the public be perplexed to make out what the author did not seem to understand himself—or, at all events, knew not how to explain?

This question of "Church and State" is a very simple one, and yet it may be made one of the most perplexed. It is very simple if looked at in the light of fact, and not of theory. What is the fact in regard to the National Church, as it is found existing among us? Was there ever a time in the history of the country when the State took the Church into union with itself? Can any one point out the precise period? Rather, did not the State itself take the new character of the Church when it became Christian? Is not the Church simply the *consecrated* form of the State? or the State acting in a religious capacity? It has been well said, that constitutions are not made, but *grow*. The State, as it exists in England, undoubtedly *grew* to be Christian. The leaven of Christian sentiment spread and spread, till the whole lump was leavened. Just as in a family, when the head of it becomes a Christian, or rather, the head of it being a Christian, all the regulations of it become Christian; so the governing Power of the country

becoming Christian, the State, as it is called, became, *ipso facto*, Christian as respects religious profession. The process was just as natural as it is simple. And how there can be anything religiously wrong in this, we must confess it passes our powers to comprehend; unless, indeed, it be wrong in the State to become religious at all!

The confusion that prevails in many people's minds on this question arises out of their regarding the State as something distinct from the Nation or People. But the State is the same thing as the Nation; and the *Nation* it was that constituted the National Church. It is neither more nor less than the religious expression of the national will. And shocked as the Dissenters may be to hear it, we make bold to tell them that, as far as the Nation, acting through its Legislature, has recognized them and their religious principles, they are themselves a part of that abhorred thing, *the National or State Church*, alias *Religion*. The Queen, too, is their Supreme Head on earth in things spiritual, (albeit they think it not,) just so far as they seek the authority of the Law, or the sanction of the Law, to any part of their religious practice; and for the protection of their religious endowments they have shown themselves as ready to appeal to the Law as ever was the Established Church, to say nothing of the national sanction they have sought to their marriages and burials.

Some persons, from the want of reflection, are ever ready to ridicule the idea, as if it were itself ridiculous, of the State having a conscience. But has it not Laws? And what are these but the moral voice of the State? in other words, but the utterance of its conscience? So far at least as it passes judgment upon what is right, it has a conscience, though its conscience may not, as the conscience of an individual may not, come up to the full recognition of its duty.

The religious sentiment of the nation, whether it be healthy or not, is the soul of the nation; and as the body without the soul is dead, so a nation without religion is dead. He would be thought a strange reasoner who should argue that, because religion is a matter of the soul, therefore it has nothing to do with the body. It is to control and direct all the operations and acts of the body; and so likewise it should the body incorporate of the State, in the way of a *presiding* principle.

Dissenters are wont to assume that, because the Queen is acknowledged as the Supreme Head on earth of the National Church, therefore she, or the State for her, can directly interfere with the doctrine taught in the Church, and impose upon the people her own private opinions, or any other opinions it pleases, as the true religion. They suppose, indeed, that the State, as a mere secular power, fixes what the religion of the nation shall be. Hence, by way of con-

tempt, they call the National Church "the State religion." But this is altogether a misconception. The Queen has no power, either personally or constitutionally, to impose her own religion upon the people. Her power is only the power of the Law, which she represents; and the Law is only another term for the will of the nation. The Law limits and binds her, in this respect, just as much as it does her subjects. Neither has the State the power, except as the supreme Authority in the land in the making of laws, and when it represents the religious sentiment of the nation as declared by the People. When it is said, then, "What right has the State to impose its religion upon us?" the obvious retort is, "What right has the State to impose its laws upon us?" The State must be supreme in all causes, ecclesiastical as well as civil, or it ceases to have the unity of a State; and if a Church be set up in it with an independent power, that Church becomes an *imperium in imperio*, as is the case in countries under the spiritual dominion of the Pope. In this Dissent is nearer akin to Popery than it may like to acknowledge.

The State, it must be borne in mind, is not one thing and the Nation another; neither is the Church one thing and the State, or Nation, another; but they are the same things, under different names, only for the sake of distinction. This point is well stated by the thoughtful Hooker in the Eighth Book of his Ecclesiastical Polity, thus:—

"We hold that, seeing that there is not any man of the Church of England, but the same man is also a member of the Commonwealth; nor any member of the Commonwealth which is not also of the Church of England," (he means of the Christian Church *in* England); "therefore, as in a triangle the base doth differ from the sides thereof, and yet one and the self-same line is both a base and also a side—a side *simply*, but a base if it chance to be the bottom, and to underlie the rest. So, albeit properties and actions of one do cause the name of a Commonwealth, qualities and functions of another sort do cause the name of the Church to be given to a multitude; yet one and the self-same multitude may in such sort be both. Nay, it is so with us, that no person appertaining to the one can be denied to be also of the other. . . . If all that believe be contained in the name of the Church, how should the Church remain by personal subsistence divided from the Commonwealth, when the whole Commonwealth doth believe? The Church and the Commonwealth are in this case, therefore, *personally* one society, which society, being termed a Commonwealth, as it liveth under whatsoever form of secular law and regiment; a Church, as it liveth under the spiritual law. . . . We mean by the Commonwealth, that society with relation to all the public affairs thereof; by the Church, the same society with only reference unto the matter of true religion."

No notion could be more utterly unfounded than that which prevails among the ordinary run of Nonconformists,—that the

clergy of the Church are, in some way, they can never tell you in what way, subject to the Temporal Authority in respect of their religious teaching. It is imagined that they receive their creed from the State, as a Power distinct from the Church, and that the Power which thus imposes can prescribe just what doctrine it likes to be taught to the people. This view of theirs arises out of their laying it down as impossible that the State can, in any respect, discharge the functions of the Church. It could have no place if they would only remember that the State acts in a twofold capacity in England: sometimes in its purely temporal capacity, in the administration of the civil laws, and sometimes in its spiritual, as bound to provide sound Christian instruction for the whole people—offering it to all, but forcing it upon none. It is the Law, or, in other words, the Nation, that makes this provision; and it binds the clergy, as the officers of the Church (for they must necessarily be bound by law in a National Church) to teach no other doctrine as “necessary to salvation but what is to be found in Holy Scripture, or may be proved thereby.” (Art. VI.) But as to interference, the State never interferes with any clergyman in teaching pure Christian truth. It merely sanctions that teaching by the high authority of law, and throws the ægis of its own protection over the minister in teaching it. This surely ought to be regarded as an advantage rather than otherwise. We have ourselves ministered in the Church now for upwards of thirty years, and yet the State has never in any way whatever interfered to control our teaching. No dissenting minister can possibly have more liberty, in this respect, than ourselves. It is true we cannot minister in the Church without subscribing to the Articles, and consenting to the use of the Liturgy; but then this is a provision wisely made by the State for the safeguard of the people; for never was there a truer sentence uttered than this—“The liberty of the clergy is the slavery of the laity.” In short, the difference between the “State Church,” as Dissenters are pleased to call it, and their own systems, is just this: that, in the Church the clergy are held bound to teach the truth; but in Dissenting chapels the ministers may teach, without control, falsehood or truth, pretty much as they like. Such is so called “religious liberty.”

How this uncontrolled liberty of action in religion has worked, and what are the fruits it has produced, is best seen in America—that pattern land of liberty, as some regard it. In that country of a hundred different “Denominations,” (this is the number given in the American census,) we find it stated by American authorities themselves (Thirty-fourth Annual Report of the American Tract Society, May 11, 1859, quoted by Lord Robert Montagu), “hundreds of thousands are living on the territory occupied by the branch (Ohio) without Sabbath and

sanctuary influences, without the pastor, with no one to care for their souls." . . . "Western communities experience the evils of a *liberty which is license*. There, restless and over-confident spirits are *free from the restraints of a long established order*; and those who are careless and mercenary no longer feel it necessary to pay an outward deference to principles which they secretly dislike or condemn. The *various forms of unbelief and fanaticism make easy conquests*; and in some districts even the religion that is honoured by the multitude is *more fruitful of infidelity than of piety*." Again: "Indeed we can hardly contemplate the present character of our people without dismay. In high places and low, among officers of state, in circles of wealth, over broad regions of rich farms and plantations, and in centres of trade, we seem to find a *terrible corruption—an appalling faithlessness, venality, and boldness in wrong-doing*."

It is common to hear it urged by Dissenters and Radicals, that politics have nothing to do with religion; to which it might be answered, "But religion has a great deal to do with politics." The basis of all *polity* (to use an old word for both Church and State) is *religion*; for what but religion can teach truth, righteousness, mutual consideration, or those principles of right which alone can hold people together in those bonds of reciprocal respect which are essential to them as members of one community. To say that politics have nothing to do with religion, meaning by it that religion has nothing to do with politics, is just as false as to say that the air has nothing to do with health. Religion is the vital air in every political question. It *conditions* every problem that has to be settled. The kingdoms of this world are to become the kingdoms of our Lord and of His Christ. And how is this to be, except by the principles of His religion being allowed to determine every political question? And how can this be done, unless it be through the Church acting as one with the State, and making the State altogether Christian? We are quite aware that there are those (the Presbyterian Freechurchmen of Scotland, to wit) who think that the principle we have here laid down interferes with the kingly authority of Christ as the Divine and sole Head of the Church. But we would beg to ask, whether Christ is not now "King of kings and Lord of lords," as well as the Great Head of the Church? And yet, who can deny that, as "King of kings," He has earthly representatives in earthly sovereigns? If then, till He comes and takes the power into His own hands, and reigns here on earth, He may properly be represented by others in the temporal affairs of kingdoms, why not also in the spiritual? In what respect does the one interfere with, or derogate from, His supremacy more than the other?

Admit that He may be represented by others in His absence in respect to religious authority in a State, and there can be no question that it is by each nation's own proper sovereign, being Christian, and not by a foreign Power like that of the Pope, He should be so represented.

Those who would separate Church and State, whether they be Radical Churchmen or Dissenters, they are simply trying to do away with the influence of religion as a governing Principle in social life, and to relegate it to the irresponsible region of the individual conscience. But though a Government may thus abdicate its functions, it cannot get rid of its responsibility. If "the powers that be are of God," it must be that they should rule for God. It will not meet the difficulty for any to say that, because a Government or State may, when it has the power, set up a false religion, therefore no Government or State ought to be trusted to set up the true. Every nation is bound to set up, and to uphold, the true Christian religion, as the guide to men. A nation may, of course, under a mistaken judgment, adopt and set up a false system instead of the true; and so may an individual man do precisely the same. But as the one is not thereby relieved of his responsibility to have done what was right, so neither is the other.

That many abuses arise out of the connection of the Church with the State, or rather its identity with it, is what no one can deny. It tends to make the Church *worldly*, no doubt. While its duty is to infuse something of the heavenly into the earthly, it is apt to contract, by the contact, the earthly in place of the heavenly. But this is what the Church of God, under any conditions in which it may exist here on earth, is liable to. It must not be forgotten that there are two kinds of worldliness—a high-lived worldliness—the worldliness of ambition, and pomp, and grandeur; and a low-lived worldliness—the worldliness of vulgar feelings, and petty jealousies, and insolent pride. If the former is the worldliness of the National Church, the latter is, emphatically, the worldliness which overruns Dissent. Dissent is *democracy in religion*; the system of our National Church is that of a *limited monarchy in religion*, as well as in civil government; and which works best, let the history of America tell.

Another quotation from an American authority—"The Plea for Home Missions," published at New York—may not be out of place here.

"Sectarian rivalry," this work states, "is in many places carried to a pitch of narrowness and spite but feebly appreciated by Eastern Christians, such as is impossible in an educated community, and is incomprehensible to hearts enlarged by obedience to the law of Christ. . . . Here, then, we have a confused multitude of various origin, scattered over a vast space, a large part of them living far asunder,

amid discomforts, perpetually in motion, never permanently settled, burthened with distracting cares, subject to high excitements, buried in worldliness, *pulled this way and that by rival sects*, and predisposed to contempt of all religion; *unteachable, proud, vain, ambitious, contentious, hardened in long transgression.*" (Plea for Home Missions. New York, 1859. p. 69.)

As in respect to our system of civil government, so in respect to our system of religion, no sensible people are likely to go to America, or to our sectaries at home, to learn a better way. Our National Church, with all its faults, works well. Neither ought we to go to Rome to learn in what way to establish a Church. In Romish countries, the Church is independent of the State, and overrides the State. This is what some, calling themselves "High Churchmen," are hankering after here, forgetting that, in seeking to make the Church, or Religion, independent of the State, they are identifying themselves with Dissent. It will be a sad day for England if these should ever succeed in severing the Church from the State. Collision with the Secular Power will then be inevitable. It is not merely that an *imperium in imperio*, with all its disturbing action, will be established; but the Church will lose its social and spiritual influence, while it gains what is desired—*ecclesiastical dominancy*. The clergy will then be all in all, and the laity nothing. Whether the Priests reign, as in the Church of Rome, or the People reign, as in Dissent, both are alike bad. *The supremacy of the Sovereign it is that secures the liberty of the subject.*

It is greatly to be regretted that Dissenters cannot be brought to see this question in its true light. The supremacy of the Sovereign, in things spiritual as well as in things temporal, is really for the protection of all against the oppression of any, and secures, what can be no otherwise secured, *impartial justice*. The very Church-rates which the people are required to pay, are, if they did but know it, the tokens and proofs of their powers. Their being called upon to vote them, is a recognition of their *rights* in respect to the National Church.

Those who contend for what is called the "Voluntary Principle," seem most strangely to have overlooked the fact, that the National Church, as respects Church-rates, is founded on the Voluntary Principle. The parishioners are left at liberty to rate themselves for the support of the Church, as they shall see fit. In this respect, our own law agrees precisely with the Mosaic institute, as regards religion. For it is a remarkable circumstance, that while contributions for the support of the tabernacle were made by Moses the matters of a law by being *commanded*, there was no penalty to be inflicted by man for the non-observance of that law, as there was in cases of direct

offences against God. There was a law laid down about the tribute of the Temple, but it was to be of voluntary observance; just as our own Church-rates are obligatory by law, and yet the carrying of that law into effect is left subject to the will of the parishioners; so that the "Voluntary Principle" at any time can be, as it often has been, turned into the *Involuntary Principle*. *In the right application of the Voluntary Principle to the Chapels of the Orthodox Dissenters, as well as to the Parish Churches, lies the true solution of the much-vexed question of Church-rates.*

Jealousy of the National Church, as enjoying the special sanction of the State, is at the bottom, it cannot be doubted, of all the blindness of Dissenters in regard to the rightfulness of the union or oneness of the Church with the State. The Church and the State were one, or united, under the Jewish economy: that Dissenters themselves cannot deny. As this had God's direct sanction, it could not in itself be morally wrong. How that which was morally right then, can be morally wrong now, we should very much like to see proved. But waiving this point, there is one question which we would have every candid Dissenter consider. It is this:—"The kingdoms of this world are to become the kingdoms of our Lord and of his Christ;"—and when this comes to pass, will not the Church and the State be one or identical? If, then, this can, under any circumstances, become right, how can it now be essentially wrong?

We have taken but little notice, as yet, of the work which has supplied us with this discussion. It may be right for us here to mention that Lord Robert Montagu's book, entitled "*The Four Experiments in Church and State*," professes to treat of the Church in regard to all its different relations with States, and to prove that the best, and safest, and healthiest condition of the Church is for it to be, as it is in our own country, one with the State. In this we perfectly agree with him, though we cannot agree in all the principles which he enunciates. His four cases are:—1. *National Churches*, as in England, where the Church and State coincide, or are identical. 2. The *Eastern or Greek Church* (Russia), where the State overrides the Church. 3. The *Romish* (Rome), where the Church overrides the State. 4. *Americanism*, or *the way of the Sectaries*, where Church and State are unconnected, and, strictly speaking, there is no Church, but only so many sand-hills. On these points he now and then says some racy things. Let the reader take this as a specimen:—

"The first aim of the Sectaries is '*edification*.' Each of them seeks the '*edification*' of himself; all he cares for is to '*save his soul*.' This is a selfish, isolating, dividing motive. There is alienation and hatred bound up with it. It is the very contrary to '*going about to do good*.' The Sectaries put themselves in the first place, and forget

that they are merely instruments or means to an end. There is no unity in a number of men who seek each his own edification. Nor yet can there be any bond of union between the sects ; for all do not sorrow when one suffers reverses ; and when one sect advances, all do not joy with it." (p. 301.)

To point out the errors in others is a much easier thing than to ascertain right principles for ourselves. It is when Lord Robert Montagu enunciates what appear to be his own principles in religion, that we cannot agree with him. We said at the outset that he seemed to have written a book without an *object* ; but we correct ourselves. There is one object which we think we can detect—that object being to echo the Maurician principles, which he appears plainly enough to have adopted. As instances of this, we give the following :—

"When talking of the National form of Church, let us then get doctrines and opinions out of our heads. Theology is all very good for divines,—citizens can do without it. A Bible and a National Church is all we want." (p. 58.)

His notion of a National Church, which he proclaims over and over again, is, that it is only "an association for putting down evil." This is a thing he thinks can be best done without religious "*doctrines*," for which he loses no opportunity of expressing his contempt. Some of his assertions on this point will startle our readers. To wit, he says :—

"Church membership does not depend upon doctrines. The office of the Church is not to promulgate doctrines. Her function is to make men be good citizens—just, honest, upright, godly men. It is in this that the great fundamental difference lies between a National Church and every other form of Church. A Church which professes to be the Nation (or, in cant phrase, 'identical with the State') casts dogma entirely out of the question ; while a Church which claims to be separate from the nation must recommend itself by the promulgation of certain doctrines ; it must put forward and enforce its opinions." (p. 304.)

Again :—

"A good man, a godly citizen, is something much better than all the creeds, and doctrines, and bodies of divinity, and systems of theology in the world. To make men this (not to preach doctrines or dispute theologies) is the object of a Church." (p. 322.)

This sounds to us very much like saying that the object of eating is not to give men bones and sinews, but only flesh—only to send them forth into the world with a fat and jolly appearance. Our author forgets that belief in certain doctrines forms the bones and sinews of the Christian ; or, rather, supplies the vital energy of the Christian. To make men Christians without Christianity would be a magical process indeed ! But the readers of the *Christian Observer* are not very likely to take their instructions in these matters from Lord Robert

Montagu. We quite agree with him, if all he means is, that a religion which consists only in holding certain doctrines as matters of opinion, is of no worth. But real religion, without the belief of the heart in the doctrines of the Bible, there cannot be, any more than there can be a good citizen without loyalty arising out of a hearty approval of the laws of his country. Alas! in what darkness we have been all our days. For our author, waxing bolder as he advances, tells us:—

“The conduct of men, the excellence of citizens, does not depend on their understandings. If doctrines could make them better, we might secure a millennium by Sunday-schools. No! The desires have to be set upon that which is really good; passion for evil things has to be put down. The sense of right has to be strengthened. This much might be learned from a study of the Bible. For the Bible *does not contain doctrines.* (*sic.*) If it did rehearse doctrines, then it is a work of supererogation to make out doctrines outside the Bible, and put them into books. Divines pretend to draw their doctrines and theologies from the Bible. If they found them there all ready made, it would be far more sensible to leave the Bible alone to tell its own story. Understanding and argument have nothing to do with godliness, for they breed polemical rancour and party differences. Most of the bitterness and bloodshed in the world have come from theologians and their detestable Churches built upon doctrines.” (pp. 326, 327.)

It is quite clear from these quotations, that Lord Robert Montagu is one of those who would, if they could, (he must have forgotten that these Articles existed when he wrote what we have quoted respecting the National Church,) utterly abolish the Thirty-nine Articles, designed to conserve the Church in the unity of true religion. Agreement in all fundamental doctrine is the very foundation of a Church, whether it be a National Church or any other Church. The great distinction of the Church of England is, that her doctrines, being fixed and clearly defined, she changes not with the changing opinions of men. In this respect, she worthily holds the place among us of the *National Church*, one with a State, which makes “Christianity part and parcel of the law of the land,” representing the fixed (not fluctuating) principles in religion of the nation as a whole, considered as a Christian nation; for, to conclude, in the majestic words of Milton,—“*A Commonwealth ought to be but as one huge personage, one mighty growth and stature of an honest man.*”

ISAAC TAYLOR.

THE Author of "Home Education," "The Natural History of Enthusiasm," of "Saturday Evening," the "Physical Theory of Another Life," "The Restoration of Belief," and many other treatises too numerous to mention here, has gone to his rest at a good old age. In that quiet Essex village, where he had fixed his home nearly half a century ago, and amid the scenes with which he was familiar from childhood, the spirit of Isaac Taylor has passed away, to be with Him whom he had devoutly believed in and dutifully served during a life of prolonged activity in the department of Christian apologetics. He was a type of a class of apologists which are becoming rarer every day. Whether it be that the truth itself calls for another style of defence, or that professional authorship is becoming rarer in an age when a life of contemplation and one of practical activity are not divided from each other as they formerly were, the fact is, that the class to which Isaac Taylor belonged has become almost extinct, and we may survey the whole field of literature in vain, to find another example of an author by profession, and Christian advocate by special avocation. Abraham Tucker, the author of "The Light of Nature," was an author of this class a century ago; and Mr. Douglas of Cavers, nearer our own times, also belongs to the same category. But the call for a class of lay divines is less felt in our day, when theology is becoming less technical and more popular. As in our mission fields, the age of interpreters is over, and our missionaries begin their work by qualifying themselves to preach in the vernacular. So the need has disappeared; for the class to which the late Isaac Taylor belonged since our divines have given up the scholastic method, and write Commentaries for English readers like Mr. Ryle, or Dean Alford; Church histories, like that of the late Professor Blunt; and monographs, or the history of doctrine, like the Essays of Principal Cunningham, and others too numerous to mention.

We shall not go through one by one, and at length, the writings of Isaac Taylor, which have given his name a permanent place in religious literature. He was a writer of mark, but we think he was also something more. There was a reserve of power in his writings to save him from the reputation of a book-maker.

We might as well attempt to trace the scenery of some island on which we are landed at night, by the light of the

fire-flies which dance around us, as we touch its shores. A book is, it is true, the expression of the mind that produced it; but there is always something behind, which the book has attempted to convey, and failed to do so. Words, like nature, in part reveal and in part conceal the soul within. What Isaac Taylor *did*, may be inferred with tolerable correctness from a list of his published writings; but what he *was*, is best known to those who now sit round the empty hearth, who gather in the family home now wanting its central light; who return to the place which knows him no more, and find, in the honest grief of an Essex village, that Isaac Taylor was more than a voluminous author, and a man of mark in the literary world. He has done enough to leave his mark on English literature, and to take a high place in the second rank of our great prose authors; but there is that behind which is more enduring even than literary distinction, and which makes him dear to a large circle of Evangelical Christians outside the body to which he was particularly attached. The rank which he holds in the commonwealth of letters was given to him, more than twenty years ago, by Sir James Stephen, in the pages of the "Edinburgh Review." But the place which he will fill as a silent but powerful worker in the cause of Evangelical Alliance, ought to be known in order that it may be appreciated. "His survey of human affairs," to quote the words of Sir J. Stephen, "is conducted from an elevation far above the mists of religious or political partisanship. His most inquisitive readers could never have discovered that he was a Nonconformist, had he not announced himself in that character. Unaided by that avowal, he must have been considered only as a cosmopolitan student, and teacher of Christian ethics and polity; as the grave censor of all ecclesiastical sects, the admirer of none, the eulogist of none, the member of none: as contemplating the Universal Church, and each of her children, (disunited and discordant as they are,) with a fervent though foreboding affection, and yet as pledged to a passionate and relentless hostility against that sect (ever stifling its name, but never changing its character), which, under the semblance of superhuman virtues and the pretext of divine authority, still aims at the establishment of a spiritual despotism over the people, and the kingdom of the Redeemer."

Viewed in this light, the life and writings of the late Isaac Taylor have a spiritual interest to which their literary merit is only secondary and subservient. There were Reformers before the Reformation; and Isaac Taylor was a champion of Evangelical Alliance before its scattered friends were yet summoned to rally around it, and close up their ranks to meet the assaults of unbelief and superstition. Voluminous as Isaac Taylor's "Remains" are, wide as the range of subjects are

which his enquiries sweep, they have all this central point of unity, that they bear on the great controversy of the age with the two unclean spirits; the one of which denies the faith faculty altogether, the other of which destroys it by submitting it to another authority than that of God Himself and His Word. In Isaac Taylor's mind, the canon on which all Evangelical Alliance must rest, viz., *in certis unitas, in dubiis varietas, in omnibus caritas*, was not a mere platitude of the platform; not a mere badge to be worn on the sleeve for a few days or hours in the year; but it was the ingrained conviction of his heart. He was a Christian unattached in the legitimate sense of the word; not that he lacked attachment to the creed and confession which had been hereditary in his family, but because his mind had outgrown the old party ties which divided Church and Dissent, and that tendency to fall back on the method of difference, rather than the method of agreement, which still cripples the energies of Evangelical Christians.

To describe correctly Isaac Taylor's position, and the use of his writings with reference to the controversies of our day, we should say that he was the pathologist of certain morbid affections which have retarded, and still retard, the spread of genuine, that is, of primitive and spiritual, Christianity. We should not assign Isaac Taylor a high place as a mental and moral philosopher. His "Elements of Thought," written in early life, and published only a few years ago, is not a very remarkable production. The style is too ornate and polished not to betray the want of originality in the matter itself. His friends injudiciously put him forward as a candidate for the chair of Metaphysics and Logic in the University of Edinburgh, against the late Sir William Hamilton; but to be defeated by such an antagonist was no dishonour. If he was set aside, it was only in favour of the man who had already acquired a European reputation as one of the foremost of mental philosophers, and who was destined ere long to revive the old glories of the Scottish school of Metaphysics.

Few writers, if any, have described with such skill the diseased action of the affections and passions in religious questions. In the *Natural History of Enthusiasm*, we have the morbid anatomy of the affections described; and in the *Natural History of Fanaticism*, the diseased working of human passion in distorting the features of pure and undefiled religion. The wrong, because exaggerated, tendency of the affections to distort Christianity in the case of Enthusiasm, and the gloomy mixture of human passion with divine faith in the case of Fanaticism, are nowhere more strikingly displayed than in these two masterly essays. These books are melancholy reading, it must be admitted, and we are not surprised that the Essay on

Fanaticism was less favourably received than that on Enthusiasm; while the Treatise on Spiritual Despotism, which completes the trilogy, gave unmistakeable symptoms that the public would bear no more of this morbid anatomy of spurious religion. An unfinished fragment, bearing that uninviting title, is extant to prove that the public patience wearied before Isaac Taylor had exhausted the vein which he had opened with such skill and sagacity. The anatomy of the human mind is not likely to attract a large circle of readers, much less its pathology. Human nature feels inclined to treat those who describe its diseases as Jehudi king of Judah did the book which Baruch read in his ears. We are inclined to cut it with a pen-knife, and throw it into the fire. But when satire and censure are dealt out in this exceptional way against a special class, when the monsters and pigmies which one satirist makes us shudder at, and another despise, are described as men like ourselves, we feel that this kind of morbid anatomy is coming too near home, and we shut the book, afraid of seeing ourselves described in the next page. To some such cause as this we must ascribe the failing popularity which attended Isaac Taylor's repeated attempts to describe the diseased symptoms which are often combined with a profession of faith in Christ.

There is another defect which treatises like those of Isaac Taylor lie under, and which will always confine their popularity to a select circle of readers. He invariably traces up the special evil to some general principle in the human mind. Instead of describing fanaticism as Walter Scott does in his novels, or a Macaulay in his histories, he analyses the springs of action. He does not so much describe men as they are, as he shows what are the elements in human nature which, under similar circumstances, will produce similar results. But a chemical analysis of the Harrogate water is one thing, a draught of the Old Sulphur Well another; and satisfactory as their chemical analyses are, they tell us little that we do not know already. We can tell how many grains of sulphur go to the gallon; but why sulphur so diluted should act as a specific in certain diseases, we know as little as ever. Quantitative tests carry us but a little way in the direction of quantitative research. It is so with mental analyses like those of Isaac Taylor. Convincing as they are in one sense, they leave us very much as we were before, both as to the way to avoid these evils, or to overcome them when they are upon us.

The same objection lies, we think, also against his physical theory of another life. The argument of the book, in so far as it is an attempt to throw light on the nature of the spiritual body, rests on a fallacy which we wonder never presented itself to so acute a mind. He argues that it is by an act of our

will which has become habitual, and of which therefore we are not always conscious, that we do not tax our bodies beyond their strength. Isaac Taylor grounds this strange theory of pre-established harmony on the well-known fact of the prodigious strength put forth by men suffering under acute mania. This he accounts for in the way above described. The horseman rides wildly, and puts his horse at everything. For a little while, the horse so ridden is at the head of the field, but he soon stakes himself, or breaks his rider's neck. In the future state, Isaac Taylor thinks that our bodily powers will be made equal to the mind's demands upon them. We shall ride on the whirlwind, or pierce the solid rock, when our bodily powers equal our mental volitions. To will and to do, will thus be one and the same thing.

We do not deny some truth to this ingenious theory, but it rests on a mistaken theory of the will, as seated on the intellect, and moderating our demands on the body in proportion to our knowledge of the strength of the body. Such dualistic theories of the connection of mind and body do not hold good. The exceptional strength of the lunatic does not prove that his mind is overtaxing his body, but rather the converse. It is not the rider who is overdriving his horse, but the horse who is running away with his rider. The brain has become diseased, and so the connection being cut between mind and body, both beat wildly; the mind conjuring up phantoms, and the body giving way to these delusions, and putting all its strength out at one moment, instead of husbanding it for future use. The strength of a lunatic is only the extravagance of a spendthrift who gets through a year's income in a month. No one can infer, from a spendthrift's expenditure, what his fortune really is. His capital may be ten thousand pounds, or only a thousand; his conduct is equally reckless in either case. He will come a little sooner, in one case than in the other, to the end of his purse, but it is only a question of time. No inference, therefore, for the ordinary control of the mind over the body, can be drawn from these extraordinary cases. It may be that sometimes the mind restrains the body, and sometimes the body the mind; but it would be rash to argue for our bodily powers hereafter, from our mental capacities here. *Quicquid vult valde vult*, is very likely to be the condition of strong natures in the future world, as well as the present; but it would be unsafe to say that there may not be checks as sufficient on our indulging impossibilities there, as well as here. It may not then be that muddy vesture of decay which now holds us back; but our desires will be as justly proportioned to our strength there as here. A great deal of the physical theory of a future life is taken up with an examination of the nervous system, and the action of the will on the excited motor system. But he does

not pay sufficient attention to the reflex action of these excited motor nerves on the will. It is hardly the case that we begin existence with a strong volition and weak bodily powers, and learn afterwards to measure our desires by our capacities. The converse holds good in quite as many cases. It is the body which excites the mind to action, as well as the mind which pricks up the sluggish bodily powers, or reins them in as a rider does his steed. The whole argument rests on the Cartesian hypothesis of the discerptibility of the soul from the body, which modern research is every day discrediting. The will is not an original principle in human nature. It is sense perception that first suggests to the will, and not will to the sense perception, what we may and what we may not attempt. The analogy, then, to a future state of being is defective, and the inquiry really returns to the point where an inspired apostle left it: "It doth not yet appear what we shall be."

Isaac Taylor's critical powers were decidedly greater than his constructive. We have seen this in his "Physical Theory of Another Life." It is even more strikingly seen in the "Restoration of Belief." In 1852 appeared the first part of a work on the Evidences, which excited some stir at Cambridge. It is good solid thinking, but infected and affected by that superfine Academy sort of English, which is bad enough in the pulpit, but quite out of place in the chair of philosophy. The title promises too much, and invites criticism. It is one thing to restate the evidence for the historic truth of the Gospel—another thing to restore belief. To suppose that any argument, however ingenious, or any reply to the cavils of sceptics, however convincing, will do much more than confirm the wavering, and establish those who believe already, is either to know nothing of the result of previous attempts in the same line, or to suppose that we can succeed where hundreds before us have failed. The "Restoration of Belief" is a most meritorious essay. The place which the miracle ought to take in the Evidences for Christianity is very well put, and the force of the argument *a silentio*, from the existence of Epistles in which the supernatural is assumed, but not expressly asserted, is very convincingly stated. No one can read Isaac Taylor's volume without being charmed and instructed; but when we try it by the test, whether an infidel would rise from its perusal silenced, if not convinced, we are afraid to say that such would be the case. It is defective, indeed, in that in which Paley excels—concentration. In Paley's case all the finer touches are left out of the picture. One point stands out, and one only, in high relief—that twelve men have lived and died in attestation of a miraculous fact; and if this trial by jury does not convince us that the prisoner at the bar has had fair play, we are not reasoning beings at all, and must give up, not our Chris-

tianity only, but our common sense as well. This trial of the witnesses, which Sherlock began, and Paley has made us familiar with, is a style of reasoning to which neither Isaac Taylor's own mind, nor the wants of the age, inclined him to follow out. There is nothing which the historian of Enthusiasm would less like than to be cornered by a categorical question on a matter of fact, and he does not treat his adversaries to this kind of argument. The Essay is all through critical, rather than constructive. It contains some admirable anticipations of what the course of time will do for the spread of truth, some deep and pregnant thoughts on the present state of unbelief or misbelief, and the prospects of this heavy pall being lifted off from Europe by the unexpected discovery of some fact which would corroborate the historical truth of our religion, and put it in a convincing light; but with these anticipations and divinings of what may never come about, the Essay leaves us very much as it found us. Every man goes to his own home: the Restoration of Belief is as far off as ever.

It is unsatisfactory, after this cursory survey of the principal writings of such a man, to be unable to report much positive progress. But it is part of Isaac Taylor's idiosyncrasy never to hit the nail full on the head, and drive it home with one blow. On the contrary, he plays with his work. In truth, when Isaac Taylor puts on the advocate's gown, he does not put off that cautious, over-candid temper which argues less for victory than for truth; and would prefer a drawn battle to one in which he took any advantage of his adversary. The style of an essayist, which is so delightful in matters of problematical truth, disappoints us when divine truth has to be dogmatically asserted, and defended with all the skill of an advocate. Thus the "Restoration of Belief," if judged of as a treatise on the Evidences, we must report defective; but if considered as a suggestive book, to be put in the hands of a young man in danger of yielding to the prevailing sceptical fashion, is deserving of high praise.

We have reserved to the last that work of Isaac Taylor's of which we can speak with much unmixed satisfaction. The "Saturday Evening," or a series of essays anticipatory of a sabbath day's worship, falls in so entirely with the genius of Isaac Taylor's mind, that it may be classed among the pleasantest reading that we know of. Here, indeed, the writer, who is more an essayist than an author, appears in his real strength. As there is nothing constructive required, the critical faculty, in which he is unrivalled, gives a charm and grace to every page. That luscious style, which flows on like rivers of milk and honey, never turbid with passion, never broken by the hidden rocks of prejudice, is the very channel in which to float down such thoughts as those of "Saturday

Evening." In the pulpit, such a style would be too adorned for the poor, and lack fire to arrest the careless. On the platform, these mellifluous periods would allay passion rather than excite it; but on Saturday evening, the week's work done, and the Sabbath drawing on, what can be more delightful than the sensation produced by a book which is as a bridge between the works of the week past and the rest of the coming day—a book which would almost charm a sceptic into coming to church next day, if he could reckon on a composition in that style from the pulpit?

If it be true that there is no labour which is in vain in the Lord, then Isaac Taylor's life has been as useful as it has been laborious. Dividing his time between the education of his children and pupils, and the execution of those works by which his name will have a lasting place in English literature, Isaac Taylor lived a life of singular activity, and will be long gratefully remembered by those whose minds he helped to form, and whom he aided to think for themselves by his example. A philosopher in the best sense of the word, he had found, like Justin Martyr, that the story of the Cross solved the riddle of life as no other theory or fact could do. He did not, as Justin, (for what need had he in this Christian land?) throw off his philosopher's cloak, and forswear all speculation for the duty of preaching the word. But for the many who are preachers and not philosophers, and who need help by the way when speculative difficulties cross their path, and the age calls out for an answer to its scientific doubts, his writings will serve this and perhaps a future generation to strengthen the feeble-minded, and confirm the weak. And lastly, he is a type of mind of that devout though undogmatic temper which the age sighs after but cannot yet attain to, and which must be the basis on which any hopes of Evangelical alliance and the reunion of Christendom must rest.

ON THE TONE TO BE ADOPTED WITH UNBELIEVERS
BY CHRISTIAN MEN.

THERE appear to be at present at work amongst us very erroneous ideas as to the mode in which Christians should deal with certain classes of unbelievers. An affectation of excess of candour has given place, in too many instances, to indifference and carelessness. Moderation in all things appertaining to religion has been admired in a spirit of immoderate and over-weening excess. There is in many of us a want of due dis-

crimination, founded on a mistaken idea of Christianity, in contending with all the numerous propounders of objections and obstacles to our faith. It is held that a recourse to legal proceedings of any kind should never, under any circumstances, be resorted to as a check upon their aggressions. It has been urged again and again, that we should not coerce, not punish, least of all persecute (as doubtless we should not) an entertainer of any religious or irreligious opinions whatever; as these, however erroneous, are often involuntarily and conscientiously maintained, and are certainly incapable of a forcible transmutation. Moreover, that an avowed unbeliever is necessarily a candid and sincere person, is already more than sufficiently a sufferer, and is therefore an object of pity and commiseration, rather than of anger and of hatred. Hence that not even censure should be applied to such persons in plain and sharp language.

To these opinions there may perhaps be no objection to subscribe, as far as the passive and unobtrusive infidel is concerned; but it does appear that there is a very material distinction, too often overlooked, between the case of such a man, and that of him who would make others converts to his own cheerless and gloomy unbelief; an infidel not silent and self-contained, but aggressive, rabid, and unmuzzled. It has been said that even an atheist may, in practice, be a moral and well-conducted man; and this we will not undertake to deny, although we cannot recal to memory many instances of these virtuous atheists. The morality of such men rests at best upon a very insecure foundation. But however atheism, or a lesser degree of unbelief, may admit of palliation, as the effect of a perverted understanding, rather than of a corrupt heart, no such excuse can avail the propagator of infidelity—the miscreant who would knowingly and wantonly deprive others of “a pearl of great price,” “a treasure to be desired.” Such unrivalled wickedness would at first sight appear to be altogether motiveless, or the effect of an unnatural hatred for the human race. Its actual source is, however, to be probably traced to a miserable and morbid vanity, or to the hope of some inconsiderable pecuniary gain. But be the causes of their guilty endeavours what they may, it is certain that the wilful and industrious promulgators of infidelity have no claim to the forbearance, much less to the commiseration, solicited on behalf of their retiring, or quiescent, brethren in unbelief. In their own persons, no criminals whatever have so little right to look for pity, or favourable consideration; and as regards them, the question of coercion, or of punishment, should depend entirely upon its probable effect upon the community at large; and divers variations in the weather-vane of the public mind may most fittingly decide whether it be better to rest contented with a

refutation of their argument, than more roughly to silence their unholy clamour.

For Christianity, whilst it teaches the most untiring placability as regards personal offences, whilst it bids us to hate sin, rather than the sinner, is as far as possible from encouraging indifference, when God is insulted, or morality violated. The Gospel tells us nothing like this, although it enjoins us to "love our enemies," and "do good to them which hate us." It is impossible that the unsparring denunciation of presumptuous and impenitent sin, with which the discourses of our Divine Master abound, should have been intended to train a lukewarm body of disciples. When St. Paul, in one of his most impetuous and indignant moods, would picture forth the very perfection of wickedness, he speaks of those "who, knowing the judgment of God, that they which commit such things are worthy of death, not only do the same, but have pleasure in them that do them."

Under these circumstances, when we find men deliberately endeavouring to shake the faith of others, to "rob *us* of that which not enriches *them*, but makes *us* poor indeed," we see not why we should refrain, in mere complacent urbanity, from "calling a boat, a boat; and a spade, a spade;" nor why scorn and scoffing, sneers and sarcasm, should not be met in turn by wit, and by greater sarcastic power; and, whatever infidels may think of the matter, it is certain that there is not only nothing in the nature of their weapons to render them less effective in Christian hands, but that such hands have often been found possessing stronger force to wield them, than any of which their adversaries can boast.

Antony apologizes to the murdered Cæsar for being

"much too gentle with these butchers."

The apology was natural, and some tincture of the zeal that fired Antony should influence us in our dealings with the assassins (if not in power, yet in will) of our faith and comfort. There can be no doubt whatever, in the minds of honest and sensible persons, that such adversaries deserve chastisement at the hands of men, as well as at those of God. Whether such chastisement should be withheld or not, should depend, not upon consideration for them, but for others. The degree of severity with which their offences should be visited by us, whether in language or act, should be measured, not only by the deserts of the offenders, but by the probable effect upon the public mind. And if the public mind indeed should be (as perhaps it may be) utterly indifferent, perverted, or corrupt, we should still nevertheless speak out.

It often happens, in the disputes of ordinary life, that those who are the least well informed with regard to the matter in

debate, are the most positive and vehement in assertion. And so also in science; of all scientific or pseudo-scientific men, the most presumptuous and dogmatical are geologists. Yet the uncertainty of their favourite pursuit is notorious. It can hardly as yet with justice be called a science at all. Its votaries are rather collecting, than arranging, materials for the construction of what may ultimately deserve such a name. Yet these are the men who presume to call upon us to fling away our belief in a Saviour, and perhaps of a Creator, and our hopes of a happy futurity, in a slavish dependence upon *their* teaching and *their* discoveries. Those who will be so deluded must abide by the consequences; but that man's religious faith must be weak, that geology can overthrow.

Of course, blame is not here imputed to all geologists. And even the errors of their conjectures and calculations would be harmless, perhaps, but for the attempts of bad men to avail themselves of supposed discoveries for the worst of purposes. For it cannot be denied that infidels have of late, in an especial manner, attached themselves to this most imperfect of sciences. The *animus*—the proposed aim—of this description of unbelievers is sufficiently evident. They wish to tear the Bible to shreds; to further the progress of human science is only a secondary object, and with some a mere pretext. Concede what you will, they demand more. If we should allege or prove that even all their tenets might be reconciled with the historical books of the Bible, this concession would by no means content them. They would at once make new demands; they would search diligently for new difficulties; and put their brains to the torture, in the hope of striking out something that *could not*, by any conceivable means, be reconciled with these sacred narratives. The temperate and yielding tone adopted with them by some Christians, does but excite them to extort fresh exactions. They burn with impatience to prove that there is no God, and that consequently they have no souls. Like Esau, they are eager to sell their birthright of immortality for the enjoyment of the pottage of an inordinate and unfathomable vanity; whilst, in their own way, there never was more superstition or credulity amongst any class of men than amongst scientific infidels!

Certainly, of all crimes, the worst, the most widely mischievous, the least excusable, is the atrocity of deliberately promulgating irreligious opinions. Incomprehensible is the inclination for this which some men display. Incomprehensible are the folly and conceit and low grovelling ideas of those who can imagine nothing higher in the universe than man, nothing mightier than weakness, nothing purer than corruption. And it should be remembered that inquiries into the mysteries and unrevealed acts of Omnipotence may be tolerated,

and even possibly *discoveries permitted* (as they were in the case of our mother Eve) without being at all *approved* by God. Some men, however, have vauntingly set themselves forth as the unravellers of the very mode of creation, or (if they admit not creation at all as a work of Deity) of the mode in which visible things came into existence. That *such* discoveries, however, should be allowed, appears (if we really believe in a God) to be very unlikely: and if actually made, they would probably do no good of any kind to the dwellers on this earth, but on the contrary much harm. *Hereafter* such knowledge *may* be permitted to us freely and profusely, and thus be a source of unspeakable happiness; but it is difficult to see how the certainty (if we had it) that before Adam, for instance, there existed a race of little men with stone axes, could assist the present generation of human beings in their struggles through life, or still less what consolation this could afford for the loss of beloved friends, or the support in the hour of personal dissolution. The Bible, and the Bible alone, affords both; and although it may be unnecessary to assert that the essential truth of Christianity is absolutely dependent on and bound up with the veracity of the books of Moses, yet it must at the very least be admitted, that in discrediting the last, we remove a most powerful ingredient in the evidences of the former. Perhaps a more disgusting manifestation of the insolence of rampant infidelity, under the specious name of science, than even the blasphemy which denies the very existence of a God, is the blasphemy which, admitting His existence, would nevertheless dare to *limit* His power within the narrow comprehension of human beings. The idea of an omniscient and omnipotent Creator, bound indissolubly by His own laws, is a gross and palpable absurdity. We have no right to say or suppose that anything is physically impossible with God; that He could not suspend or annul these so-called laws in an instant, if it were His will; that He may not have done so in numberless instances. For even people who admit the reality of a God and an eternity, are yet so completely unable to comprehend the nature of either, that they continually forget that a thousand years with the Eternal Ruler of the universe are but as a day, and are incapable of bringing home to their minds the thought, that eternity extends backwards (as it were) as well as forwards; that whether this planet be six thousand years old, or six thousand millions, God existed for ever before it, and that in His eyes it is at once old and new. With how infinitely less of presumptuous absurdity might the meanest insect attempt to fathom the counsels of man, than that with which man presumes in imagination to fetter his Creator and Ruler with immutable laws, as if law could ever have any existence in force apart from the will of the Lawgiver; the Lawgiver, in this instance, being the absolute Sovereign of the world.

Once believe from the heart that there is a God, omniscient and omnipotent, and the wonders of creation will be no difficulty in our way. And again, when we believe thus far, the mysteries of Christianity will cease to be a difficulty likewise. But we must be impressed with a deep sense of our own ignorance and helplessness. When some one of her courtiers was discanting to Mary of Scotland on the wisdom of our Elizabeth, she thus interrupted him: "Never tell me, my Lord, of the wisdom of a woman; depend upon it, the wisest of us all is only a little less foolish than the rest." Now, the remark which this unfortunate though guilty queen modestly restricted to her own sex, may with great propriety be applied to the whole human race. Men and women alike, with reference to the Divine Intelligence, the wisest of us all is only a little less foolish than the rest.

The utmost that human science can achieve without utter failure, is to prove that certain things *are*. But it never can (though it often presumptuously affects this power) decide on what God *cannot* do, or show that things must always remain as they are at present. The insolent affectation of the power of doing this leads to the great debate between scientific infidelity and religion. But with God nothing is impossible.

But the case of the propounders of infidelity assumes a very different aspect, according to the lay or priestly character of its champions. There are three separate questions in the consideration of the merits of the authors of such sceptical or infidel works as we have unhappily seen of late to proceed from the hands of clergymen; some, too, occupying no humble seats in the visible Church:—(1.) the worth or truth of the objections urged; (2.) the originality or native talent displayed by the writers; and (3.) the degree of honour, or even of *common honesty*, which can be with any propriety claimed for them under their peculiar circumstances.

Few bathers can plunge at once headlong into the briny deep; few venture to practise the art of natation for the first time in very troubled waters, "in gurgite vasto." And thus it is with some of these unbelieving priests. They dip cautiously at first into the sea of faith, to discover how far the force of public opinion will bear them up.

The importance to the human race of the virtue of fidelity in all the varied situations to which men are liable, is so self-evident, as scarcely to require a remark. A breach of faith is often as disastrous to the defaulter as to the parties betrayed; for (without adverting to the stings of conscience, and the probability of punishment in another life) the loss of worldly honour, and perhaps ultimately of the profit sought, may requite the oft-detected deceiver. He shares, too, in perhaps the greatest evil generally inflicted upon his injured dupes—

in the want of confidence in others, arising from unhappy experience, which the sufferance or habitual practice of deceit alike tend to produce : a state than which few are more miserable and dispiriting, and which, were it universal, would go near to render this earth a place of punishment adapted to its own most heinous sins ; for upon mutual trust the whole chain-work of society depends. Destroy generally this confidential security, and not merely the semblance of advanced civilization, but *any* circumstances in his existence which tend to raise man above the brutes, will speedily disappear with it.

It is not alone the mischief that is effected that tends to render any description of breach of faith one of the most odious modes and forms of sin. There is a peculiar meanness in its nature, universally felt, and apparent to all ; so clear and undeniable indeed, that it is difficult to understand how it can sometimes elude the observation of the delinquent himself. It partakes, moreover, always more or less of ingratitude. A trust reposed, if not necessarily involving a benefit, at least implies a compliment. It is a tolerably sure indication of a favourable opinion of the person upon whom such dependence is placed ; and as such, when accepted, should be received with a feeling of gratification and goodwill. But if an accepted trust demands, under any circumstances, a faithful discharge ; by how much is the necessity of fidelity increased in the estimation of an honourable and conscientious man, if a pecuniary recompense attend its exercise — if gold reward the accomplishment of his task ?

And thus it is with stewards ; men selected, and of course voluntarily engaging, to superintend the household, or regulate the expenses, of an absent or careless master. Forced to the acceptance of such an office, a man can scarcely be ; willingly undertaking it, his deliberate neglect of its duties, even though it fell short of absolute and dishonest appropriation of that which is another's, is often in effect equivalent to it, whether it regard his employer's interest or his own character ; for, on the lowest supposition, it implies an absence of the watchfulness expected from him, and in such circumstances, a deficiency in care is a want of integrity.

The experience of every man will unfortunately suggest to him abundant instances of the failure in *both* ; but the frequency of offences does not render them excusable ; nor shall it induce any honest well-wisher of his species to relax in his exertions to check the spread of evil, and expose its fatal tendencies ; for custom is assuredly prone to multiply those malpractices which nevertheless it cannot sanction.

But if such be the importance of the faithful discharge of their duty by the guardians of the transitory wealth of "this

our mortal life," what shall we say of a trust relating to the invisible riches of futurity ; to the most important interests which can possibly affect man ; to a supervision of his share in those "treasures in heaven, where neither rust nor moth doth corrupt, and where thieves do not break through and steal?" How infinitely is the necessity for a scrupulous fidelity to engagements magnified by these considerations ! how far more painfully biting the merited contempt incurred by a lapse from integrity ! how far more justly would the most tremendous severity in punishment requite the delinquencies of a betrayer of *such* a trust !

And if, indeed, we find a body of men invested with various privileges, relieved from many secular duties, held up as far as possible to the respect of their fellow-men, endowed more or less with worldly goods,—by direct considerations, in short, of self-interest engaged to watch over the spiritual welfare of their brethren, to aid them in a judicious application of the means whereby they are instructed to "lay up for *themselves* treasures in heaven," and to place "in store for themselves a good foundation against the time to come,"—are they not rightly designated as "ministers of Christ and stewards of the mysteries of God"? May it not be reasonably and justly required of them that they be found faithful ?

And if unfaithful, can there be a lower degree in the depths of treachery than that to which they have attained ? For theirs is not the compelled and thankless service of a slave, but the voluntary and recompensed engagement of a free man to the discharge of a most important but onerous duty : onerous, if the responsibility attached to its performance be taken into due consideration. But some, unhappily, there are who fail. Such now there are calling themselves English and Christian ecclesiastics, and some of them in no mean offices of the Church. They scruple not (albeit for the most part maintaining a reserved and ambiguous discretion in their language) from distilling even the most deadly venom of irreligious error into the ears of their confiding hearers. The inattentive may fail to mark, the unlearned may hear with impunity, a jargon which is expressly calculated for the acceptance of lettered folly and infidelity ; of that shallow self-sufficiency of the head, and cold emptiness of the heart, which mark the mere scholar, and the man caring overmuch for the things of this world. But mischief more or less is effected ; and if indeed none were effected, could there be an instant's doubt, in the mind of any candid man, of the motives and objects of the teachers of this self-styled Rationalism ?

At present, the public mind, if it be judged from the tone of a large section of the press which enjoys the widest circu-

lation, is inclined to leniency, and even to favour, where these false stewards are concerned. The "Times" seldom fails to aid and abet them; and in like manner the "Daily Telegraph."

It is unwise always to disregard the character of the writer, in estimating the value of what is written. In such instances of treachery as certain professors of theology have evinced, an additional argument against their doctrine is supplied; for great intellects, though frequently accompanied by vice, are seldom lodged in minds capable of such an excess of meanness.

Their unholy love is indeed presented to us, under many and various forms of error and absurdity, from a denial of the truth of Gospel history, to systems which, however denominated, are in effect but atheism in its most grovelling and disgusting shape. Yet these, as flattering to the peculiar conceit, and adapted, by their unspirituality, to the dry, cold, mechanical temper of the times, appear to threaten especial danger to the faith of the youth of this country.

Whatever may be the causes, it is undeniable that, speaking generally, both the will and the power to distinguish accurately between just and unjust deeds, and to govern our actions accordingly, are on the wane amongst us. Let it be granted, however, that this is an erroneous view of the characteristics of the present generation of men, and that they are in fact what they would have themselves believed to be; still the possibility of degeneracy remains; we *may* yet be led, by the ingenuities of sophistry, to "call evil good, and good evil," and it is worth our while to assure ourselves of the *excess* of this perversity of the understanding—the certain harbinger, in most cases, of a corresponding depravity of will and conduct.

It is not too much to say, that the easy indifference of mind, which is content to put "bitter for sweet and sweet for bitter," however well suited to the object of the mere man of pleasure and of the world, is utterly opposed to the growth of religious truth, or indeed to that of patriotism, of heroism, or of any other sentiment, humanly speaking, great, noble, or imposing. But it is so connected with the cultivation of religion, that we have to contemplate it here; all lesser considerations being only intrinsically worthy of regard, as they ultimately tend to advance the husbandry of that good seed.

It may be laid down, with almost the certainty of an axiom, that no man whose heart and affections are cold and lifeless, was ever a very devout and sincere Christian. Such a man may be intellectually a believer; but St. John had just reason

for demanding, "He that loveth not his brother whom he hath seen, how can he love God whom he hath not seen?" Of such lukewarm professors of the faith it especially holds good, that "when tribulation or persecution ariseth because of the word," they are offended.

Yet more; it may be said, (and it is a melancholy reflection) that the very temper and bodily constitution of some, like other adverse circumstances of fortune or education over which they have no direct control, retard and frustrate the springing forth of the heavenly fruit.

There are, however, those whose earnestness conducts themselves or others indirectly to the same errors to which most men are led by indifference—who, because the smallest offences are sins, nevertheless appear apt to confound them, on the one hand, with crimes of a sombre die; and on the other, with what can scarcely be regarded as more than the inevitable effects of our frail and imperfect nature. Misled by such over-zeal, is there not a danger that men should insensibly arrive at the error of confounding the sweet and bitter?

But there is another error, more common, more important, and more dangerous. There are many who seem to believe that the injunctions to meekness, and to an abstinence from passing judgment on our brethren, with which the Scriptures, and more especially the New Testament, abound, forbid a decided and severe reprobation of human actions, however flagrantly mischievous in their effects, or theoretically adverse to Christian morality and truth.

This over-tenderness proceeds from a very obvious mistake. It is sin that we should stigmatize wherever we find it, whether in ourselves or in others; these we may condemn, but we must not anticipate the judgment of God on the offending individual. And as some have loved the treason and hated the traitor; so may we, in many instances, love, on the contrary, the criminal, whilst we hate the crime. It is only atrocious guilt which can justify our regarding our brother "as a heathen man and a publican." We too may sin and fall, and yet repent; and repenting, detest the more vehemently the guilt which has been a snare to our own hearts, or to our brethren. But this is a very different procedure from that of those who would affix false and delusive appellatives to everything of which they speak; assigning terms of light reprobation to heinous wickedness, and passing the ordinary vices of mankind uncensured altogether.

Honest men, if they be also sane and well-informed men, will never *attack* Christianity. It may almost be said, that good men, under the same conditions, will never even doubt its most important truths. What then shall be said of good and honest ministers of the word, with all due allowance for

the divisions and varieties of opinion which must always exist, under the present order of things, amongst Christians? But can such men assail the religion of Christ, and yet hold the Church's wages? Is not this fraud? Is it not obtaining money under false pretences? It seems scarce necessary to observe, that a man, entering upon the career of a Christian minister with a consciousness at heart of unbelief, must be amongst the worst of imposters. Is the case materially altered in favour of those whose opinions on religious questions undergo an avowed change subsequently to their taking upon themselves the ministerial functions, supposing them still to cling to those emoluments which are thus clearly held, if not originally obtained, under fraudulent pretences? It should seem not. By what compulsion are they restrained? what motive withholds them from a retirement which, if it falls short of glory, is yet, when voluntarily decided upon, sufficient to shield them from the charge of dishonour? Is it shame? Certainly not; at least in the instance of those who proclaim their tergiversation. No: it is to be feared that with many it is but the motive of Ananias, of Sapphira, and of Judas. It is the idolatry of Mammon; of "Mammon, the meanest of the spirits who fell."

Such men obtain, as it were, safe-conduct as Christ's ambassadors, whilst they carry the embassies of Satan, and it must be owned that he has numerous and devoted followers. Hence any compassion or affected respect is here misplaced. Although we should ever make allowance for honest human error, and hesitate to censure with harshness opinions differing from our own on Biblical studies, when the Bible is studied with *reverential* feeling, a different course befits us when *irreverent* men *attack* the sacred volume with an eagerness which cannot be mistaken. And it must be sorrowfully confessed, that we find too often, at present, an ambiguity in the tone and language of even many other men in high places, who have not distinctly committed themselves to the charge of unbelief upon this most momentous subject.

J. H. R.

THE SEVEN SEALS.

[We lately gave a Review of the last edition of Mr. Elliott's great work, containing his final corrections. We could not say all that we wished to say on the Seals, the key, according

to Mr. Elliott, of the whole prophecy. We now supply the deficiency in the following article.—EDITOR.]

How admirably and exactly do the Seals answer to the change and progress in the Roman empire from Domitian to Constantine. The "war-horse" is as fit an emblem of the martial might of Rome, as the ram was characteristic of Persia, and the he-goat of Macedon. It was sacred to Mars, the reputed father of Romulus, and indeed of the Roman people. The distinctive colour of each horse, when seen in conjunction with the character of its rider, depicts, in the truest and most lively manner, the successive phases of the empire. Look at the white horse, and see the bow and the crown that are given to him who sits upon it, as he pursues his conquering course. The bow is the well known emblem of Crete; and whiteness, of prosperity and triumph. Now Nerva, the father and founder of this illustrious succession of Roman emperors, was by family extraction a Cretan. Trajan, and the two Antonines, who followed after, according to the Roman law of adoption, are to be regarded as branches from the same stock. These victorious masters of the Roman world, within a year of the time of St. John, commenced a series of triumphs, which had rarely been equalled in the days of the Republic, and which were never again to be witnessed by succeeding emperors. They literally went forth conquering and to conquer, wreathing the imperial purple with the laurel crown that was granted to the successful warrior. This period of signal and almost uninterrupted success continued for about eighty years, until a little after the succession of Commodus. Every one who has visited the seven-hilled city well knows that the towering monuments of this victorious period are still to be seen there to this very day. Mr. Elliott has pointed out this in one of those happy illustrations, which so frequently appear in his work. These are his words:—"As the magnificent column of Trajan still remains at Rome, the first memorial of the triumphs of its commencement, so it has been ordered that there should remain also that of Antonius Aurelius, the magnificent although inferior monument of those of its close." What is most remarkable, and wholly unparalleled, a triumph was actually decreed to the image of Trajan, after his death; and then his ashes were placed in a golden urn on the top of his column.

Let us hear now the decisive testimony of the Roman historian, as to this victorious period of the empire, whose decline and fall he so graphically relates. "If a man were called," says Gibbon, "to fix the period in the history of the world during which the condition of the human race was most happy and prosperous, he would without hesitation name that

which elapsed from the death of Domitian to the accession of Commodus. The vast extent of the Roman empire was governed by absolute power, under the guidance of virtue and wisdom. The armies were restrained by the firm but gentle hand of four successive emperors, whose characters and authority commanded involuntary respect. The forms of civil administration were carefully preserved by Nerva, Trajan, Hadrian, and the Antonines, who delighted in the image of Liberty, and were pleased with considering themselves as the accountable ministers of the laws. Such princes deserved the honour of restoring the Republic, had the Romans of their days been capable of enjoying a rational freedom."

Look next at the red horse with his sword-bearing rider. Peace is taken away from the earth; men seem only anxious to kill one another; and the most striking emblem to mark out the master of imperial Rome, is a great sword. After the murder of Commodus, military usurpers were raised in quick succession to the throne of the Cæsars. The prætorian soldiers were the real masters of the empire, and they actually sold it to the highest bidder. In the civil wars that ensued, from the watchman's tower to the fenced city, the whole country was red with blood; and the devouring sword, not the protecting sceptre, was seen in the hands of successive emperors. Speaking of this period, Gibbon has these remarkable expressions:—"The power of the sword is more sensibly felt in an extensive monarchy, than in a small community. The prætorians, who had murdered their emperor, sold the empire. The command of these formidable troops soon became the first office of the empire. The government degenerated into military despotism. Although the wounds of civil war appeared completely healed, its mortal poison still lurked in the vitals of the constitution."

A black horse followed the red; and he who sat on him had a pair of balances in his hand. Great particularity is here observed in adjusting the standard weights and measures; while minute directions are given as to the market price of ordinary provisions; and a special charge is uttered against unrighteous dealing* with respect to the most important articles of consumption, that is to say, oil and wine. Blackness is the sign of distress and poverty; while a balance was the well known emblem of a provincial judge. The leading idea which we get from this language is, excessive taxation. It is also suggested, that sometimes this would be enforced by the inferior officers, against the laws of the realm, and the wishes of the supreme magistrate. Civil war was followed by its

* Καὶ τὸ ἔλαιον καὶ τὸν οἶνον μὴ ἐδικήσῃς. Defraud not as to the oil and wine. This was Mede's version, and it is adopted by Elliott.

usual results, taxation and complaint. Neither conquest nor slaughter, but financial exaction, was now for a season the main consideration of Rome's chief magistrate. Caracalla, by his famous edict, instead of a twentieth, exacted a tenth of all legacies and inheritances, and crushed alike every part of the empire under the weight of his iron sceptre. Gibbon calls this "an intolerable grievance," and these are his words respecting it:—"The noxious weed, which had not been totally eradicated, again sprang up with the most luxuriant growth, and, in the succeeding age, darkened the Roman world with its deadly shade. In the course of this history, we shall be too often summoned to explain the land tax, the capitation, and the heavy contributions of corn, wine, oil, and meat, which were exacted from the provinces for the use of the court, the army, and the capital."

At the opening of the Fourth Seal, there went forth "a pale horse;" and "his name that sat on him was Death, and Hell followed with him. And power was given them over a fourth part (or four parts) of the earth, to kill with sword, and with hunger, and with death, and with beasts of the earth." It is to be noticed that Jerome's version of the Greek text justifies the substitution of "the four parts" for the fourth part. From the deathly appearance of the whole body of the horse, (it was livid coloured,) we should naturally look for great sickness and mortality in every part of the empire, during the period here intended. We should look for God's sore judgments of sword, and famine, and pestilence, and beasts of the earth, to be let loose upon all the divisions of the Roman world, after the exactions of Caracalla, and before the persecutions of Diocletian. And what do we find in history? Now, for the first time, the empire was divided into four parts; and this division was soon after constitutionally perpetuated by Diocletian.

The two Augusti, and the two Cæsars, had each his distinctive dominion. The historian of the "Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire" shall tell us. In these remarkable words he begins his narration of the epoch to which we refer:—"During that calamitous period, every instant of time was marked, every province of the Roman world was afflicted by barbarous invaders and military tyrants, and the ruined empire seemed to approach the last and fatal moment of its dissolution." Now, for the first time in formidable numbers, burst forth upon the empire the Gothic invaders. The distracted reign of Galerius produced nineteen pretenders to the throne. "As soon as they were invested with the bloody purple, they inspired their adherents with the same fears and ambition which had occasioned their own revolt." But this is not all. Who can read the two concluding

paragraphs of Gibbon's tenth chapter, without marvelling greatly at the wonderful manner in which the sceptical historian expounds the prediction of the inspired Divine. These are his words :—"A long and general famine was a calamity of a more serious kind. It was the inevitable consequence of rapine and oppression, which extirpated the produce of the present, and the hope of future harvests. Famine is almost always followed by epidemical diseases, the effect of scanty and unwholesome food. Other causes, however, must have contributed to the furious plague which, from the year 250 to the year 265, raged without interruption in every province, every city, and almost every family of the Roman empire. During some time five thousand persons died daily in Rome; and many towns, that had escaped the hands of barbarians, were depopulated. . . . We might suspect that war, pestilence, and famine had consumed in a few years the moiety of the human species."

Proceeding onward to the Fifth Seal, instead of another horse, we behold a sight of a different kind. All the distinctive phases of the Roman empire have now been exhibited; but as yet no kind of allusion has been made to the manner in which Pagan Rome has been persecuting and killing the saints of the Most High during the whole period that has passed in review before us. Now, however, we can close our eyes no more to the martyrs of Jesus, nor shut our ears any longer to their cry. We have arrived at the era of martyrs. We see under the altar the souls of them that have been slain for the Word of God, and for the testimony which they held; we listen to the voice, the loud voice, that ascends to God, the righteous Judge of all, from the mangled remains of murdered Christians in the amphitheatre of Rome, and in every circus of her provinces. We behold them comforted and honoured in their disembodied state; and assured that they must wait awhile until their noble army is completed, and they shall then receive their perfect consummation and bliss, both in body and soul. Can there be any doubt what is predicted by these significant emblems? As evils, when about to depart, very frequently manifest their intensest severity, so we are here led to expect it would be with Pagan persecutions. And this, in a most marked and marvellous manner, was actually the case. The souls under the altar were constantly gathering, all the time from Nero to Diocletian. During the whole of this period there was a succession of persecutions, more or less sanguinary and amazingly profuse in blood. But the tenth and the last, that of Diocletian—the dreadful blast ere long to be followed by the great calm—was more general and intense than any which went before. This, too, was conceived to have been the finishing stroke, and effectually to have extinguished the new super-

stition. The Diocletian medal still remains, with the vain and empty boast—*Nomine Christianorum deleto*. Great ingenuity, perverse ingenuity,* is employed by Gibbon to lessen the number of the primitive martyrs, and to estimate the infamy of their Pagan persecutors. But even his admissions are abundantly sufficient to turn the predictions of the Fifth Seal into actual history. These are some of his expressions :—“ We are at a loss to consider what new offence the Christians had committed, what new provocation could exasperate the mild indifference of antiquity, and what new motives could urge the Roman princes, who beheld without concern a thousand forms of religion subsisting in peace under their gentle sway, to inflict a severe punishment on any part of their subjects who had chosen for themselves a singular but inoffensive mode of faith and worship. About fourscore years after the death of Christ, His innocent disciples were punished with death by the sentence of a proconsul of the most amiable and philosophic character, and according to the laws of an emperor distinguished by the wisdom and justice of his general administration.”

After Galerius had prevailed on Diocletian to begin this dreadful work, “ the general edict of persecution was published, (February 24th, A.D. 303). It was enacted that Christian churches, in all the provinces of the empire, should be demolished to their foundations; and the punishment of death was denounced against all who should presume to hold any secret assemblies for the purpose of religious worship.” In addition to this, it was also enacted that “ the bishops and presbyters should deliver all their sacred books into the hands of the magistrates, who were commanded, under the severest penalties, to burn them in a public and solemn manner.” By discovering and betraying the Holy Scriptures into the hands of infidels, numbers then first, in the severity of the persecuting blast, acquired for themselves the odious appellation of traitors, which still lives in our language in the hateful name of traitors. Under the old pretence that the Christians were incendiaries, and had set fire to the palace of Nicomedia, “ every mode of torture was put in practice, and the court as well as the city was polluted with many bloody executions.” By a second edict, the magistrates were commanded to employ every method of severity which might reclaim them from their odious superstition, and oblige them to return to the established worship of the gods. This rigorous order was extended, by a subsequent edict, to the whole body of Christians, who were exposed to a violent and general persecution. Thus wonderfully does the era of martyrs synchronise with the predicted period. We are

* See “Gibbon's Account of Christianity Considered.” By Joseph Milner, M.A. 1781.

not surprised that, throughout the whole empire, numbers should fall, and numbers should deliver up their copy of the Holy Scriptures, sooner than meet death in its most dreadful form. It was "the hour of temptation which came upon all the world, to try them which dwell upon the earth." (Rev. iii. 10.) But if there were many weak Christians, and even many base traitors, there was also a noble army of martyrs, and of brave confessors that were slain for the Word of God, (for not delivering it up to their Pagan persecutors,) and for the testimony which they held.

We come now to the Sixth Seal. Wonderfully significant, and emphatic in the extreme, are the symbols and the emblems that are here employed, as well as the language that is here used. Let it be remembered that, step by step, we have hitherto been following the destinies of the Roman empire; and that, instead of being now utterly consumed and destroyed for ever under this Seal, that empire, after this, still exists under a different form; and its history has still to be traced through a long period of years and events, before the time of its final end. This consideration will help us to find the true meaning of this bold and figurative language. By a great earthquake, we shall understand some mighty and unexampled revolution. The sun and the moon and the stars are the kings and the rulers and the senators of the empire. The heaven, politically, is the established system of government. The mountains and the islands are all estates and degrees of men, from the highest to the lowest. We are prepared, therefore, to expect, under this Seal, some radical and organic change, more wonderful in itself, and more momentous in its consequences, than any which Rome had ever experienced since its foundations were laid by Romulus. Paganism was most deeply inwrought into every department of imperial Rome. Her emperors and her patricians, her prefects and her proconsuls, her provincial governors and her chief captains, every bondman and every freeman, were more or less the maintainers and the upholders of the established superstition. "It was long since established," says Gibbon, "as a fundamental maxim of the Roman constitution, that every rank of citizens was alike subject to the laws, and that the care of religion was the right as well as the duty of the civil magistrate. . . . The office of supreme pontiff, which, from the time of Numa to that of Augustus, had always been exercised by one of the most eminent senators, was at length united to the imperial dignity." Neither Constantine nor his successors could persuade themselves that they had forfeited, by their conversion, any branch of the imperial prerogative, or that it was any less their most sacred privilege to establish and defend and extend the true faith and fear of God, now that they had embraced it, than

formerly it had been accounted by their predecessors, in the time of their ignorance, their bounden duty to do this for the false and corrupt system of idolatry of which they were the constituted heads. Here, then, we see the moving cause of the great earthquake by which pagan Rome, at this memorable epoch, was shaken to its centre, when that deep-rooted system of fraud and falsehood, which had prevailed for more than a thousand years, was cast out and abolished. The supreme power, which until now had shone with favour on the abominable idolatries, became "black as sackcloth of hair." The pagan hierarchy, which had sought, like the moon, to gild the night of ignorance, became as blood. The pontiffs, and the augurs, and the vestals, and the flamens, and pagan priests of every sort, unnumbered as the stars, like empty meteors and falling stars, fell to the earth "even as a fig tree casteth her untimely figs when she is shaken of a mighty wind." The whole system of pagan government, which had given laws to a conquered world, "departed as a scroll when it is rolled together." Every kingdom, and every province throughout the extensive empire, felt the mighty change, and "were moved out of their places." All ranks and degrees of men among the pagans, and more especially those who had been fighting against the Gospel of Christ, and murdering and destroying his unoffending followers, were ashamed and confounded. Many of them were utterly consumed with terror, and sought in vain to hide themselves from Him who, their conscience told them, would bring them into judgment for all their sins. They were constrained to anticipate, in the wonderful termination of this mighty struggle, a tribunal more august, and a day more dreadful, than they could possibly endure. And they "said to the mountains and to the rocks, Fall on us, and hide us from the face of Him that sitteth on the throne, and from the wrath of the Lamb; for the great day of His wrath is come, and who shall be able to stand?" This astonishing and mighty revolution was begun, after Diocletian's abdication, by the great Constantine, and was completed, about seventy years after, by Theodosius. "The irresistible power of the Roman emperors," says Gibbon, "was displayed in the important and dangerous change of the national religion." And when this important change was being completed (A.D. 388), and the votaries of the dying superstition pleaded hard for the toleration of their ancient rites and their accustomed ceremonies, the historian tells us the decisive and manly terms in which the noble St. Ambrose replied to their petition. He told them, "Christianity alone is the doctrine of truth and salvation; and every mode of polytheism conducts its deluded votaries through the paths of error to the pit of destruction." If our readers should think

the majesty and grandeur of this language such as to require some yet further fulfilment, let them regard it as an instance of what used to be termed the double sense of prophecy, or, as Lord Bacon, "the springing and germinant accomplishment," the description, accurately expounded so far, pointing further, even to "the great day of His wrath," when He shall come to judgment.

We know not what impression may be produced upon our readers by this sketch of Mr. Elliott's interpretation of these mystical Seals. But for our own part, we are forcibly reminded, after closely surveying our author's commentary upon this chapter, of what an eminent modern judge* has declared respecting the whole *Horæ Apocalyptice*:—"In our judgment, if the proofs of design, arising out of the coincidences here traced between the prophecy and the history, are deemed insufficient, all idea of proof from circumstantial evidence must be laid aside."

FURTHER REMARKS ON THE EDUCATION OF WOMEN.

DEAR SIR,—I feel that it would be mere affectation to offer these remarks under the disguise which I adopted in a former article. And I am the more sensible of this, since, in a question which I have so much at heart, I am most anxious that no more weight should be given to my opinions than they really deserve. Nor do I think that the readers of the *Christian Observer* will quarrel with me for transgressing the rules of literary etiquette, where to accept implicitly the dictum of an unknown authority may be the cause of great harm. Permit me, then, to drop the editorial "we," and to speak simply as an individual.

I need not say with what pleasure I read the remarks on my article in the October number of the *Christian Observer*. No one would rejoice more heartily than myself, if satisfactory proof could be adduced that my opinion was erroneous; and no one certainly can rejoice more heartily to find others devoting thought and time to this important subject. At the same time, the remarks of a lady who writes from experience will make it easier for me to explain more fully certain points on which I may not have spoken with sufficient clearness.

And firstly, as to the natural difference between man and woman. I hope I am not mistaken, but as far as I can see, the verdict of the Cantabrigian, which has been quoted, agrees

* Sir James Stephen.

exactly with my own. Intuition is the very faculty which we both acknowledge that a woman possesses in so high a degree, and to which we both attach so great a value. But there are times when, unassisted by a strong reason, it is not only useless, but positively mischievous. If any of my readers fail to understand my meaning, I can only refer them to the historical works of Miss Strickland. I hope sincerely, for the credit of all ladies, that one Miss Strickland may prove enough for the world.

And, secondly, as to ladies' schools in general. On this point, let it be distinctly understood, I only speak with the experience of one who has lived an almost monastic life at school and college. But I hope that my observation has been accurate, though limited; and I grieve to confess that my former belief has not yet been shaken. Indeed, nothing less than a complete revolution in the education of women would shake that belief. For I do not scruple to confess that I shall not be satisfied on this point till I am assured that girls are educated by teachers as able as those which are selected to educate boys. The lady who has been kind enough to condemn my words of censure, seems to imply that I attributed to those engaged in teaching ladies a want of good-will and energy. I entirely disclaim any such intention. But the accusation which I brought, and still bring, against a large majority, is want of power. Can any one assert that girls, in this respect, possess a single advantage at all comparable to those enjoyed by boys? Look at the universities, which act as a perpetual check and stimulus upon the public schools. Look at the public schools, which act in the same way upon the private schools. Look at the men at the head of those public schools, men whose equals in genius and energy could scarcely be found in the whole kingdom. I will mention only eight of them—Dr. Kennedy, Dr. Moberly, Dr. Temple, the head masters of Marlborough, Birmingham, Wellington, and Clifton, and Dr. Howson of the Liverpool College. Of the first two I can only speak from the reports which have been given me by their pupils. But Dr. Kennedy is well known as one of the finest scholars and best masters in England, and Dr. Moberly might have aspired to the highest place in any path of life. Of some I can speak from personal knowledge. As to Dr. Temple, strong are my feelings of gratitude to him *as a master*. And now I ask those who disagree with my views, whether they can mention any considerable number of persons engaged in the instruction of girls, who can be named in the same breath with these men—men whose capacities are of the very highest order, who have gained the highest honours at the noblest places of education in the world, and who, by dint of long and laborious practice, have arrived at the greatest

proficiency in their work? And if not, why not? Will it be said that teachers who enter upon their work with no preparation worth speaking of, can by any possibility (be their natural powers what they may) bear comparison with men who have gone through the mental training of a perfect university education?

The truth is, disguise it as we will, that the education of women has been shamefully neglected. Crowds of able men, throughout the length and breadth of the land, are daily engaged in moulding the minds of the youth of England. We have university commissions, and public school commissions, and private schools commissions. Piles of blue books are filled in discussing whether Latin hexameters and Greek iambs are good discipline for the intellect, how much time should be devoted to mathematics, how far the study of German and French ought to be carried. Again I ask, is it possible to deny these facts? And if we are too indifferent to sow the seed, how can we hope to reap the harvest?

Here I gladly take leave of this part of the subject. And now as to the points on which I dwelt before. It is a great satisfaction to find that there really are ladies who endeavour to teach history and languages as they should be taught. But at the same time it is painful to think how few their number must be. Again I speak only from my own limited experience, which has nevertheless been sufficiently wide to enable me to form some sort of induction. I set aside all consideration of the histories of Greece and Rome, as well as the histories of other countries. I allude merely to the history of our own country, and I venture to say that he will be a fortunate man who shall find a dozen ladies of his acquaintance thoroughly versed in that history. After this it is perhaps hypercritical to complain of their ignorance of ecclesiastical history. And yet one might think that there was some value in knowing the signification of such terms as Arian, Gnostic, Manichæan, Homoiousian, Covenanter, Supralapsarian, and Antinomian.

I stand fully corrected for my assertion that "Corneille, Molière, Dante, Tasso, Goethe, and Schiller are sealed books." But I still adhere to my belief that ladies generally are ignorant of the literature of Germany and France, though in doing so I must take a wider ground. And be it remembered that, in the case of ninety-nine ladies out of a hundred, German and French occupy the place of Greek and Latin among men. Such being the case, what are the facts? How many ladies could name the author of the "Messiah," or "Nathan der Weise"? How many could mention any of the works of one of the Seven Stars of Germany—Herder? How many know whether "*Hermann und Dorothea*" is an epic poem or a comic

poem? How many have read a single line of the prose writings of Goethe, beyond all question one of the great prose writers of Germany? But how many know what is meant by the "Sturm-und-Drang-Zeit"? I have taken the case of German literature, because it is the most flagrant. Germany only possesses seven writers who can be really called classics. One of these is scarcely ever read; another, for obvious reasons, is unfit for ladies' reading. How much do they know about the remaining five?

For my own part, I possess nothing but the most ordinary knowledge of German and French literature, acquired in hours which I have snatched from the study of the classics, of history, and of English literature. But then, like most men who have enjoyed a public school education, and who have read for honours at Oxford, I know almost by heart the best writers of Greece and Rome. I should be curious to learn how many ladies know the "Twelfth Night," or the "Midsummer Night's Dream," as well as Oxford honour men know their "Frogs" or their "Clouds;" or have read the "Paradise Lost" half as often as Oxford honour men have read their "Æneid."

And this leads me to explain what I meant by saying that "half the languages of Europe may be fairly learned in the time required to master Æschylus and Thucydides." I am the more pleased to have this opportunity of doing so, because I think ladies, as a rule, can scarcely realize what a perfect classical education really means. I only regret that my explanations must of necessity be of an entirely personal character. And at the same time, I earnestly hope that none of my readers will suspect me of being influenced by mere vanity, partly because I am not conscious that there is anything to be vain about, and partly because I have only done what has been done far better by numbers before me, and will be done by numbers after me. I will state, then, that I was at a private school for four years; that I was at Rugby for the next five, where I was captain of the school; and that I then removed to Oxford. I presume, therefore, that I may take my experience as an average experience for a young man. Now what has the result of that experience been? I began German and French three years after I had begun Latin, and at the time when I began Greek. To the classics I devoted, during the first period, at least three times the number of hours that I devoted to modern languages. When I went to Rugby, the disproportion in the time which I devoted to each subject was greater still. For every five hours which I gave to modern languages, I gave at least thirty-five to the classics.*

* "Oxonienis" goes on to show that his reading at Oxford has been in the same proportions at least; but, besides that this method of proof is only conclusive in his own individual case, we must either defer his letter or curtail it.
—EDITOR.

I beg again most gratefully to thank the lady who has been so good as to second my remarks. That much still remains to be done, I have no doubt whatever. How it is to be done, I leave to be decided by those who have the wisdom to plan, and the power to execute. But let us above all remember, that here, as in every other sphere of action, there is unceasing danger lest custom should, in Wordsworth's words,

"lie upon us with a weight
Heavy as fate, and deep almost as life."

Can past experience, can present ingenuity, suggest nothing better? Proceeding thus patiently, laboriously, hopefully, prayerfully, we may justly claim to be called the benefactors of mankind, not by services which have won that title for a Jenner or a Stephenson, but by labours which, though less brilliant, are of far greater moment. And assuredly we shall not lose our reward. He who truly and earnestly strives, be it in ever so small a degree, to raise the standard of his race and age, confers upon millions a boon whose value he cannot know. His memory will be blest by generations who have never heard his name, but for whom, through his toils, knowledge may have unrolled

"her ample page,
Rich with the spoils of time;"

thus leading them to love and reverence Him who has made man so fearfully and wonderfully, and from whom cometh every good gift and every perfect gift. I have taken it for granted that all acquisition of knowledge is desirable. I should not have alluded to the point, had not some good and estimable people seemed inclined to doubt this. For my own part, I have no doubt whatever. "And Solomon said . . . give me now wisdom and knowledge. . . . And God said to Solomon . . . wisdom and knowledge is granted unto thee; and I will give thee riches and wealth and honour, such as none of the kings have had that have been before thee." In Kings we read, "And the speech pleased the Lord that Solomon had asked this thing." And so the sacred writer, in words of evident commendation: "For he was wiser than all men, and his fame was in all nations round about." (1 Kings iv. 29—34.) Nor do I think St. Paul's words (1 Cor. i. 19, 20) are opposed to this. Without religion, wisdom is indeed worse than useless to the possessor. But is it not a significant fact, that the Providence of God has ordained that the very wisdom, which has led a few of its possessors into Theism and Atheism, has strengthened the faith of Newton and La Place, and of thousands of their less gifted brethren? But it is time that I conclude. I do so abruptly, and subscribe myself, Dear Sir, Yours &c.,

POETRY.

THE THREE SCEPTICS : A PARODY.

THREE sceptics, in the self-same epoch born,
 Together laugh'd God's holy word to scorn.
 The first, bewildered by the human shape,
 Pronounced mankind developed from the ape !
 The next said, vast varieties of race
 Through countless ages he could clearly trace !
 The force of folly could no further go,
 Nor aught more monstrous issue from below,
 Till, caught in his own craftiness, at last
 A mitred cipherer them both surpass'd,
 When by arithmetic he strangely tried
 To prove that Moses in the Bible lied !

C. O.

GO TO HIM NOW.

(From an incident in the author's parish.)

Go to him now—he's bending low
 Beneath the heavy weight of sin ;
 This anguish keen, this bitter woe,
 May be the means his soul to win.

Go to him now—raise up the head
 Bowed down beneath contempt and blame ;
 With gentle care uplift the lid
 Which downward droops, from sense of shame.

Go to him now—look in his eye !
 Let love from out thine own beam forth,
 That he may there read sympathy,
 And know of one kind heart the worth.

Go to him now—he's all alone ;
 The world reviles, shrinks from his touch,
 Hears not, nor cares to hear, his moan ;
 And e'en the Church looks down on such.

Go to him now—say, " Brother dear,
 Thy penitence is seen on high ;
 Thy Father's hand is very near,
 Thy Saviour's pitying love is nigh.

" Be comforted ; look up to Him
 Who poured the life-blood out for thee ;
 Rise up, believe, resist the sin !
 Courage ! His love hath set thee free."

S. L. R.

CORRESPONDENCE.

WHETHER THE WANT OF VERBAL INSPIRATION IS, OR WOULD BE, A DISADVANTAGE.

To the Editor of the Christian Observer.

SIR,—In replying to Mr. Carr's letter in your September number, I hope I may conclude, from the way in which he has written, that he is a friend of the *Christian Observer*; and that we may discuss the question he proposes, as two men, who have confidence in each other, would talk over anything connected with a subject of acknowledged difficulty.

I find myself unable to do justice to his argument without transcribing a portion, and in fact nearly all, of his letter. It is as follows:—

"One argument, and I think the main one, with those who contend for a strictly verbal inspiration of the Bible, is, that supposing the revelation to be from God, but the language to be that of men, superintended indeed by the Holy Spirit, and preserved from error in their apprehension of the things revealed, but left to record those things in their own natural style and language, the mind would be left in doubt and perplexity as to the authority of the record, whether it be divine or human, or a compound of both. Now, inasmuch as the divine idea, though in the word, is not the word, but the sense and meaning of the word, which in many cases is to be collected by the ordinary methods of comparison and research, i.e., by the exercise of the human faculties of reason and judgment, I do not see what would be gained by the concession of this point, unless we possessed an infallible standard for the interpretation of the language used by the sacred writers, so as to divest every word of Scripture of the slightest shade of ambiguity. But this would necessitate a second revelation; which, consisting, as it needs must, of words subject to the same conditions as before, would leave the difficulty just where it was. Take, e.g., the word *δικαιοσύνη*, and the whole family of its congeners, . . . who will presume to say that, in the several places in which it occurs, this word is to be understood in a strictly moral or a strictly forensic sense. And if it be answered, that the context will determine this, then the meaning of the context, which consists of words, will have to be determined by the methods already indicated, with the same fallible results.

"Again, take the family of words of which *αἰῶν* . . . (and its compounds) are specimens; who will undertake to assign a precise, positive, and unquestionable meaning to all or any of these words, which are susceptible of various significations, and for which, in fact, a considerable latitude and wide divergence of meaning has been assumed by the translators of our Bible?

"It appears therefore to me, that, so far as the divine authority of the Bible is concerned, nothing is gained by the concession of its strictly verbal inspiration, but rather that a new element of difficulty is imported into the question, only adding to its complication, without bringing it one jot nearer to the mark of an unmistakeable and infallibly authoritative divine revelation."

Not quite agreeing that the argument referred to is the main one in the subject, I feel our present inquiry is not whether the language of the Scriptures be inspired; but what is our position, on the supposition that it is not inspired, and whether we suffer by it. I hope to keep very closely to this one idea, especially as it is the only one to which I am invited, or am entitled at present to touch upon.

For whatever purpose language may be used, it is, like everything

else connected with man, full of deficiencies and imperfections. It is not, and cannot be, a complete vehicle of thought or information. Still, even for a Divine revelation, if made to man, the use of it is unavoidable. And of course this must be conceded, that if the words be even chosen by the most direct and powerful influence of the Holy Spirit, still, unless the very nature of language and of man be changed, the words used to communicate the Divine will must admit of different meanings, and so different men may draw different conclusions from them. And it would require more than a miracle to prevent this; for if a miracle made language perfect, man would not be able to use it. We must accept revelation, therefore, on these terms.

But surely it is not necessary, from this state of things, to conclude that we *lose nothing*, if the original Divine revelation to us be left by the giver to take such a shape as may fall out, or be expressed in such words as any human agents may think right. If a traveller in a foreign country, when sending a servant, who is ignorant of the language, to a distant place, the way to which he does not know, transmit to him directions by another home-born servant, who inadvertently lessens the precision of his master's words,—will not the servant, amidst the difficulties of learning his road, be *worse off* for not having the clearest and most exact directions and description of his course which his master could possibly give him? Yet the words used by his master would have been human and imperfect. But if what he really said never reaches the servant, the servant suffers, and he may never reach the place he started for.

In fact, we are subject to two misfortunes—one our own erring judgment on the words which are used, and the other the imperfections of the words, even if the very best be chosen. Is it, therefore, of no consequence whether the best be chosen? Surely an addition to our difficulties, from the want of precision in the original words, is not unimportant. Nay, is it not of the greatest disadvantage to us; and that for two reasons:—

(1.) Language, with all its imperfections, does admit of a right and a wrong, a better and a worse, way of expressing any idea. If the revelation be not expressed in the best way for *its object*, it necessarily misleads, more or less, according to the degree of inferiority of the words used to the very fittest. At all events, to that extent it is not too much to say it cannot be a matter of indifference; but the fact is, the message falls short. Suppose, in the case of the servant, the master's directions, as given to him, might have been clearer as to his course in places where roads might meet, and each appear right. We cannot help feeling the servant might have been better directed, and more helpfully saved from going wrong.

But this is not all. As we have to meet the inevitable imperfection of language and our erring judgments, suppose the third element added of a want of precision in the original message—whilst it seems too plain that there is an additional source of error, which of course is a misfortune—does it not tell upon each of the other two separately and jointly, making its operation threefold? Our judgment is the more perplexed, for it has additional difficulty to grapple with; the language is less within its scope, for it does not go to the right idea, but to something more or less awry. And some will not think it be-

yond their position (we have melancholy instances of it) to inquire what the Divine will was, as distinguished from the words expressing it; and this new effort or inducement to speculate on the Divine will adds to the damage we sustain. The very existence of the possibility of doing this creates a feeling of uncertainty, which is very unsettling, and therefore a great disadvantage. On the very lowest scale, therefore, the suggested element of want of inspiration in the words is not, in the estimate of its results, to be measured by the addition of an unit, but as the double or treble of our previous difficulties; and when this is traced through the comparison and weighing together of all the different passages of Scripture on one subject with each other, it is impossible to avoid the conclusion, that the number of the difficulties of arriving at a right understanding of the Bible are, through these combinations, increased beyond calculation.

But (2), there seems a greater disadvantage still, if the original revelation be not in the most apt and specific words to express the Divine meaning. Water cannot rise higher than its source; and if our coin ought not to ring as true metal, even an excess of purity is only a departure from the standard. It is too true that there are all the imperfections in language which have been adverted to. But, even in ordinary composition, each sentence has its object, and there is a better and a worse way of stating it; and if we take (for illustration's sake) a case where the worse way has been employed, is it not plain that we are left by the author at a disadvantage in arriving at his real meaning; and that the primary sense, and all the collateral bearings and arguments resulting from the passage, are directed and guided, not to the author's real and full meaning, but to that which he has happened to hit upon, confessedly (in our example or illustration) beside the mark. Now, how is the reader to correct and improve the author? And where any author has written in this way,—and no doubt we should agree that the works of every human writer would afford examples,—is not the reader in every such case at a disadvantage? And would not the faulty passage tell upon every other passage with which it might be compared, and in some measure, if it were important enough, vitiate the whole? No book with many such blemishes could hold its ground. It would simply fall into disuse, or never have become known; but if it were our best or only guide-book, so that it could not be laid aside, how we should wish that the author had expressed himself with clearness and aptitude and precision, even though fully conscious, that at the best, human language would have left him to contend with many niceties and difficulties, and that his readers would very often have misunderstood him, even if he had done his best.

Perhaps the best of all illustrations of language as the means of communicating thought, is water as the medium of administering medicine. The physician chooses his own medium (water, in all cases of fluid, being the base), and the quantity of it, and, if necessary, gives special directions for its purity or more positive character. It will surely be granted that, in many cases, it is desirable to get water of perfect purity. Sometimes what it holds in solution may be useful as helping the medicine—*e.g.*, iron in some instances; or it may be that the physician will throw into the draught some ingredient, on

purpose to counteract a property which he knows the water contains. So some passages in Scripture may, if the wording be under the direction of the Almighty, be so expressed as to conduce, even with the inevitable breadth (owing to the constitution of language) of expression in some other places, to the better manifestation of truth. Let it not be for a moment supposed that it is intended here to urge that this is what we find. The present argument is simply that it may be so, if the words be inspired; but if the words are so specifically human as we understand is contended, these corrections are impossible for they can only be introduced by the Divine control over the words; and that surely is a disadvantage.

If the writers of the Bible, being men, were "left to record, in their own style and language," the things revealed to them, are we quite free from allowing them to be under the influence of human *motives*? The theory requires the writing of the record to be their *own act*; and, theoretically at least, can we imagine any human action not affected by human motive? This difficulty is new to me. I am desirous of looking at it as less important in practice than in theory; but the notion is itself, and in any point of view, alarming, if our theory oblige us to admit it.

It is beyond dispute, however, that human motives enter into the views which men adopt of the meaning of Scripture. And the observations offered above, as to the increase of our difficulties when a new element is brought under the human judgment, are at least as applicable, and might be repeated and urged in reference to human motives, when men are engaged in investigating the meaning of the Bible.

Every view of Revelation which tends to diminish the reverence with which men regard it, is disadvantageous to mankind. It will hardly be disputed, that the less of humanity and the more of divinity we find in the authorship of the Bible, the more we are obliged to approach it with reverence and humility. It could only have been from considering the Divine element wanting in some places, that Jeremy Bentham ever wrote, "Paul, Paul, you are wrong here!" This needs no comment.

Is it not in truth the fact, that in the effort to give due prominence only to human independence in the process of Revelation, or as it were to bring it into notice, men are led unintentionally to negative, if not altogether, yet at least in too great a degree, the control of God Himself over His own Word? If such be even the tendency, much more if such be the result, of this theory, is it not unreasonable and disadvantageous? In fact, is it not a disadvantage to take up any theory which involves all the difficulties of Divine power and human free agency? We cannot escape from the joint action of the two, whatever view we take of inspiration: we are least at a disadvantage when we look at it only as one of the common cases of Divine influence. Of what other course of action or thought do we venture to assert, (avoiding, of course, the imputation of evil, which our analogy does not lead to,) that it is, or has been, uninfluenced by the Divine power.

Indeed, these views would be attended with most serious consequences. We are familiar with the transmission of the texts of ancient authors, and the criticisms by which we arrive at the best

text. We are also familiar with the rules of construction, and the considerations by which we may attain to an author's meaning; and we have therefore great preparedness, in these respects, for the use of the Bible. We are not under any *special* disadvantage so far. But when we are so acting towards common books, as we can in some measure gauge the human mind and human motives, we entertain no doubt that the author did say what he professes to say. But the theory we are considering is, that the language of the Bible is not to be taken as giving us the mind of God with the exactness which He could have secured. We hope we may say with the concurrence of our readers, that we consider we are so much better off with a revelation which gave us His will at first in the first-given revelation, in language which He had sanctioned, that we should prefer to be in that position, if the truth and facts of the case would allow it. It would be a higher, and certainly a safer, state, at the first at least, to have no human infirmity acting on human language without control, and no cloud interposed between our souls and the Revelation of our Father, God, and Saviour.

G. S.

To the Editor of the Christian Observer.

SIR,—In the notice of "Debrett's Peerage," in your last number (October), it is said, in opposition to the decision of the House of Lords, that "the present Earl of Shrewsbury is not a lineal descendant of the Talbots, the ancient Earls."

Though I am not in the slightest degree connected with that family, or acquainted with any member of it, I am desirous (for the credit of the "Christian Observer" for accuracy) to remind you, that Debrett, at least in my edition of his work, states the contrary, as does Sir Bernard Burke, and all the writers on the same subject. *The Roman Catholics did all they could to establish the fact as you state it, but completely failed*; and the present Earl holds the titles and estates of the ancient Earls, as their nearest *direct male* descendant. I add the pedigree (omitting the wives) as given by Burke and others.

[We are obliged to omit the Pedigree for want of room.—ED.]

"Henry John Chetwynd Talbot, Earl Talbot, the present Earl, declared by the House of Lords to be *Earl of Shrewsbury and Waterford*, as the *lineal descendant* and *male heir* of the first and second Earls of Shrewsbury, on whose *male* descendants the titles and estates of the ancient Earls are settled by a special Act of Parliament. The late Bertram Arthur Talbot, eighteenth Earl of Shrewsbury, was directly descended from only *four* of the seventeen Earls who preceded him. At his death without issue, in 1856, the *present* Earl of Shrewsbury and Talbot was the eldest *male* representative of the family, though he was, in the male line, descended from only the first and second Earls."

I am, Sir,

A READER AND ADMIRER OF THE "CHRISTIAN
OBSERVER" FOR MORE THAN FIFTY YEARS.

ORIGINAL CORRESPONDENCE.

WE continue our publication of original letters from some remarkable men of the last century. Here is a very characteristic one from the eccentric Berridge of Everton to the Rev. John Hallward, soon after he took Orders:—

Everton, Nov. 5, 1771.

DEAR SIR,—If, in walking, I should behold two worms that were strangers, crawling towards each other, and one of them should rise up and bow down many times before the other, it would remind me of my brother Hallward, who will not give me his hand without many ceremonies, bows, and fashionable apologies. Why, dear Sir, I am but the worm Jacob; and the utmost a worm can expect is not to be trampled upon. Let us leave ceremony to the world—it suits their taste, because it feeds their pride. Plain English civility is enough for a Christian; and if you had known what a wretch John Berridge is, you would have spared most of the Jovey* strokes in the porch of your letter.

I find you have been some time at my dear Master's school, and should expect He had taught you better manners than to use tickling speeches to a sinner. Can your heart profit by them? Mine cannot. And the man who wants to be feasted with this syllabub is not worth your acquaintance. I am glad to hear that Jesus has many young students at Oxford. He has a few at Cambridge, but sorely bedaubed with worldly prudence. They begrime themselves, and dare not know each other, for fear the world should bespatter them, and the rulers take notice that they belong to Jesus. I hope your acquaintance dare meet and pray together, and make a true Christ's college, notwithstanding the menace of the Sanhedrim. "When Daniel knew that the decree was signed, he went into his house, and his windows being open, he kneeled down three times a day, and prayed, as aforetime." (Dan. vi. 10.) "They that feared the Lord, spake often one to another, and the Lord hearkened, and a Book of remembrance was written before Him." (Mal. iii. 16.) "Whosoever is ashamed of Me in this adulterous generation, of him shall the Son of Man be ashamed." These texts need no comment. I am not advising you to preach before you are called; but "exhorting you not to forsake the assembling yourselves together, as the manner of some is." In the meantime, call no man master upon earth. Put your conscience into no man's hand. Let Jesus be your only counsellor. In every distress wait upon Him with patient prayer. "To whom should a people seek, but to their God." None but Jesus can tell what He will call you to. Itinerants like myself would push you into the field directly; and domestic chaplains will entreat you to stay within doors, and beware of electrification. Heed none of them. Beg direction of Jesus to make your way plain, and grace to walk in it, and censure not others who are called to a different walk. A prince will have marching regiments as well as body-guards; and though the latter appear more

* Jovey, as if addressed to Jove. Dr. Johnson gives, "Joyous, under the influence of Jove."

graceful, the former are most useful. Finally, remember the apostolic practice: "We will give ourselves to the *Word* of God and prayer." My heart sends kind love to all that love Jesus Christ in sincerity. Grace, mercy, and peace be multiplied upon them, upon yourself, and upon your affectionate servant,

JOHN BERRIDGE.

The next we copy was addressed to the Hon. Mrs. Carteret:—

Everton, April 11, 1778.

DEAR SISTERS,—Through mercy I got home safe and well; but why should I say, got home? I am only arrived at my Everton inn, and thanks to the Lord for that accommodation; but am travelling still, when I am seated, or when I lay down; yea, when I stand still, am travelling apace to my long home. Oh, that my heart could travel to Jesus, fast as the moments travel along; but whilst every new year seems to travel faster, I travel slower. Weary I am, and ashamed of myself. So near home, and so little dead to self and the world. In my 63rd year, one foot in the grave, and so little still of an heavenly mind. Uneasy I am without Jesus, and seem to love Him, yet put Him off with slender visits, and I fear with a nook of my heart. When He is pleased to pay me a visit, I give Him sweet looks with sweet Hosannahs, and put my whole heart in His hand; but when He retires, I take my heart back, and let it run gadding into the world. Young hearts will be gadding abroad, but an old gossiping heart is shameful indeed. Oft I am trying to shake myself, and soar aloft; but like a stone cast upward, I mount a little, and quickly fall. All human efforts to fly are vain. Oh, for wings of the heavenly Dove; then would I flee away, and be at rest! Rest I want, and rest I seek, abiding rest in Jesus: but my heart is so lumpish and roguish, I can neither bring it to Jesus, nor keep it when brought. Why, then, dear Lord, do Thou take it, and keep it. Nothing but Almighty Power can hold my heart, and nothing but infinite love can bear with it. Possessed of these glorious attributes, Thou art a match for my heart. Then, O my dear Lord, take it, and win it and wear it, as a trophy of grace. With hearty love to you both, I remain your affectionate brother, in the best of births, and the best of bonds,

JOHN BERRIDGE.

P.S.—Kind respects to Mr. and Mrs. Peckwell, and to all the honourable women, beloved of God, and belonging to the household of faith.

And we close the series with a third, written in his 64th year, and yet premature old age:—

Everton, July 28, 1792.

DEAR MADAM,—You marvel at my silence; no wonder, since I came from London, I was forced to give up correspondence, so bad I was, my eyes very bad, my ears very deaf, my memory very short, and my strength very feeble. Once I expected to become both blind and deaf, but the Lord suffers not matters to proceed so far. My comfort is, I am in my 46th year (*sic*), with Christ for my staff, and Christ for my all. If blind, He will lead me; if deaf, He will whisper into my ear, and His voice is sweet. Happy ladies, who are now got home

and for ever with Jesus. The two last Sundays I have been led to church, and into the pulpit. My voice was feeble, but hearable, and Christ was precious. 'Tis a mercy to preach, if without eyes and ears. I had lately lost my two benefactors, and was thinking what I must do. Jesus knew my thoughts, and what would be my wants, and has provided accordingly. I had no expectation of a legacy from St. James's Place, but the Lord raised up one from thence. Who would distrust such a Saviour? I wish your legacy had been twice as large; no one could have thought it too much: but Jesus knows what is best. I will write to Mr. Dent, when I can find eyes and heart. My eyes are worn down; I must conclude. The Lord bless you with many heavenly visits, and favour your children with heavenly faith and love, and an early pursuit after Jesus.—I am, dear Madam, your affectionate servant in our common Lord and glorious head,

JOHN BERRIDGE.

THE LATE REV. CANON STOWELL.

WE have to record with unaffected sorrow the death of the Rev. Hugh Stowell, in his sixty-fifth year, rector of Christ Church, Salford, and honorary canon of Chester; far better known as the pious and eloquent Hugh Stowell.

Those who knew him only in public admired him for his eloquence, or revered him for his piety; but those who knew him in private, and they only, were acquainted with the warmth of his heart, the soundness of his judgment, his disinterestedness, and the sweetness of his temper—a temper which no irritation could provoke to wrath, and a cheerfulness which scarcely any of the sorrows of this life could disturb. As far as a friendship of many years enables us, we would say a few words on each of these points.

First, his masterly eloquence. It is said that he never preached a dull sermon—never made an ineffective speech. His command of words was unrivalled; at first they seemed to master him, and to crowd too fast upon each other, but in a short time the sun broke through the mist, and the majesty of thought prevailed. One saw that words were, as they should always be, only the handmaids of a lofty intellect, necessary as accessories to his masterly eloquence, emblazoning but not obscuring it. And this wonderful gift of his was entirely dedicated to the service of his Lord. Perhaps no man ever preached the Gospel with more simplicity. There was great variety in his sermons—there was the ceaseless play of imagination in his speeches; in the latter there were pleasantries, bursts of feeling, and strokes of humour. He could always command an audience now moved to tears, now roused to enthusiasm. But in his sermons there was always one supreme object—Christ Jesus the Lord; man debased, lost, undone for ever; Jesus an almighty Saviour; and then the Holy Ghost a very present Comforter. So in his speeches, he was always a holy man, often joyous, never a trifler. His catholic spirit led him,

so far as he could, to join with Christians of every name. He was always welcomed with enthusiasm on the platform of the Bible Society, and yet he was a firm churchman, and never concealed his sentiments. But he made no enemies, for he always spoke the truth in love.

His friends only knew either the tenderness of his spirit or the soundness of his judgment. Events seldom proved the advice he gave unwise; and when he spoke in the confidential meetings of the Evangelical clergy for mutual edification, the solidity of his judgment arrested them no less than the modesty and gentleness of his manner, or the sympathy he showed for the infirmities of his weakest brethren.

But he is gone: gone to his eternal home; gone from all his labours to the rest that remaineth for the people of God. The mantle of his manifold gifts—those gifts which made him the burning and shining light he was—may descend on others. God may raise up another Stowell in His own good time; though few of us can hope to emulate him in that rare assemblage of Christian graces in which he was unrivalled. Yet we, in our measure, may be “fellow workers with God.” We may meet our departed brother in heaven, and there unite with him, and with all the blessed company who have gone before, in the adoration of the Lamb that liveth and was dead, and is alive again for evermore.

EDITOR.

NOTICES OF NEW BOOKS.

MR. RYLE has published a biographical account of *Gurnall*, the author of the well-known *Christian in Complete Armour*. It is intended as a preface to a new edition of that famous work, which is about to issue from the press of *Messrs. Blackie and Son, London and Edinburgh*. Of Gurnall's book we need not say anything. It may not vie in profoundness of thought with many of the Puritan divines; but there is a rich simplicity about it, an abundance of happy illustrations, purity of language, and a well digested method, all of which combine to place it among the most useful and the most popular of the practical treatises of that age, rich as they were in our best theology.

The life of the author, by Mr. Ryle, is exceedingly interesting; and, though the materials were few, he has contrived, from contemporary history and other sources, to collect enough to throw much light upon the earthly course of the pious vicar of Lavenham, during the stormy days of the Civil War and Protectorate. Mr. Ryle's concluding paragraphs, especially the latter of them, deserve to be well considered. What he says of the mistiness, shallowness, and indistinctness of much of the theological teaching of our day, we are glad to issue again (for we have often had occasion to censure it) with Mr. Ryle's imprimatur.

"I now conclude this preface by expressing my earnest hope that this new edition of Gurnall's work may find many readers as well as purchasers. It is indeed to be desired that solid scriptural theology, like that contained in these pages, should be valued and studied in the Church. Books in which Scripture is reverently regarded as the only rule of faith and practice—books in which Christ and the Holy Ghost have their rightful office—books in which justification, and sanctification, and regeneration, and faith, and grace, and holiness are clearly, distinctly, and accurately delineated and exhibited,—these are the only books which do real good. Few things need reviving more than a taste for such books as these among readers.

"For my own part, I can only say that I read everything I can get hold of which professes to throw light on my Master's business, and the work of Christ among men. But the more I read, the less I admire modern theology. The more I study the productions of the new schools of theological teachers, the more I marvel that men and women can be satisfied with such writing. There is a vagueness, a mistiness, a shallowness, an indistinctness, a superficiality, an aimlessness, a hollowness about the literature of the 'broader and kinder systems,' as they are called, which, to my mind, stamps their origin on their face. They are of the earth, earthy. I find more of definite soul-satisfying thought in one page of Gurnall than in five pages of such books as the leaders of the so-called 'Broad Church School' put forth. In matters of theology 'the old is better.'"

Verses for the Holy Communion: intended to assist in devout meditation during the pauses which occur in the Service. London: Suttaby. 1865.—This little book seems to supply a want which we have often heard communicants lament. In all large town congregations, those who join in the Communion Service will often form a numerous body. At St. John's Chapel, in the days of Daniel Wilson, there would frequently be three or four hundred participants, and the distribution of the elements occupied more than an hour. Half an hour is often required now in the greater London churches. Now, for the employment of this waiting-time no provision has been made. The Prayer-book and the Bible are generally resorted to, after some time has been spent in private prayer; but the Prayer-book and the Bible afford only a limited amount of aid. It has seemed to the compiler of this little volume, that Devotional Hymns and Poems, having a special reference to the Lord's Supper, may very suitably occupy a portion of this waiting time. The ordinary hymn-books which are in general use, give, in most cases, only six or eight such hymns. This collection consists of one hundred. It seems to us judiciously made, and we heartily commend it to the notice of our readers.

Mr. Barry of Birkenhead has also published a very cheap and well-selected volume of *Psalms and Hymns*, which has already found its way into many congregations; it is especially suited for country parishes. But we are still anxious to see a far better version of the Psalms of David than has yet appeared. Nowhere else shall we find such views of the majesty and glory, the justice and holiness of God, and therefore nowhere else such materials for praise and thanksgiving. We commend this subject to some of our own poetical contributors. They will at least have this encouragement, that failure here is no disgrace.

PUBLIC AFFAIRS.

THE death of Lord Palmerston, certainly the most popular, if not the greatest of English Ministers, has cast, for a time, a gloom upon the nation. It is true that he was old and full of years, but his mind betrayed nothing of the fretfulness, none of the infirmities of age. A month ago he seemed in public to be as much himself—as joyous, as quick at repartee, as free from any momentary lapse of memory—as at any period of his life. And since we have a strange power of hiding from ourselves events, however certain, which are painful, Lord Palmerston seemed to possess a sort of immortality. But the nation has been aroused upon a sudden. Their idol is taken from them; and, at the special request of the Queen, his remains have been committed to the dust in Westminster Abbey; where lie some of our greatest patriots, many of our illustrious statesmen, many poets and eloquent men, characters the most opposite, men of pursuits the most dissimilar. To these Palmerston is added; and all await *that day*—the day when the trumpet shall sound, and the dead shall be raised.

We shall not attempt to sketch the character of the departed Premier. This has been done with great ability in several of our newspapers. It is for us to note with thankfulness that to no dispenser of the public patronage has the Church been more indebted for admirable appointments. No prime minister ever had the disposal of so many preferments on the Episcopal Bench, and none ever used them better. We are not concerned to ask to whom he was indebted for the singular wisdom of his choice in most instances, but rather to express our thankfulness to God, and to impress upon ourselves that no such run of prosperity is again to be expected for evangelical principles, and that it behoves us to remember the day of our visitation, and to use it to the best account. Lord Palmerston, too, was more heartily a Protestant than, we fear, were most of his colleagues. If he allowed himself to be sometimes subservient to the Romish party in Ireland, and still more in England, where it was less excusable, yet from time to time he showed that he was not at all deluded or intimidated. It may be useful to quote, even after a lapse of twelve years, his courageous defence of himself in Parliament in the year 1853, when charged, in the House of Commons, with having persecuted the Jesuits, especially as from these sentiments he never swerved. "The facts of the case were these:—A civil war had broken out in Switzerland. Cantons were armed against cantons—Protestants against Catholics—a majority against a minority. We were invited by the French Government to mediate between the contending parties; and we were engaged in endeavouring, with the French Government, to settle upon such terms as might afford a chance of putting an end to that disgraceful conflict. The cause—

"the original cause of the conflict were the Jesuits. It was their presence in Switzerland—it was their aggressive proceedings in the Protestant cantons, which produced that war, with regard to which our mediation was asked for. And that which struck me was, that the only natural mode of putting an end to that contest was to remove the object and the cause of it. It was in that spirit that we proposed that the Jesuits should be withdrawn. That I did, when making that proposal, state the reasons which induced me to make it, is undoubtedly true. *I stated that it was my belief that the presence of the Jesuits in any country, Catholic or Protestant, was likely to disturb the political and social peace of that country. I maintain that opinion still, and I don't shrink from its avowal.*"

His death-bed was surrounded by his affectionate relatives, Lord Shaftesbury among the rest. Their prayers were offered on behalf of the dying man. He was conscious to the last, and joined in their petitions to the Throne of grace after he had ceased to speak. He had requested that his remains might lie in the churchyard of Romsey, at the side of those of his father and mother, and that his funeral should be of the most simple kind; but Lady Palmerston gave way to the Queen's request, and he was buried, on the 27th inst., in the national tomb-house of our greatest men, amidst the tears of his friends,—for he was a man greatly beloved in private life,—and the silent expression of respect and grief of assembled thousands.

But death is no respecter of persons. He has been commissioned not only to smite those in high places, but to distress the Church of Christ, to the infinite gain of those whom he has snatched away, but to the sorrow of the Church bereaved. We have mentioned the death of Canon Stowell, whose like we shall not see again for another age—for years are wanted to bring out the finest traits in a character like his, and to mellow it into its greatest usefulness. We must pay a tribute to the memory of the Rev. George Bull, of Almeley, late of Birmingham, and before that, twenty years ago, a labourer—and never was the word less figuratively employed to describe the work of a Christian minister—in Bradford and the neighbourhood. Except the name of Lord Ashley, none was more known than his amongst the manufactories which spread their industrious web over Yorkshire and the midland counties. He worked hard to secure for the operatives the Short-hour Bill, and exposed himself to a full share of reproach together with his noble coadjutor; yet, for all his political engagements, he was not the less a spiritually-minded man, and a faithful and affectionate minister of the Lord Jesus Christ.

Nor can we pass, without our brief tribute of regard and sorrow, the recent grave of the Rev. C. Oakley, Rector of St. Paul's, Covent Garden. He had just entered upon his work on the death of Mr. Hutton, and was carried off by a fever, which seems to us untimely, while he was yet young. In this case it was the rich promise, rather than the ripe harvest, of which we have to speak: a promise of future usefulness, and probably a life of honour and distinction. The short time during which he held his last preferment was enough to show that he was equal to the most difficult post. Our own pages, in some papers on the history of the Jews, four years ago, show the elo-

quence of his pen, and the unusual extent and depth of his research. He, too, has passed away, and leaves the Church to deplore his loss.

But we must turn to political affairs from individual sorrows. The Queen has instructed Earl Russell to form an administration, and he seems likely to do so without any violent changes. He has upon his hands at present a correspondence, which the American Minister has forced upon him, which will call for the utmost firmness together with great discretion. Mr. Adams claims compensation for all the mischief done by the Alabama, and other Confederate vessels of war built in England. The Federals seem to forget that, in the face of the Queen's proclamation, informing her subjects that all such transactions were illegal, they supplied themselves with rifles and ammunition, and whatever else they required for carrying on war, under the thinnest possible disguise; and that our Government could not possibly interfere in the matter of the Alabama and other vessels, unless the charge was brought before them in a legal form. This was never done; for they themselves could collect no proofs of the probable destination of these ships to lay before our Courts of Law, and so justify legal interference. It is not easy for a free government to interfere with private enterprise. At this moment they themselves are permitting the Fenians to hold their meetings, advocating high treason, civil war, wholesale assassination, and the establishment of a republic in Ireland, without interference, and, as far as we can learn, without remonstrance. We make this no pretext for a quarrel, and we have a right to expect from them the same forbearance. Free governments have their weak points as well as absolutism, and these are amongst the number. The Fenian rebellion proves to be a very contemptible affair, though no plot was ever more wicked and blood-thirsty. It will be difficult to deal with it. The leaders richly deserve the halter, and yet they are more likely to escape through sheer contempt. We have but a line to add—the feelings of satisfaction with which, in common with the whole nation, we have received a prayer composed by the Archbishop of Canterbury, for deliverance from the grievous murrain which has fallen upon our cattle, and which by Her Majesty's command is to be used in all Churches and Chapels in her dominions.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

A CORRESPONDENT from Stourport wishes to re-open the question as to Mr. Mill's meaning, in the passage which has been so often commented on. We do not see that there is any material difference between our correspondent's view and our own, and we naturally shrink from going back to a subject regarding which our views can hardly be mistaken.

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THOUGHTS ON THE PSALMS.

THE Psalms, generally speaking, form the devotional and experimental portion of God's Word. Elsewhere the same class of truths are to be found in isolated chapters; but here they are gathered together in one place, just as the historical or doctrinal are gathered together in other places. As such, it is always referred to, even in Scripture, as a book by itself—"The Psalms."

The Church of England has shown the importance she attaches to the Psalter, by ordering it to be read more frequently than any other part of Holy Scripture. And Christian experience responds to this suggestion. To nothing do we turn in our joys and sorrows so readily as to the Psalms of David; always wondering, as we do so, that these compositions of an Old Testament saint should exactly answer to all our wants and feelings. "I live," said the venerable Hannah More, "in the Psalms." And one of the ablest of our divines says, "The Christian's use of the Psalms in the closet, and the minister's in the pulpit, will generally increase with their growing experience of the power of true religion in their own hearts."

The value of the Psalms, indeed, is just in proportion to the value of self-inspection; and who will question *that* who knows anything of the plague of his own heart? Inestimably precious, of course, is Christ's work for us—that finished and accepted righteousness whereby alone we are justified or glorified; but equally important, in its place, is the work subjective, the operations of God's Holy Spirit *in* us, in which work we are called to cooperate with all our powers. "Wherefore is there

a price in the hand of a fool to get wisdom, seeing he hath no heart to it?" Of what avail (as much as to say) is all the affluence of mercy laid up for us in a Saviour, unless it is applied with power to change the heart and renovate the life? Everyone, therefore, who thinks at all, perceives at once that this dressing of the soul must go on in some fashion.

Then arises the question as to how, and by what help, this necessary work is to be done? There are helps, indeed, in this direction, not altogether to be despised by the Christian. Such are various books of rules and exercises of devotion, which pious men have invented for themselves or others from time to time. Such also are our Christian biographies, especially where the veil has been drawn aside, and the hidden working of the mind has been revealed, as in the diary of Henry Martyn. Most refreshing and instructive also is it to meet with a fellow Christian of kindred mind, when heart really communes with heart, and faults are mutually confessed, and advice as to religious habits and methods of improvement asked.

But I suppose we shall always discover it was intended that we should find a certain limitation and finality in these uninspired methods, leaving the mind short of perfect satisfaction. No spiritual history, be it ever so reliable or interesting, not even an Augustine's or a Luther's, may for one moment compete with the divinely inspired and recorded experience of "the man after God's own heart." The reason is obvious: We might well hesitate as to our own or another's condition of feeling at any given time; or at least to some phases of it. There may be some corners in which self or Satan is lurking, and grace thus be unintentionally, but really, travestied rather than illustrated. Are there not also depths of spiritual feeling wherein we shrink from confiding quite all even to our dearest friend? My thoughts may be too polluting, too sceptical, too peculiar; my sorrow may be too bitter, my communion with God of too sacred a nature, to be spoken of in any ear but that of God Himself. There is a faith which we must have to ourselves; and some of the saint's raptures had always better remain undescribed in his own bosom, lest they should make him proud, or discourage, if not mislead, others.

It is well then—one of the kindest provisions of a merciful Father—that we have here ever at hand a divine repertory of what is true devotion. Here Zion's pilgrims may refresh themselves without stint or fear of misdirection. Here we have unfolded before us all that is usual and permissible in the walk of faith, infallibly true and certainly efficacious. Here we are invited to inspect "the inwards" of the living sacrifice cleft open by the Word (Heb. iv. 12); or follow with solemn awe, even as Abraham, the burning lamp passing between "those pieces," in order that we may learn what it is to have

"truth in the inward parts," and to be Israelites "indeed in whom is no guile."

But without saying more in praise of that which is beyond praise, and also passing over all critical questions as to divisions and primary references, as to authors and versions, as irrelevant to our present purpose, we propose to consider the Psalms simply as an inspired manual of devotion, giving us the attitudes of a renewed mind under the Divine influence.

(1) To begin, we have the attitude of *praise*. Man seems physically made to praise his Maker. He stands erect; intelligence is his; his soul is capable of knowing God; and under a proper sense of his greatness and goodness can feel admiration and gratitude, which should then spontaneously find vent through the tongue, and lifting up of the hands. How much more, when fallen man is renewed, and brought back from dumb idols to serve the living and true God! Then praise irrepressibly bursts forth; the soul knowing that, if it kept silence, the very stones would cry out. "This people have I formed for myself (says God); they shall show forth my praise;" and His people promptly reply, "Praise waiteth for thee, O God, in Zion; unto thee shall the vow be performed."

Now here the book of Psalms comes in and teaches us. Not only does it contain a large element of praise and thanksgiving—no less a number than sixty-six being devoted to this exercise; but the Hebrew name for the Psalter is *Tahellim*, or "praises," implying that this is one of its *prominent* objects. The Christian man is to be as much in the spirit of praise as of prayer; just as the Apostle puts it afterwards, "by prayer and supplication with thanksgiving, let your request be made known unto God." Not praise without prayer,—that would be presumption; nor prayer without praise,—that would be ingratitude; but both together in due proportion, like those mingled spices which went to form the incense in the Temple service.

Then we may observe, besides the large proportion of praise, its connection with *sacred music*. Augustine defines a hymn as "the praises of God with song." It is well known that many of these Psalms were lyrics set to music, in which the imagination was called in to the aid of devotion, and poetry and harmony admitted as handmaids in the sanctuary. Some of their titles distinctly tell us that they were to be sung chorally, accompanied by various kinds of instrumental music. In proof of metrical construction, it has been observed that Psalms 20, 24, 115, 116, 118, 121, 132, consist of regular responses; whilst others are acrostic psalms, each verse commencing with a letter of the Hebrew alphabet, such as the 25th, 34th, 38th, 111th, 119th, and 145th. Thus the art of

music, the only art spoken of as perpetuated in Heaven, is consecrated to the worship of God, and the institution of Psalmody fully recognised. The Jewish Church retained the practice thus established by the sweet Psalmist of Israel, as we find in Nehemiah's time, when we read of the Levites being appointed "to praise and give thanks according to the commandment of David the man of God, ward over against ward." Our Lord and His disciples also, it is supposed, took the hymn which they sang after the Passover, from the great Hallel, that is, the Psalms from 113 to 118 inclusive. And the Holy Spirit by the Apostle plainly commends this exercise under the present dispensation, where he speaks of our "teaching and admonishing one another in psalms and hymns and spiritual songs, singing with grace in your hearts to the Lord."

It must not be argued, however, that this connection between sacred music and praise is to be to the exclusion of other hymns not laudatory. There is a tendency in this direction just now; and several "hymnals" have been constructed on this partial principle. Even evangelical men of a jubilant turn of mind have been taken with the fashion; but we fear it is adopted by others from a dislike to some of our good old experimental hymns by Watts and Wesley, Cowper and Newton. Surely such partiality is as unwise as it is unscriptural. So long as "spiritual songs" are commended as above, and so long as we find experimental Psalms, like the 130th, describing the path of a troubled conscience, and commanded to be *sung*, (for it is called "a song of degrees,") in the midst of this inspired Psalter, we are more than justified in retaining all those varied productions of gifted minds amongst us, as hitherto recognised by the Churches.

As to the *subjects* for praise, what a field is opened to us in the Psalms! We will only say that it is coextensive with creation and the new creation, with the physical heavens and the spiritual heavens. And thus the Christian's heart and voice are ever to be ready to render unto God according to the benefits done unto him. Perhaps there is nothing in which Christian life is so deficient as praise. The Psalms teach us by precept and example, that "whoso offereth praise glorifieth God," and that the more His people praise Him, the more reason they will find to do so.

(2.) The next attitude of the Christian indicated in the Psalms, is that of prayer. We need not dwell upon the place of prayer in the Christian system. It is the breath of the soul from first to last, energised by the Holy Spirit, the author of all true prayer, and finding its way, incensed by the merits of Christ, to the very throne of God. Our object is to show how the subject is illustrated by the Psalms of David.

They show us the *nature* of prayer, that it is a simple but

earnest crying to God. David "cried to the Lord," "cried for help," "cried out," "called," "shouted," as the Hebrew word signifies. He gave God no peace; he added tears to ejaculations; he poured out his heart. He was earnest, yet reverential; very humble, yet full of faith.

Again, the Psalms encourage by affording specimens of the *readiness* of God to hear and answer prayer. Many of these very petitions are found to have been immediately and substantially answered in David's history. But this point is yet more remarkably traceable in the texture of the Psalms themselves. David seems to make the discovery of God's faithfulness even whilst engaged in his devotions, and is compelled to express his acknowledgment of it at the time. Thus he commences the 6th Psalm with the petition,—“O Lord, rebuke me not in thy anger;” but by the time he reaches the 9th verse, he has to exclaim, “The Lord hath heard my supplication; the Lord will receive my prayer.” A marvellous illustration of this is given in some of the Psalms giving us the conception of the closest proximity to God possible, and seeming literally to fulfil the Divine promise, “Before they call I will answer, and while they are yet speaking I will hear.” For instance, in the 32nd Psalm, David has just said to God, “Thou art my hiding place, Thou shalt compass me about with songs of deliverance.” The very next verse contains the answer to this confiding prayer. God Himself interposes as the speaker, saying,—“I will instruct thee and teach thee in the way thou shouldest go; I will guide thee with mine eye.” The same thing occurs in the 132nd Psalm on a larger scale; with this striking addition, that God takes up the very words of the petition, and gives exactly what His servant asks. David, in this hymn in honour of the ascent of the ark to mount Zion, takes occasion to make certain requests of God. “Arise, O God,” he says, “into thy rest; thou, and the ark of thy strength. Let thy priests be clothed with righteousness; and let thy saints shout for joy. For thy servant David's sake turn not away the face of thine anointed.” Now, mark the immediate reply to all this at the close of the Psalm, almost in the identical language of the petition,—“This is my rest for ever, and here will I dwell; for I have desired it. I will also clothe her priests with righteousness, and her saints shall shout aloud for joy. There will I make the horn of David to bud: I have ordained a lamp for mine anointed,” *i.e.* Christ. How suggestive and encouraging is this to the believer in prayer. For this is not, we are persuaded, any mere antistrophe of a Greek chorus (though it may have been the original of all such responses), but the interlocutor is God Himself, condescending to listen and answer the desire of His people ere its echo has yet died away. Let the Christian

study these samples of communion with God; and ere he rises from his knees, sometimes wait and listen, as it were, for an answer at once, suggested by that Holy Spirit, who knoweth the mind of God on the one hand, and who maketh intercession within us on the other. It may be, indeed, that God will often have our faith and perseverance put to the test, and we may have to wait for years for answers to prayer. But sometimes it seems to be His way to seal the present exercise with His approval, and we know that we have what we ask. For this, therefore, we should be on the look out. Possibly, were we more slow to speak, and more ready to wait—were it customary to make solemn *pauses* in our private devotions, more “Selahs” (pauses, as some understand the word)—we should more frequently enjoy a sense of present acceptance; and some sweet assurance from the Word, or some direct Amen to our heart-petitions, would be breathed in our inner ear.

Another lesson we may learn here is, that *reflection and declaration* constitute a legitimate part of prayer. Now, we do not deny that there is a tendency, in some good men whose minds are discursive and desultory, to sermonise too much in prayer, and forget that they are addressing God, and not man. But in avoiding this extreme, some would run into another, and banish all didactic statements, and especially all reference to religious experience, in their prayers. In this view, we fear that many an excellent prayer, prompted by the Holy Spirit Himself, and much owned and blessed by Him, has been too often ridiculed for mingling reflection with petition. We remember to have heard a pious and learned clergyman, now gone to his rest, arguing strongly on this subject, and resolving that, in a manual for family worship which he was bringing out, there should be no “preaching,” as he called it. But what was the consequence? There are some portions of our beautiful Collects, and many humble and unexceptionable breathings of the soul God-ward; but upon the whole, a degree of meagreness and abbreviation such as will never allow them to become popular. The truth is, that the mind must and will expand in prayer, and draw many of its freshest and most earnest petitions from reflection. And so here we find many of these Psalms consisting of declarative statements, interspersed with applications grounded on those statements. Take, for example, the 25th Psalm, where David talks alternately to God and of God. Thus, after asking God to remember him for His goodness’ sake, he immediately begins to ruminate upon this,—“Good and upright is the Lord; therefore will He teach sinners in the way.” In the 11th verse he puts in another petition; in the 12th verse another reflection; and ends off, from the 16th verse to the close of the Psalm, with simple prayer. So in the 33rd Psalm, after various con-

siderations in praise of God and His service, he at length breaks forth with a verse of direct prayer,—“Let Thy mercy (of which he has been speaking) be upon us, as our hope is in Thee.” The 35th and 36th Psalms consist of alternate addresses to God, and encouragements of the author to his own soul to persevere and hope on in Him “who is the health of his countenance, and his God.” This, therefore, being the principle on which these specimens of acceptable prayer are constructed, we may—we must, I think, concede that, whenever He prompts to prayer, reflections and declaratory matter, occasionally at least, will not be wanting, but go to form the completeness of a Christian’s address to the throne of grace.

The *occasions* for prayer, like those for praise, seem to cover everything in life. Its subjects, indeed, may be said to exceed those of praise; for sometimes we can scarcely praise, but we can always pray. And here, for our guidance, are classes of materials, in the very words which the Holy Ghost useth. It would not be well, indeed, to substitute them entirely for our own thoughts and feelings, lest we should come to a cold, formal worship, while the heart was far from God. But as models and prompters, they are inestimable. Early and late, morning, noon, and night, in sorrow and in joy, we are here taught to plead with Him to whom all power belongs. And thus the Psalms, without absolutely restricting the mind, yet ever form the grand outline of this ordinance, within which the reverent mind will be sure to keep, and so be guarded from improper modes and wrong dispositions in addressing the Majesty of Heaven. Within such safe limits the nearer we keep the better, for then we are sure that our supplications will be according to the mind of the Spirit and the will of God. Coming from God, they will go to God, and find acceptance in Christ Jesus, the anointed High Priest from the beginning; thus meeting one of the greatest difficulties of sensitive and conscientious souls, as to whether they may feel perfect confidence in prayer in the sense of the Apostle: “And this is the confidence that we have in Him, that if we ask anything according to His will, He heareth us.”

(3.) Again, we have the attitude of experience set forth in the Psalms. Calvin says,—“Ah! the Holy Spirit has here painted to the life all the pains, sorrows, fears, doubts, hopes, anxieties, perplexities, and even the confused emotions with which my mind is wont to be agitated. This book is an anatomy of all the parts of the soul. There is no affection of man which is not here represented as in a glass.” Dr. Mason Goode has some reflections yet more in detail. “The subjects treated of in the entire collection of the Psalter, embrace every diversity of condition that can characterize either domestic or

public life. We have numerous examples of the sigh of penitence and contrition, the chastened meekness of resignation, the holy importunity of prayer, the sustaining confidence of faith, the energetic shout of thanksgiving; descants on the attributes of God and the general course of His Providence and Grace; the peaceful quiet of pastoral life; the terrors of the mariner when in danger of shipwreck; the calamities that pressed upon David on his entering into public life, and during his proscription by Saul; the wonderful series of his triumphs; the inauguration of Solomon into the regal dignity as his successor; occasional interpositions of miraculous power in several periods of emergency, especially during the reigns of Jehosaphat and Hezekiah; penitential cries during the Babylonish captivity; festals and eulogies on the marvellous deliverance from the humiliated state; and anthems of exulting praise on the rebuilding and re-opening of the Temple, and the re-establishment of 'the walls of Jerusalem.'"

We can only select a thought or two on this matter of experience. The application of these Psalms to Christian pilgrims in all time is quite remarkable. Set as they are in the middle of our Bibles, they seem intended for all believers under both dispensations. It is common ground, and we suppose no part has been so often trod and resorted to. Speaking for modern times, we can say that no part of the Word has been so *individualized and appropriated*. For instance, the 23rd Psalm may be called Bishop Hooper's Psalm, for he wrote a commentary upon it. The 33rd was used by the early Church at the conclusion of their Communion Service. The 40th was a favourite among the converts at the Irish Revivals. To Luther's memory the 45th seems consecrated. The 51st was found, after his death, to have formed a part of the evening devotions of the late Bishop of London. The 99th is called Ridley's Psalm; the 91st, the Traveller's Psalm. When we hear of the 119th, who is not reminded of our own excellent Bridges? and the 145th was a special favourite with the gentle Foster, the essayist. Besides this, how hallowed have some of these portions of Scripture become by personal association. One has led to a quickening of our own or another's soul. Another has been read by a dying parent's couch. Yet another has served for years as the sacred treasury whence we have drawn materials for ejaculatory prayer or midnight meditation.

Another lesson is derived from the juxtaposition of Psalms expressive of joyful or sorrowful experiences. Man is always trying to bring religion down to a system, and make a special experience the rule for all experience. But God's commandment is exceeding broad in this respect. See here, side by side, Psalms of a very different complexion. We are far from thinking this arrangement of the Word accidental. It answers

too closely to the events of life, and all that alternation of feeling which usually chequers the believer's path. David had his "changes." "*Adhæsit pavimento anima mea ;*" "*De profundis clamavi,*" he exclaims in one place ; and presently, "*Exaltabo te Deus meus rex.*" And thus we learn, that if only the man be a converted man, he may expect great varieties and contrasts of condition within certain limits. He shall never be forsaken, but he may be deeply tried. The fullest assurance may be succeeded by seasons of darkness and blasts of adversity ; or as suddenly light may spring up, and "though weeping endure for a night, joy come in the morning." We do think that no Christian, however tried, need sink into despair, whilst he observes, and can himself use, those touching pleadings of David in the 6th, 13th, 38th, and 42nd Psalms ; or his exulting strains in the 116th and 118th Psalms.

(4.) Once more, we must notice the *Gospel* in the Psalms. This is really their chief and undying charm. One of our divines says :—"Many Psalms are throughout prophecies of Christ ; various passages in others must be interpreted of Him ; and David himself was so eminent a type of the Saviour, that his very name, in some instances, is given to his most illustrious descendant." To the same effect Locke, Bishops Horne, Horsley, and Reynolds, write. Indeed, this is the uniform testimony of the Church in respect of the Messianic Psalms.

But we appeal to the Scriptures themselves. St. Paul quotes the 2nd Psalm as prophetic of our Lord. The Saviour Himself, when proposing a question to the Scribes, refers to the 110th Psalm as relating to the final exaltation of Messiah. The 22nd Psalm is supposed to have been appropriated by Himself on the cross, the first verse audibly, and the rest inwardly, after the manner of the Jews. St. John quotes the 20th verse of the 34th Psalm as literally fulfilled at the Crucifixion. In the 45th Psalm, we find not only Christ set forth, but the psalmist declaring that it was only when he began to speak of the things touching the *King*, that his tongue became the pen of a ready-writer—that king being Christ. Of this reference we are left in no doubt, since the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews quotes whole verses of this same Psalm, applying them (as also other verses from the 102nd Psalm) to the Lord Jesus, Jehovah Himself.

It is very much from lack of an insight into this fathomless depth of many of the Psalms, that some amongst us just now are indulging themselves in the most disparaging views of this portion of God's inspired Word. Utterly unaware of the presence of David's King and Lord consecrating these Psalms, they approach them with all the temerity and freedom of literary criticism, and venture to speak of what God has com-

mitted to His Church as a mysterious treasure full of glorious prophecy, as nothing but "an ancient collection of ballads and war-songs, like Bishop Percy's 'Reliques.'" Language is inadequate to describe the abhorrence with which we regard such profane handling of God's Word. But the quickened soul, that begins to hunger and thirst after a Saviour's righteousness, will not fail to find it here, and his meditation of Jesus will be sweet accordingly. David is not forgotten indeed, nor his literal history overlooked. The cave of Macpelah, and the hill Mizar, and the throne of Zion, are still there. But they are viewed as steps up to that higher throne of David's royal seed, even the right hand of the Majesty on high. With what double power, therefore, does it come home to the believing soul! It is not I who pray and toil, and suffer or rejoice; but the Lord and Master, who has been in all this path before me, and left His fragrance here. Christ prays for me, Christ praises for me, feels for me, dies for me, and makes my prayer and praise and service acceptable to God the Father. So that I can look up with hope and courage as I read, and say in the language of these very Psalms, "Thou shalt answer for me, O Lord;" and understand some of the fulness of their significance when they add, "Let Thy hand be upon the man of Thy right hand, upon the Son of man whom Thou madest so strong for Thyself; so will we not go back from Thee."

W. J. B.

THE BAMPTON LECTURES FOR 1864.

The Progress of Doctrine in the New Testament, considered in Eight Lectures, preached before the University of Oxford, 1864. By Thomas Dehany Bernard, M.A., Rector of Walcot. London: Macmillan and Co.

THE Bampton Lectures have, from the time of their foundation, held a high position in our theological literature, on account of the learning, the perspicuity of thought, and cogency of reasoning, which they usually exhibit. We have accustomed ourselves to regard them with more than common interest; not only on account of their merits as literary productions, but still more from the great influence they are calculated to exercise on the youth about to occupy the pulpits of our National Church.

In the present instance, we thoroughly concur with the Lecturer's doctrinal views as here expressed, and trust that his main object—to establish the Divine authority of all the doctrines contained in the New Testament—may be acknowledged by all his readers to be securely gained.

With the view of confirming these, Mr. Bernard shows that the New Testament Scriptures exhibit a sequence of thought and a scheme of progressive Christian doctrine suitable for permanent and universal use; and that four distinct stages of divine teaching may be clearly discerned in the Gospels, the Acts, the Epistles, and the Apocalypse. He also draws particular attention to these stages of teaching as so many continuous parts of a divinely-originated plan, prepared and carried out under the direction and guidance of the Spirit Himself; and thus dissipates the opinion entertained by some, that the Epistles express rather the individual opinions of their respective writers on the Gospel revelation, than form component parts of one great scheme of progressive teaching. Although Mr. Bernard does not affirm that each distinct part of the New Testament in every instance holds such a position as to revert to the preceding, and preface the subsequent one, and thus form a link connecting the one with the other, yet that, on the whole, the four stages above alluded to are obvious and definite, and have a natural fitness to occupy the relative places they hold.

With this explanation we will proceed to notice somewhat fully each Lecture separately. Our apology for doing so being the vast importance of the subject.

The first Lecture is an introductory one, and requires a careful perusal, or those Lectures which succeed it will be imperfectly understood. With the observation that by doctrine is here meant divine teaching, or truth as communicated by God, we will at once briefly state the several positions it is here intended to secure; and we may add, that they all appear to us to be satisfactorily attained. They are the following:

That the text, "I have given unto them the words that Thou gavest Me," is the foundation and origin of all Christian creeds, doctrine, and instruction, and also the source from which they derive their power.

That there are words (*ῥήματα*), separate, articulate, definite communications, each as truly divine as is the whole *word* which they compose, of which it is said by the Lord Jesus, "the words which Thou gavest Me I have given them." That these words are not only those which He spake with His lips in the days of His flesh, but that they also include other words afterwards given through man in the Spirit, during the period of time which is represented to us by the books of the New Testament. And further, that those words were finished in that period, and have received no subsequent additions.

In speaking, therefore, of the progress of doctrine in the New Testament, the Lecturer speaks of a communication from God, which reaches its completion within those limits, constituting a perfect scheme of divine teaching, *open to new eluci-*

dations and deductions, but not to the addition of new materials ; or, in other words, that such a thing as a new Christian doctrine does not and cannot exist without a distinct Divine communication.

The Lecturer then goes on to show that the New Testament contains not only the substance of divine teaching, but that, when considered as a whole, it exhibits the plan on which that teaching was progressively matured, and leaves upon the mind the impression of unity and design ; and that consequently the student of the New Testament finds himself educated as by an orderly scheme of advancing doctrine. And, moreover, that this scheme was designed and prepared by One presiding mind.

Again ; the progress of doctrine is capable of being traced either as it is unfolded in the pages of Scripture, in the relative position which those pages have assumed and now occupy, or its development may be traced in a strictly chronological and historical order. In these Lectures the former course is adopted, as being the most natural and suitable for conveying to the mind an outline of its progress considered as a whole. Had the latter method been pursued, it must be apparent that it would have been necessary to trace separately the consecutive development of each distinct doctrine, and thus much of the same ground would have had to be again and again retraversed on account of so many of the doctrines being closely interwoven one with another.

That the progress was real is beyond all question. A comparison of the Old with the New Testament teaching abundantly proves a great and marked stage of advance. Mr. Bernard points out the Gospels, the Acts, the Epistles, and the Apocalypse, as the four chief and generally recognized stages of advance in the New Testament. Here we have, first of all, "the Word which was made flesh, and dwelt among us (and we beheld His glory, the glory as of the only begotten of the Father, full of grace and truth)." He, the Word, was not merely the source, but the very subject, of doctrine ; next follow His words and works, which were the substance of all subsequent doctrine ; then the Gospel of St. John, which contains not merely a history in addition to the three previous synoptic Gospels, but unfolds, and presents more clearly to the mind and heart, the meaning and character of our Lord's own teaching. Then follow the three other great stages of advance already pointed out ; in each of which, under the dispensation of the Holy Spirit, the principles or summaries of doctrine, which had been enunciated by Christ, are more and more fully unfolded and interpreted, and the mysterious parts of His teaching expanded and defined. Thus the progress of doctrine is developed. The truth and permanency of those

doctrines is also fully established by records of the lives and sufferings of the saints.

In conclusion, we are naturally led to inquire into, and, if possible, ascertain, the principles which guide and regulate the scheme or plan of divine teaching itself. These principles are pointed out as being discernible in the relation which the doctrine bears to its Author, in the relation it bears to the facts on which it is founded, and also in the relation which it bears to the human mind. The first of these relationships is apparent by the continuous unity of the doctrine propounded under the dispensation of the Spirit, after our Lord's death and resurrection, with His own principles and teaching. He Himself even reappeared "to show unto His servants the revelation which God gave unto them." The second is self-evident, and therefore requires no special notice here. The third is to us most plain and clear; but at first "it necessitated a particular kind of progress in the method of its communication. The doctrine was not meant to be an opinion, but a power: "the words which I spake unto you, they are power and they are life." It therefore had to pass from the form of a Divine announcement into the form of a human experience. Therefore the word spoken *to* man by the voice of Jesus, changed into a word spoken *in* man by the Spirit, creating thus a kind of teaching which carried His Word into more intimate connection with human thought, and more varied application to human life." And again, it is evident that "the relation of the several parts of doctrine to each other would call for a certain orderly course of development;" and it is equally evident that the various parts of doctrine, though in some degree commingling and interfused, yet do, on the whole, sort themselves out in Gospels, Acts, Epistles, and Apocalypse.

In our notice of these Lectures, want of space compels us to condense the substance of twenty pages into one; and, for the sake of brevity, we have often to borrow the very words of the Lecturer, as the most suitable and certain method of expressing the meaning intended to be conveyed. There is one feature in particular in these Lectures, which, for the above reason, we can only give due prominence to by here calling attention to it. It is the earnest and loving spirit which pervades them all from beginning to end, showing that Mr. Bernard's object is not so much to prove a point, as to establish and strengthen a vital and enduring power.

LECTURE II. — "The beginning of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, the Son of God." (St. Mark i. 1.) — These words give rise to a fresh spring of thought, reminding us of the time when there was no Gospel, and leading us to regard

with reverence and love that power, here recognized as a fact, to which we owe our allegiance, and which has ever since been a constant source of strength and comfort. They also, instinctively as it were, create in the mind a desire to note the progress of that Gospel which was heralded by John the Baptist. The Gospel, when considered as a fact, computes its existence from the birth to the crucifixion of Christ; but when considered as a doctrine, it commences with our Saviour's teaching, and does not terminate until the Revealed Word of God was completed. In other words, the exposition of the Gospel did not virtually begin until the dispensation of the Spirit, after the ascension of our Lord. His teaching was, in the main, a Gospel which had to be fulfilled before it could be comprehended; and in His own lifetime it is certain that it was not fulfilled, although in some instances doctrine went hand in hand with the earliest facts of the Gospel.

In this Lecture, the orderly development of Christian doctrine is first considered relatively, by observing "how the Gospel collection is fitted to its place, and fulfils its functions, as the commencement of Christian doctrine in the New Testament." Here the Lecturer calls attention to the manifest wisdom of God, in ordaining that the life of His only-begotten Son, who was Himself the Word, should be written in so remarkable and peculiar a manner, that the pages wherein it is chronicled ever excite comparison, attention, and inquiry, and thus indelibly impress upon the mind some at least of the great principles or grounds of doctrine therein contained. The wonderful simplicity and clearness of the writings of the Evangelists is also pointed out, containing as they do such brief yet perfect narratives as are nowhere else to be met with. On every page the hand of their Divine Author is visible. And this is not the only advantage that this method of recording the life of Christ possesses. It gives us, too, a likeness of Jesus "from four different points of view; but however represented, it is the same Jesus;" each is equally true, while each brings into strong relief some feature of character which is less distinctly discerned in the others. Thus, we have a correct portrait of a character of such supreme purity, beauty, and holiness, that of itself it gained the implicit trust and confidence of men, without the intervention of miracles. Of this we have the following simple and touching narrative:—"And Jesus, walking by the Sea of Galilee, saw two brethren, Simon, called Peter, and Andrew his brother, casting a net into the sea, for they were fishers. And he said unto them, Follow me, and I will make you fishers of men. And straightway they left their nets and followed him. And going on from thence, he saw other two brethren, James, the son of Zebedee, and

John his brother, in a ship with Zebedee their father, mending their nets; and he called them. And they immediately left the ship and their father, and followed him."

In the second part of this Lecture, the plan of progressive development, which the Gospel contains in itself, is considered. Here the line of demarcation which separates the last from the three preceding Gospels is dwelt upon. They bear the character of synoptic records of facts, while that of St. John contains also a course of Divine teaching based upon those facts. Thus the first great stage of teaching is made clear, but it is open to subdivisions. And if we view the three synoptic Gospels attentively, we perceive distinct steps towards one common goal. That of St. Matthew, which is generally supposed to have been written in the Hebrew tongue, is evidently the most suitable Gospel for conveying a knowledge of Jesus to the Jews; and not only may be considered, but in reality is, a Judaic account of our Saviour's life. In it His human genealogy is first traced; He is represented as their promised Messiah and Lawgiver; and Old Testament history and prophecy are abundantly brought forward to prove His character and mission. And thereby, in accordance with the express will of God, the Gospel was preached to the Jew first.

The Gospel according to St. Mark is pointed out as better adapted to the Roman genius and habit of mind and thought, which, as is remarked, must of necessity, to some extent, have been coloured and impregnated with Jewish ideas, by its contact with that nation. Here the miracles and works of our Lord are particularly dwelt upon, while at the same time attention is directed to the fulfilment in Him of Old Testament prophecy. The narrative thus most fittingly occupies the position it holds, as a link between the Jewish narrative of St. Matthew and the one by St. Luke, which is characterised by an exhibition of Christ's thorough humanity. There His boundless sympathy and compassion to our fallen race strongly appear. He is portrayed as a perfect man, tempted in all points like as we are, yet without sin. This Gospel is pre-eminently a Gospel for the Gentiles; and, as Mr. Bernard thinks, peculiarly adapted to the Greek mind, which then took the lead in literature in the civilized world. Bearing in mind, too, that our Lord's accusation was written in Hebrew, and Greek, and Latin, there are many good reasons for believing that the Gospels above alluded to were written respectively in Hebrew, and Latin, and Greek. His character and offices as regards the Jews were first unfolded, and ultimately His mission to the world at large was made clear. All this tending to show that there is a Divine plan in the New Testament Scriptures, or, as it is here termed, a progressive course of doctrine.

The Gospel of St. John represents the glory of Christ, the divinity of His nature, and explains the mystery of His person, and also of His works, words, death, and resurrection.

Mr. Bernard closes this Lecture by pointing out the necessity for a further, fuller, and more definite development of teaching than the Gospels contain. For, had the New Testament closed with the Gospel of St. John, there would inevitably have been a vast amount of doubt and speculation on Christian doctrine, which is now altogether uncalled for.

LECTURE III.—THE GOSPELS.—“How shall we escape, if we neglect so great salvation; which at the first *began* to be spoken by the Lord.” (Heb. ii. 3.)—By this and other extracts from Scripture, Mr. Bernard shows that our Lord, during His life upon earth, only *began* to teach and to preach the Gospel; and that, at the time of His crucifixion, the revelation of the Gospel was incomplete. The mode in which this revelation was *began* to be made was indeed well calculated to impress upon the human mind a sense of its vast moment and importance. As under the Old Testament dispensation the Commandments were written by the finger of Jehovah Himself, so under the New the teaching was even more impressive; being delivered directly and personally by the Son of God, who partly for that very purpose came and dwelt amongst us.

The following propositions are then laid down:—First, that the teaching of our Lord in the Gospels includes the substance of all Christian doctrine, but does not bear the character of finality; and secondly, that the teaching of our Lord in the Gospels is a visibly progressive course, but on reaching its highest point announces its own incompleteness, and opens another stage of instruction.

A careful and prayerful comparison of the various parts of the New Testament will show that all the doctrines expressed and developed in the writings subsequent to those of the four Evangelists, are rooted and grounded on the teaching and sayings of Christ. Of this ample evidence will here be found. So far, then, it is evident that our Lord's teaching includes the substance of all future Christian doctrine; and since by the Gospels it is most certain that He confirmed all past inspired teaching, beginning with Moses and the Prophets, it is evident that His teaching, as contained in the Gospels, includes the substance of *all* Christian teaching or doctrine. To every thoughtful reader of Scripture it must seem at least a remarkable thing, that in three or four short years our Saviour should, in the daily events and occurrences of life, have found suitable opportunities for giving to the world a new religion. Had the whole doctrine of Christianity been delivered, as most doctrines are, either in set speeches, or in writings replete with consecu-

tive argument, there would be no cause for surprise. But that in such a short space of time there should have been fitting occasions for giving to the world, in scattered sayings and words called forth by the passing events of life, a new revelation and new religion, must leave upon our minds the impression that all those occurrences were pre-ordained, and a part of a Divine plan for making our Lord's teaching more forcible and more lasting than any written treatise could have done. Thus a Divine plan or scheme appears in every page of the New Testament.

We come to the second part of the first proposition—viz., that the teaching of our Lord in the Gospels does not bear the character of finality; and here the form, the method, and the substance of this teaching are considered. The form was at first allegorical; and latterly, where the great doctrines of Christianity are alluded to or indirectly affirmed, proverbial: "These things have I spoken to you in proverbs; but the time cometh when I shall no more speak unto you in proverbs, but I shall show you plainly of the Father." The wisdom of adopting such a course for the initiatory teaching of great principles, which neither the hearts nor the minds of men were then prepared to receive, is manifest, since proverbial sayings are characterized, amongst other things, by the tendency to fix themselves on the memory, and to arouse thought and reflection. The method was seldom that of set speeches or discourses; but, on the other hand, such information as He accorded concerning the mysteries of His kingdom was, for the most part, elicited by scenes of sadness and sudden sorrow, or on occasions of trial and perplexity. Thus His own words show, and the form and method of His teaching tend to the conclusion, that it was not complete at His death. The *substance* of the doctrine itself bears a double character: first we have the full and clear teaching of human duties, and then the mysteries of salvation are dimly foreshadowed or obscurely taught by implication. Much is left unexplained, and much unfulfilled. Under these circumstances, is it reasonable to suppose that the last stage of Divine teaching had been completed?

We come now to the second proposition—viz., that the teaching of our Lord is a visibly progressive system, which, on reaching its highest point, declares its own incompleteness, and refers us to another stage of instruction. This advance is numerously instanced, and plainly brought to view by a comparison of the Sermon on the Mount, at the commencement of Christ's ministry, with His address to His disciples on the eve of His betrayal. The one resting on the fact that the law of God had been given to men; confirming that fact, and giving a brief and beautiful summary of the law; linking His own

personal teaching with it, and intimating that in Himself alone that law was perfected. The other resting on the fact, that He Himself had been presented to men as the object of faith; linking His own teaching with the coming dispensation of the Spirit; and intimating that that teaching should be perfected by the Holy Ghost. "The Holy Ghost, whom the Father will send in my name, He will teach you all things, and will bring all things to your remembrance, whatsoever I have told you." "I have many things to say unto you, but ye cannot bear them now. Howbeit when He, the Spirit of truth, is come, He shall guide you into all truth; for He shall receive of mine, and shall show it unto you."

Thus it is distinctly asserted that our Saviour had but commenced the testimony of the Gospel, and that His testimony was still incomplete.

LECTURE IV.—Acts i. 1—4.—The purport of this Lecture is to show, (as is implied in the first verse of the first chapter of the Acts, "The former treatise have I made, O Theophilus, of all that Jesus began both to do and to teach,") that the works and teaching of our Saviour did continue after His death and resurrection; and that the statements and doctrines contained in the Acts, the Epistles, and Apocalypse, are of equal authority to those contained in the Gospels; they being records of what Christ, through the agency or medium of the Holy Spirit, continued to do and to teach until the Gospel and doctrines of salvation had been completely revealed.

The last chapter of the Gospel of St. John, and the four verses in the Acts above alluded to, are particularly dwelt upon as the great link that connects the Gospels and the subsequent Scriptures. It is here that the transition in the mode of teaching takes place. Here our Lord's direct personal teaching ends, and the dispensation of the Spirit under His governance begins. That this subsequent teaching is a part of the original plan of revelation, and was guided and governed by one of the same divine mind, is clear; the divine authority of His apostles is sufficiently established by their miraculous gifts; they, like Him, first of all vindicate and establish their true character and their divine authority by the exercise of those gifts; they follow His footsteps; the course of teaching which they pursue is similar to that which He pursued.

As in the writings of the three first Evangelists we have chiefly an account of what was done under the personal dispensation of Christ, so in the Acts we have first of all an account, for the most part, of what was done under the dispensation of the Spirit; then follow the Epistles and the Apocalypse, containing a more complete revelation of doctrine, remarkably

similar in method to the unfolding of our Lord's personal teaching as set forth in the last Gospel.

Having pointed out some of the features which would seem to indicate that the latter Scriptures are part of a divinely-originated plan, let us consider the more solid grounds upon which this conclusion rests, as also the more important conclusion, that the doctrines and teaching thus propounded are of equal weight and validity with those personally delivered by Christ while in the flesh.

As to the first, the grounds for the conclusion are nothing less than the sure words and promises of Scripture, some of which were quoted at the conclusion of the preceding Lecture, and many will be found in the following passages: John xiv. 16—18, 20, 25, 26; John xv. 26; John xvi. 8—14; Acts i. 1—4, 24; Acts ii. 33; Acts xxii. 17—21.

As to the second point, viz., that the divine authority is continued, the Apostles did not, and doubtless could not, begin their work until the promised Spirit had been poured out upon them. They appeal to their unseen Lord for guidance and direction in every onward and doubtful step; they firmly rely upon His past promises, and they are not deceived in their faith. In the choice of a new Apostle they appeal to Him. Their journeyings are directed by Him, and a dry road in the deep waters is made for them. Philip is sent to the Ethiopian; Peter to Cornelius. Saul is suddenly struck down, spoken to, directed, and converted, and the whole of his after-life guided by divine interventions too palpable to require comment here: his journeyings are directed, and in some instances their results foretold.

An attentive perusal of the Acts, and the last few chapters of the Gospel of St. John, will abundantly show that the book of Acts is "a record of the personal action of the Lord;" consequently, that it is of equal authority to the writings of the Evangelists. Thus the acts of the Apostles were pledges of the authenticity of their teaching, and also the means by which that teaching was perfected. But for all that has been said, the question will recur to the mind, Is St. Paul's teaching deductions made by a holy Christian man from the principles given by our Lord? or is it the voice of Jesus, speaking through St. Paul, and developing those principles which He Himself first laid down? In answer to this question, we cannot do better than closely follow Mr. Bernard's line of thought. First, he points out, that as, in the first step, on the birth of Christ the vaults of heaven resounded with hallelujahs and songs of praise; so, on the gift of the Holy Spirit, in the second step, the believers were filled with unutterable joy, and their voice of joy and praise burst forth spontaneously and gloriously. Until Christ's appearance, His outward character had not been

understood, in spite of all previous prophecy; and until the descent of the Holy Spirit, neither had His teaching been understood. Again, "in the one case the teaching power is separated from, and external to, the mind which is being taught; in the other, it is interfused and commingling with it," and was consequently more penetrating and internal than that which had previously been enjoyed. That St. Paul did receive from the Lord a direct and personal communication of the doctrinal elements of the Gospel, and that it was his special mission to reveal this to the world, appears by referring to the following passages:—1 Cor. xi. 23—25; xv. 1—7; Gal. i. 11, 12; Eph. iii. 2, 3; Acts xxvi. 16; xv. 18; 1 John v. 6; 1 Thess. ii. 13; 1 Peter i. 12; 1 Cor. ii. 9—16.

LECTURE V.—"They ceased not to teach and to preach Jesus Christ." (Acts v. 42.)—Here we perceive a great advance in doctrine, and also the means and stages by which the principles of the Gospel were matured. The Acts contain histories of the formation of churches in all parts of the civilized world, built and resting upon Christ as their foundation. The Old Testament teaching is not here discarded; but Christianity is to a great extent divested of its Jewish origin and integuments. The Gospel is now represented as "the heir of the Law," and becomes thoroughly catholic both in profession and practice: a faith and religious code, clear and simple, and perfectly capable of being apprehended, without any other knowledge of Jewish history and religion than is contained in the New Testament. And yet the Gospel is in itself the consummation of the Hebrew faith, and a knowledge of the Old Testament undoubtedly tends to a more perfect appreciation of the teaching and doctrine of the New. To the Gentiles the Gospel in itself presents a complete religious code. To the Jews it is the perfecting of the religion of the Old Testament, and a fulfilment of the promises and prophecies therein contained relating to the coming and offices of the Messiah.

Passing on to the subject of the Lecture before us, viz., the book of the Acts of the Apostles, its chief characteristics are the accounts it contains of the external working of Christianity in the foundation of new churches; and here we find matters of doctrine incidentally, as it were, and so naturally, brought forward, that upon a cursory view of this book one is more inclined to view the doctrinal instruction which it contains rather as a matter of accident than as part of a pre-ordained plan of Divine appointment. Here too, as in other parts of these Lectures, the progress of doctrine is made conspicuous. "What the Gospel does without the law, and what the Gospel derives from the law," is clearly shown. The Gospel is pointed out as the heir of the law. The highroad by which the children of God passed safely from the mists of Judaism, through the

dark and troubled waters of doubt and persecution, to that eternal rock upon which the Church of Christ now stands, is here conspicuously mapped out. The edifice having been completed by Christ, St. Paul is commissioned to throw open the doors to the whole world, and we see people of every kindred, nation, and tongue "flocking into it as their refuge and their home." "Christ is preached as perfected, and as the refuge and life of the world. The results of His appearing are summed up and settled; and men are called upon to believe and be saved. Those who do, find themselves in new relations to each other, and grow into the form and life of a catholic Church."

The fact of a new relationship having been established, leads us instinctively to ask, What are the duties and obligations thus incurred, and how are they to be fulfilled? These questions are answered by the Epistles, which are the subject of the two succeeding Lectures.

LECTURES VI. and VII.—In the book of Acts we have seen multitudes flocking into Christ's Church, but we lost sight of them as they entered the door. The exterior of the building only has yet been shown us, and we long to see the interior. The discourses recorded hitherto, are addressed to men who were not yet Christians. We have no information as to how converts were further instructed after they had received the first principles of the Gospel. This apparent omission is no real oversight, but part of that divine plan upon which the New Testament was so exquisitely framed. The desired information is to be found in the Epistles which follow; there we learn how the Church was further instructed and educated; how men were taught those duties and relative obligations which, by becoming members of Christ, they had taken upon themselves. It is here that we see how the principles of Christianity were practically worked out and developed in the daily transactions and intercourse of ordinary life. We hear the voice of the Spirit addressing, guiding, and directing men, who, although Christians, were still exposed to the evil tendencies and propensities of our common fallen nature, to the influence of those around them, and to the usages and customs of the society in which they moved. Or, to put it in other words, in "the Acts, we have the external of the Church, in the Epistles, its internal aspect." It must be apparent to the most superficial reader, that on countless points questions must have arisen regarding the walk and conduct of the converts, and that more especially in times of persecution and trial. In the Epistles we find ample direction and instruction given for almost every conceivable position a Christian may be placed in. These directions and instructions were given to meet cases which actually did occur; they consequently carry with them

that strength and power which they derive by practicability and actual proof; error, false doctrine, misconception, and doubt, are set right, ignorance is enlightened, the feeble and faint hearted are strengthened and encouraged, and the principles of the Gospel are throughout strenuously maintained in all their integrity. Instead of a series of dogmatic directions calculated to meet all future exigencies of human life, we have practical directions given to meet various cases as they actually did arise.

Thus, by the Epistles, the sons of God (for so they are called on good authority) are educated in their relative duties to each other; and also, in the pastoral Epistles, in their duties as ministers of Christ. With these latter Epistles, however, we have here but little to do; for the directions which affect the life and conduct of Christian laymen—and they compose the main body of the Church—are contained in the other Epistles, written for the most part by St. Paul.

We are now at the point where the main interest of these Lectures centres. We refer to St. Paul's authority, or divine appointment, for the position he occupied; which position some people feel inclined to think he unwarrantably assumed. In short, is the voice of St. Paul speaking in the Scriptures to be taken as the voice of Jesus, or is it not? We unhesitatingly answer in the affirmative, and do so on the following grounds. First, St. Paul's conversion, and proceedings through after life, were subjects of special Divine intervention, and, as a perusal of the book of Acts will show, had the habitual guidance of the Holy Ghost. Secondly, his authority is admitted by the other apostles. Thirdly, he himself repeatedly asserts a direct and personal revelation from God of the mysteries of the Gospel of Christ: *e.g.*, "I certify you brethren, that the Gospel which was preached of me, is not after man; for I neither received it of man, neither was I taught it, but by revelation of Jesus Christ." "Ye have heard of the dispensation of the grace of God given me to you-ward: how that by revelation He made known unto me the mystery." "I have received of the Lord that which also I delivered unto you," &c.

We have, too, the testimony of Him who gave the authority,—"When He, the Spirit of Truth, shall come, He shall guide you into all truth;" and many other similar texts. But, for our own part, we think that the narrative of Saul's conversion is alone adequate proof of his divine appointment. Thus we have the testimonies of Him who gave and of him who received the authority. We have, too, the admission of this authority by the other apostles; and, what is perhaps still more conclusive, the testimony of his works, which were in strict accordance with the principles of the Gospel. By some, we are aware, the authority of St. Paul is undervalued, on account of his writ-

ings being in an epistolary form. It is certainly true that in his letters he puts himself upon an equal footing with those he addresses ; and since, as we have before observed, all believers are alike the sons of God, whatever their various offices may be, we do not see that exception can reasonably be made to the course he pursued, and in our own minds we have no doubt that it was part of a divine plan. It is true that he argues, he persuades, he exhorts, he rebukes, he becomes all things to all men, that by all means he may save some. Still the statements he announced were not the less authentic, because he made use of such means as he believed most likely to prepare his hearers to receive the declarations which he was directed by God to make. Mr. Bernard lays down this principle—*i. e.*, that the announcements made by St. Paul were divine, but at the same time it is quite possible that the arguments he used in support of those statements may not of themselves be sufficient to convince every one of their truth.

We have gone thus fully into St. Paul's divine appointment, because his teaching forms many of the main links which reduce the principles of the Gospel to practical result in every-day life.

Our limited space, we regret to say, will not permit us to do justice to the manner in which the Epistles are here treated ; but it is abundantly shown that they exhibit a sequence of thought, a gradation of teaching, and a deduction of the practical results of the principles of Christianity—each Epistle being an advance upon the preceding one, and being a part of our divinely appointed progressive scheme of teaching.

Thus we have seen how the mind of God has, by the dispensation of the Holy Spirit, been interfused with the mind of man, enabling us to become the children of God.

LECTURE VIII.—This book is pointed out, as it truly is, as the consummation of prophecy. Like the sayings of our Lord, the chief features of the Apocalypse are given in parables which relate to a future kingdom. As Paul, by the gift of God, saw the things pertaining to the spiritual life in this world, so St. John saw things to come. But it is no part of such inquiry as that before us, to trace the course of predicted events ; we have only to do with the doctrinal bearing of this book.

Individuality here disappears, and the Church is represented in a corporate form. This is one of the distinctive features of the Apocalypse ; but the chief doctrine is the doctrine of *consummation*. First we have the *cause* of the consummation—namely, the atoning sacrifice of Christ ; then the *history* of the consummation, showing the events ; then the *coming of our Lord*, the *victory*, the *judgment*, and the *restoration*.

We must here close, for our space will not permit us to do justice to this Lecture ; but we would direct our readers'

attention to the Lectures themselves, feeling assured that they will enable them to form a comprehensive and sound view of the relative offices of the various parts of Scripture. Where so much is excellent, we are not disposed to criticise. Perhaps our author, like most who are ardent in the pursuit of one grand truth, sees distinctions and sequences unperceived by others. Something of this kind occurs, we think, in the broad line which he draws between each of the four Gospels, and the separate uses which he assigns to them. But one thing he has done better than it was ever done before. He has answered Jeremy Bentham, who, having read only the Gospels, and then turning to St. Paul, proclaimed him at once an impostor, the author of another Gospel. This Bentham did in a volume entitled "Jesus, not Paul;" and since his day, imitators of the same school have not been wanting.

TRISTRAM'S LAND OF ISRAEL.

The Land of Israel. A Journal of Travels in Palestine, undertaken with special reference to its Physical Character. By H. B. Tristram, M.A., F.L.S., &c. London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. 1865.

It is often our duty, for the truth's sake, and in its defence, to dip our critical pen in a very acrid fluid. But often, also, it is our more pleasant privilege to make an author our companion, friend, and instructor; not indeed holding ourselves bound to accept all that he says, and to admit his arguments without thoughtfully weighing their value, but holding it to be our principal office to be good listeners, and then to set down, for the benefit of our readers, the best things which our careful attention has gathered together. We thank the *Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge* for having ushered into the world a book towards which we may stand in the place of disciples rather than censors. We have found in Mr. Tristram an agreeable and intelligent companion, and it is no small praise to say that we finished his six hundred and thirty-six pages of closely-packed type with regret that our travels under his guidance were ended.

Conceiving that the physical history of the Holy Land has not hitherto received due attention, Mr. Tristram, accompanied by a small party of friends, in 1863—1864, "spent a period of nearly ten months in the examination chiefly of the geology and natural history of the country." Having these objects in view, he landed at Beyrout, followed the coast line southwards

to mount Carmel, then took an easterly direction to Nazareth, and proceeded by way of Nain to Ebal and Gerizim, and thence to Jerusalem. From Jerusalem he went to the site of ancient Jericho, and thence, by the valley of the Jordan, to the Dead Sea, the west side of which he traced, keeping as near as was practicable to the water's edge. He passed round the southern extremity of the salt lake, intending to penetrate as far along the eastern shores as the promontory of the Lisan. But the country, never thoroughly safe, was in an unusually disturbed state, being the scene of Arab warfare, and he was obliged to retrace his steps. He next traversed the valley of Eschol and the Hill Country, and made his way by Bethlehem to Jerusalem. Again he visited Nazareth, and spent some time near the Sea of Galilee. These most interesting days were followed by an expedition of a somewhat perilous nature, but at the same time abounding in gratification, on the east side of the Jordan. A little below the sea of Tiberias, he crossed the only bridge which now spans the Jordan between that lake and the Dead Sea; thence travelling southward by Tibneh to Sûf, in which place extortion, insults, and no little personal danger, awaited his party, so that they were constrained to return once more to the western side of the Jordan. He now again visited Carmel, and made another excursion to Tiberias and other places thereabout; he ascended mount Tabor, found his way to Bethshan, and thence to Nablous (Shechem, Sychar), and on to Jerusalem. His object in returning to that city was to arrange for a fresh attempt to travel through the country beyond the Jordan, a design which this time he was enabled to carry into effect. He ascended the ridge of mount Nebo, and visited Hesban (Heshbon), Es Salt (Ramothe Gilead), Jebel Osha (mount Gilead), Jerash (Gerasa), and Jebel Aylun (Ajalon). He finished his wanderings on that side of the river by crossing the same bridge, not far from Tiberias, by which he had entered upon his former perilous adventure a few weeks before. He rested at Nazareth, and then proceeded to carry on his researches along the upper Jordan, went thence to Damascus, crossed the Lebanon above Ainat, and ended his interesting expedition at Beyrout, the place where it had commenced, and where he now took his place in the steamer for his return home.

His last pages tell us that his researches as a naturalist elicited much incidental testimony to the truth of Holy Scripture. He says,—

“The primary object of our journey was the investigation of physical and natural history, not however to the exclusion of other objects of interest. We passed through the land with our Bibles in our hands,—with, I trust, an unbiassed determination to investigate *facts*, and their independent bearing on sacred history. While on matters of science the inspired writers speak in the ordinary language

of their times (the only language which could have been understood), I can bear witness to the minute truth of innumerable incidental allusions in Holy Writ, to the facts of nature, of climate, of geographical position,—corroborations of Scripture which, though trifling in themselves, reach to minute details, that prove the writers to have lived when and where they are asserted to have lived; which attest their scrupulous accuracy in recording what they saw and observed around them, and which must therefore increase our confidence in their veracity, where we cannot have the like means of testing it. I can find no discrepancies between their geographical or physical statements, and the evidence of present facts. I can find no stand-point here for the keenest advocate against the full inspiration of the Scriptural record. The Holy Land not only elucidates but bears witness to the truth of the HOLY BOOK." (pp. 635, 636.)

With occasional and rare exceptions, Mr. Tristram and his friends, with their Arab attendants, lived in tents, resting always on Sunday, excepting only in one instance, when it was necessary for their safety to proceed. These sacred days brought with them welcome repose and enjoyment, and are often mentioned with pleasure as if specially felt to have been made for man.

He thus describes the moveable habitations of the party, through the many months of their wanderings:—

"Over the chief tent—a round Marabout tent, with double roof, and lining besides, the most convenient shape and construction for eastern travel—floated the English ensign, which we always hoisted. On one side of it stood a second tent, of similar form; and on the other, the long oblong one for our servants; in front of which was planted our travelling grate and kitchen." (p. 31.)

The first night of this tent life was passed upon the sands of the Mediterranean, near the squalid village of Nebi Yunas (the prophet Jonas), on which the remark is made, that "there is an exhilarating, almost a triumphant, sensation in the first night under canvas; . . . when eager anticipation looks forward to months of pleasing toil; and with thankful hearts we joined in evening prayer, and turned into our sheep-skin bags, for our first night on the ground." By a graphic description, he puts before the reader the chief muleteer, and his brother, with their five servants, and the dog. These were the permanent staff; but they often had to traverse regions in which, in addition to these, a great number of Bedouin guards were necessarily, and somewhat expensively, hired for their protection. We would fain follow the party, and draw out some of the incidents of their personal experience in their wanderings, such as the bivouac near the site of ancient Jericho, or the end of their journey after doubling the southern extremity of the Dead Sea, or their dangers when surrounded by the unscrupulous and treacherous inhabitants of Sûf, or the particulars of an

Arab dinner, or the description of a sheik's home. But it may be more to our reader's mind, and may better accord with the designs of our own publication, to occupy ourselves in the first instance, and chiefly, with so much as we have room to introduce of Mr. Tristram's observations in elucidation of Holy Scripture. It will, after all, be but a scanty gleanings out of a rich and spacious field.

The abundance and brightness of the flowers of Palestine, and especially the glow of scarlet spread over the landscape, by the anemone chiefly, but also by the poppy and tulip, impressed the minds of these as of all other travellers in the Holy Land. Mr. Tristram remarks that there have been many claimants for the distinctive honour of being "the lilies of the field." He regards the term as a generic expression. But if, he says, "one special flower was more likely than another to catch the eye of the Lord as He spoke, no one familiar with the flora of Palestine in spring time can hesitate in assigning the place to the anemone." (p. 433.) Such illustrations of Holy Scripture as we think it good to select, may as well be taken in the order in which they occur in this interesting and instructive volume.

Finding some fossil bones in a cavern which he visited from Beyrout, Mr. Tristram considered that one tooth had belonged to a bison; and he endorses the arguments of the *Quarterly Review*, (No. ccxxvii. p. 53), that the bison is the *R'ém*, or *unicorn*, of the authorized version. (p. 11.) The sycamine fig-tree, the *sycamore* of the Bible, is prolific of "wretched" fruit; and "deep must have been the poverty of the prophet Amos, when he told the king that he was but *an herdsman, and a gatherer of sycamore fruit*, Amos vii. 14." Such, too, must have been the *naughty figs*, Jer. xxiv. 2. But the naturalist pronounces that the fruit is a fig; and he adds that it is a tree easy to climb, owing to the form taken by the lateral branches, Luke xix. 4. But it is tender, and only found in the lower plains, 1 Chron. xxvii. 28; and liable to be destroyed by the frost, Ps. lxxviii. 47. (p. 34, 35.) Mr. Tristram, when visiting the site of Jericho, observed that the track along which our Lord must have walked was dusty and scorched, and that the sycamore and other trees had perished from the plain. But in one little ravine, in the plain of Jericho, he found two aged sycamore trees. (p. 207.)

What plant is really the *gourd* of Jonah, is a question which has provoked much discussion amongst critics. Mr. Tristram wonders that none of the disputants should have considered which of the plants suggested would afford the best shade, or may now be used for a shelter; and he thinks that "the claims of the familiar gourd are incontrovertible." It is used universally in the East for giving shade; while the com-

peting ricinus, or castor-oil plant, is useless for that purpose, owing to its straggling open growth. (p. 39.)

He considers that the oleander is the "*willow* by the water courses" of Holy Scripture, Isaiah xlv. 4, the tree always meant where the willow is mentioned. (p. 44.) At the same time he found "a species of willow new to us," near the Dead Sea; and the willow intermixed with other trees in the valley of the Jordan. (pp. 292 and 519.) These, however, appear to have been of rare occurrence, whereas the oleander was the familiar tree in every warm and watery valley.

At El Bussah (p. 72), and other places, Mr. Tristram thought that he was enabled to understand the local peculiarities connected with the birth of Christ our Saviour. The old sheik of the village invited him under his roof. His house was

"A large lofty barn, the lower part of which was half granary, half stable, the granary open to the top, and a few steps leading up to the dwelling portion; these steps forming in part the manger and hay rack of the camel and two cows which were feeding there."

On this, Mr. Tristram observes,—

"It has sometimes occurred to me, that a house of this form and arrangement illustrates, more forcibly than any other, the circumstances and the humiliation of our Lord's birth at Bethlehem. Shut out from the already crowded khan, his earthly parents were compelled to take refuge in some poor cottage close by, (for it is only in houses of the poorer sort that this community of shelter for men and beasts exists). There, either from their poverty or humble appearance, they were not received on the upper platform, where every guest, bidden or unbidden, ought to be constrained to rest; but were left below, in the portion usually allotted to the cattle, where the infant, when born, was naturally laid at once in the long earthen trough, which serves for [a] manger, and into which the fodder is pushed from the floor. No other place of safety could have been found, supposing the family to have been refused the ordinary courtesy of accommodation above." (p. 72.)

Again, at p. 85, he speaks of this manger as made of dried mud.

Honey might be purchased everywhere in Syria, and was of a delicate aromatic flavour. (p. 87,) Jer. xli. 8; Matt. iii. 4, &c.

The *mandrake* is one of the most striking plants of the country, with its flat disk of very broad primrose-like leaves, and its central branch of dark blue bell-shaped blossoms. It is to be found all over Palestine, but chiefly in marshy plains. Mr. Tristram believes this to be the plant mentioned, Gen. xxx. 14, Cant. vii. 13. (p. 102.)

Report said that the crocodile is still to be found in Palestine, in the wady Zerka, a little south of mount Carmel. "This,"

says Mr. Tristram, speaking of the Zerka, "is undoubtedly the Crocodile River of the ancients," in which the historians of the Crusades mention that it existed in their day. Our author, taking into consideration the local circumstances, judges that there is scarcely more reason for doubting the past existence of the crocodile on the banks of the Jordan, and other parts of the Holy Land, than for questioning its present existence in the swamps of the Nile. Then comes his strongly expressed opinion that the animal denoted by the word *liv'yathan*, in the book of Job, xli. 1, is the crocodile. He failed to procure a specimen, but he had heard that a carcass had recently been brought into Caiffa, and the consul had undertaken to endeavour to procure one for his collection.

The contributions of Mr. Tristram to the natural history of Palestine must be of great value. His own observant eye, and the zeal of his friends and of the native attendants of his expedition, enabled him to record the discovery of many varieties in the animal and vegetable kingdoms, not previously known to have their habitation in Palestine. We notice none but those which are mentioned in Holy Scripture, and from amongst these we only make a selection. We next come upon the beautiful little *partridge*, with bright orange legs and beak, and its flanks striped with black, white, and chestnut, which, he says, is "the very bird that David must have had before his eye when he compared himself (1 Sam. xxvi. 20) to a partridge hunted in the mountains." (p. 198.)

And now for the *coney*. The first specimen was found on a cliff in the region of the Dead Sea. It was about the size of a well-grown rabbit, had short ears, round head, long plantigrade foot, no tail, weak teeth, no incisors, and nails instead of claws. Few animals seem so entirely without the means of self-defence—a *feeble folk*, Prov. xxx. 26. But the rocks are their refuge, Ps. civ. 18; and they are so wary that it is difficult to take, or even to see, them.

"I had the good fortune," says Mr. Tristram, "to see one feeding in the gorge of the Kedron, and then to watch it as it sat at the mouth of its hole, ruminating, metaphorically if not literally, while waiting for sunset. A childish difficulty has been lately raised on account of the classification in Deuteronomy of the coney among unclean animals, although it is said to chew the cud, while it is well known that it has not a ruminant's stomach. It is quite sufficient to watch the creature working and moving its jaws, as it sits in a chink of the rocks, to understand how any one writing as an ordinary observer, and not as a comparative anatomist, would naturally thus speak of it; and this apart from the question whether the Hebrew word signifies anything more than re-chew." (p. 250.)

The *fig-tree* is still in the land (pp. 410, 549), and is the commonest of all its fruit trees (p. 605); and the *almond tree* blossoms

(pp. 410, 418). There is also the *wild olive* and the *green bay*. These, with a "wonderful profusion of flowing shrubs," still constitute the "excellency of Carmel," Isa. xxxv. 2. (p. 492.)

On Easter day thousands of *storks* were seen for the first time passing northward over the lake of Gennesaret. The next day the whole plain was covered with them. In two days more, all of them had departed for their nesting-places. "*The stork knoweth her appointed times*, Jer. viii. 7." (p. 497.)

Later on in the season, and by the Dead Sea, the common *turtle dove* had just returned, stocked every tree and thicket, and overspread the whole face of the land. "So universal, so simultaneous, so conspicuous their migration, that the prophet might well place the turtle at the head of those birds which observe the time of their coming, Jer. viii. 7." (p. 509.)

The *cucumber* is still cultivated in Palestine. (pp. 526, 552.)

At Yahmûr, a village north of the Sea of Galilee, they came upon a bitumen pit, worked by a windlass, and by a shaft sunk through the rock. The bitumen is of the consistency of stiff coal-tar. It is also found in other places. "It is doubtless the *pitch* of Scripture, and seems to be a sort of congealed petroleum." (p. 600.)

The *dew of Hermon* is still remarkable for its abundance. Mr. Tristram says:—

"We could not but recall the Psalmist's expression, '*As the dew of Hermon, and as the dew that descended upon the mountains of Zion*' (Ps. cxxxiii. 3), (in which passage Zion is evidently a synonym for Hermon, as in Deut. iv. 48, where we read that the limits of the land were *even unto mount Zion, which is Hermon*), for more copious dew we never experienced. Everything was drenched with it, and the tents were small protection. The under sides of our Macintosh sheets were in water, our guns were rusted, dewdrops were hanging everywhere." (p. 604.)

What is the *apple* of Scripture? Mr. Tristram concludes, after much thought, that it is the apricot. He scarcely ever saw the apple-tree in Palestine. He found the pear and the quince in only a few places. The orange he regards as of later introduction than the date of the Canticles. He thinks more may be said in favour of the citron. But without hesitation he prefers the claims of the apricot, a native of Armenia, from which it was likely to be introduced as early as the vine.

"Everywhere the apricot is common; perhaps it is, with the single exception of the fig, the most abundant fruit of the country. In highlands and lowlands alike, by the shores of the Mediterranean and on the banks of the Jordan, in the nooks of Judæa, under the heights of Lebanon, in the recesses of Galilee, and in the glades of Gilead, the apricot flourishes, and yields a crop of prodigious abundance. Its characteristics meet every condition of the tappûach of Scripture [rendered by *apple* in the authorised version]. '*I eat down under his*

shadow with great delight, and his fruit was sweet to my taste,' Cant. ii. 3. Near Damascus, and on the banks of the Barada, we have pitched our tents under its shade, and spread our carpets secure from the rays of the sun. '*The smell of thy nose (shall be) like tappûach,*' Cant. vii. 8. There can scarcely be a more deliciously perfumed fruit than the apricot; and what fruit can better fit the epithet of Solomon — '*apples of gold in pictures of silver,*' Prov. xiv. 11 — than this golden fruit, as its branches bend under their weight in their setting of bright yet pale foliage?" (p. 605.)

When he was approaching Damascus, "the great apricot trees were laden, and bent down under strings of ripe golden fruit. The lanes were strewn with apricots. Asses, mules, and camels, in long strings, carried heaped panniers of these golden apples." (p. 611.)

We close our gleanings on the natural history of the land with some notice of that tree of Scriptural renown, the *cedar*. Mr. Tristram observes, that we cannot study all the passages in the Old Testament which refer to the cedar, without feeling certain that in those days it was a far more conspicuous feature in the landscape of the Lebanon range than it is at present. He also found traces of their ancient prevalence, one of these being a grove of considerable extent, besides the group which is usually visited by travellers. He heard from the inhabitants that there were other parts of the mountains where the tree still holds its place; and he attributes the reduction of the forest into patches and clumps here and there, and at some hours' distance from each other, to the population being so great, on a poor soil, dependent on the mulberry for their wealth, and therefore having motives for making a clearance for it, while they used the other trees of the forests for their fuel. "It is only when above the line of elevation up to which the soil can be profitably cultivated, or when in ravines too steep and poor to tempt agriculture, that the cedar has been able to hand down the living proofs of its ancient empire." (pp. 625—632.)

Mr. Tristram takes pleasure in discerning how facts which came under his observation throw light upon passages in Holy Scripture. Continually recurring ruins of smaller places near the site of a larger one, are to him an illustration of the phrase *her towns* (see Jer. xix. 15), when it follows the mention of the principal city of even a small district. (p. 73.)

Noticing the marked change observable in passing from the "South country" to the "Hill country" of Judah, when he was brought into rocky paths between bare and rugged precipices, he is reminded of the question of Amos, an inhabitant of the south country, *Shall horses run upon the rock? will one plough there with oxen?* (Amos vi. 12); and he says, "There is a wonderful reality in many of these apparently trifling expressions of Holy Scripture, which day by day our journey brings home to the

mind,—*the wilderness,—the south country,—the hill country,—*all in Judah, yet each so distinct, so characteristic in every feature." (p. 383.) Around the dragoman at Nablous (Shechem), but at a respectful distance, were upwards of thirty lepers, seeking alms; and we are told that the lepers are, "in many of the towns of Palestine, a sort of corporation; and here, and at Jerusalem, hold, in that capacity, property, the bequest of the charitable, under regularly appointed trustees. Some are reputed to be rich, but all live in the same abject way, in kennels outside the walls, intermarrying, and handing down their curse, like Gehazi, from generation to generation." (p. 413.)

He was in a squall on the Lake of Gennesaret, near the centre of the lake, and overtaken by the night. The efforts of the boatmen were to little purpose; "vividly now came home to my mind," he says, "as I squatted down under the shelter of the little poop, with the waves beating over our bows, the story of the disciples, all night toiling in rowing, for the wind was contrary," Mark vi. 48. (p. 430.)

At Kedesh Naphtali (now Kedes) he was in a rich and well-cultivated plain; and as he looked upon about 200 acres of cucumbers, where hedges and walls were unknown, he noticed that the allotments were marked by stones set up, every villager thus knowing his own freehold. "How needful," he observes, "with this simple system, that there should have been a curse on the man that removed his neighbour's landmark!" (p. 578.) On the slopes of Lebanon he visited the rude sleeping places of the shepherds, who by day wandered miles away in pursuit of pasture for their flocks, and returned to these shelters for the night. "This," he says, "is their ordinary summer habit, just as the shepherds of Bethlehem kept watch over their flocks by night, away from the town, Luke ii. 8." (p. 633.) We have already stated that it is a great pleasure to travel in thought through Palestine in company with Mr. Tristram. Anywhere we should be content to pause with him, and listen to his story. The places he mentions (and their very names would fill one of our well-packed pages) are nearly all of them connected more or less with sacred history. Obligated to make a selection, we shall next introduce a few scenes, with which he acquaints us by means of a graphic description of the locality, and then peoples by aid of the narratives of the Old or New Testament. We must also linger with him awhile by the shores of the Dead Sea. Of his journey on the other side of the Jordan, through a country comparatively little known, and therefore erroneously mapped, we may say little more than that the days so spent enabled him to secure for us a great amount of valuable information, to be found no where else than in his pages, while they also gave him reason to suggest that much more remains to be examined by future enter-

prising travellers, if at least such may be found to brave the difficulties and dangers which it was his lot to encounter.

We have walked with him (pp. 49—54) through the ankle-deep mud in the streets of Tyre, and by its windowless hovels, raised amidst fragments of columns of polished granite and porphyry; we have reached the shore where a few fishing-boats now form the only navy of her "whose merchants were princes;" we have looked upon the sea as it covers the site, without concealing the ruins, of the ancient city, for "the waters have covered her," and she is "a place for fishermen to spread their nets on;" we sit down with him and read the prophecies of Isaiah and Ezekiel, the latter sounding, "on the spot, like a descriptive history of the present;" but before we reached the place, and while we still lingered on the rugged shore of Sidon, we had been reminded that "perhaps on the very spot where we stood on these rocks" St. Paul landed and was courteously entreated, Acts xxvii. 3, and that "probably on the very sands where we had been strolling in pursuit of kingfishers, our Lord walked when He went to the coast of Tyre and Sidon, the only road to Tyre being along these sands." (p. 44.)

We have stood with him amongst the heaps of old dressed stones on the top of Carmel, "which mark the site of the altar which Jezebel overthrew, and Elisha repaired. To this spot came Elijah's servant, to look for the little cloud which at length rose to the prophet's prayer, and portended the coming rain, exactly as it does now. No site in Palestine is more indisputable than that of the little hollow in the knoll, 300 feet below us, where the Lord God of Elijah manifested His divinity before Ahab and assembled Israel." (p. 116.) From this commanding eminence central Palestine is spread before the spectator as a map. Down below, on the banks of the Kishon, is Tell Cassis, the mound of the Priests, where the prophets of Baal were slain. Nazareth, how intensely interesting! There is one locality there, of which there is no doubt that it has remained unchanged from the days of our Lord. It is the well of the town. "Often must He in childhood have trodden the path down to that fountain, with His blessed mother." (pp. 121 and 416.) Next we visit the site of ancient Jezreel, though there is nothing to tell that ever a city was there, excepting some ancient sculptured and broken sarcophagi. But "on that rocky slope must have been Naboth's vineyard; . . . here must have been the watchtower, by which Jehu drove to Ramoth Gilead. Down that other side of the hill, and across the plain of Engannim (the *garden house*, 2 Kings ix. 27), now Jenîn, he pursued the flying Ahaziah." (p. 130.)

In Dothan, "a little oblong plain containing the best pasturage in the country," we are led to feel what a wise choice

was made by the sons of Jacob, "when they had exhausted for a time the wider plain of Shechem," Gen. xxxvii. (p. 132.)

We stand by a ruined arch of ancient Samaria, perhaps the city gate, where we enjoy a noble view of the plain of Sharon. "How often from this spot," observes our author, "must the besieged Israelites have gazed upon the Syrian hosts investing their city on all sides. One could picture in fancy the camp of Benhadad in that valley below, while starvation wasted the crowds within; then the discovery of the panic of the Syrians by the lepers, the rush at that gate just over the brow, and the scattered garments and vessels along that valley by which the invaders had fled towards the east." (p. 136.) At the same time, the scene of present desolation answered to the prophecy of Micah i. 6. "Not more literally," says Mr. Tristram, "have the denunciations on Tyre, or on Babylon, been accomplished." (p. 137.)

We go on, and are near Gerizim; and we ascend the mountain. Here are many caves and hollows, and from one of them "Jotham must have issued forth, to utter in the ears of the men of Shechem the first parable on record." Below him were fig-trees and olives, and the bramble was clinging to the rocks by his side. We are glad to listen to the remarks of Mr. Tristram on the acoustic properties of the valley below, which are incidentally brought into notice by Judges ix. 7, and Joshua viii. 33—35.

"This statement," says Mr. Tristram, "has been made the ground of recent objection against the veracity of the narrative. Yet it is impossible to conceive a spot more admirably adapted for the purpose than this one, in the very centre of the newly acquired land, nor one which could more exactly fulfil all the required conditions. Let us imagine the chiefs and the priests gathered in the centre of the valley, the tribes stretching out as they stood in compact masses, the men of war and the heads of families, half in the north, and half in the south, crowding the slopes on either side, the mixed multitude, the women and the children, extending along in front, till they spread into the plain beyond, but still in sight; and there is no difficulty, much less impossibility, in the problem. A single voice might be heard by many thousands, shut in and conveyed up and down by the enclosing hills. In the early morning, we could not only see from Gerizim a man driving his ass down a path on mount Ebal, but could hear every word he uttered as he urged it on; and in order to test the matter more certainly, on a subsequent occasion two of our party stationed themselves on opposite sides of the valley, and with perfect ease recited the Commandments antiphonally." (pp. 149, 150.)

Mr. Tristram visited Beitin, that is, Bethel. He felt that there is "a strange and delightful charm," so he writes, "in camping close by the fountain of Bethel, which was rippling in my ear as I wrote up my journal for the day; after reading the various chapters relating to Bethel's history." (p. 164.)

The dragoman wondered why he should visit a spot not altogether secure, and where there were no holy places. The traveller tried in vain to make him understand that "the place where Jacob slept, and saw the vision of the ladder reaching to heaven, was the place of all others where we should wish to sleep, and feel our nearness to a watchful providence." (p. 165.)

The country about Engedi, and again that of Hebron, call up various recollections of David, as providing the imagery of many of the Psalms. (pp. 289, 297—299, 391.) Mamre recalls the history of Abraham. (p. 398.) Around the Sea of Galilee arise innumerable hallowed associations connected with our blessed Lord's ministry (pp. 422, 423); on the slopes above Mejdal might have been preached the Sermon on the Mount, in the hearing of a great multitude of people. (p. 433.) The coasts of Cæsarea Philippi are made sacred by the Redeemer's history.

"Among these rocks St. Peter confessed His divinity—that confession which was the Rock of the Church. Six days at least did He sojourn here. From hence He took the chosen three up into that mountain of Hermon behind, and was transfigured before them. Here was set that wondrous seal to the resurrection of the body, as well as to His Godhead. Here His work of teaching was nearly finished. Hence He set His face for the last time to go up to Jerusalem, and here unfolded His coming passion. Perhaps it was on the open space in the pathway that leads up to the mountain, (the only one up from Baniyas,) that He healed the demoniac boy, and taught His disciples the power of faith. We loved to think so when we walked up that hilly path on Sunday, and there read the Gospel story." (pp. 582, 583.)

But we must hasten to the Dead Sea. Mr. Tristram is the first traveller who has carefully explored the whole western and southern shores, keeping close, as far as was possible, to the water's edge. He extended his survey a little way up the eastern side. He acquainted himself by the way with all the lateral valleys, studied their vegetation and natural history, noted the geological features, and sought for traces of any former occupants of the land. He made his observations on the Dead Sea itself; and we have the results, pp. 243—365.

We select a few interesting facts for our readers.

Approaching the sea from the north, having broken up his encampment near the site of ancient Jericho, he found the surface incrustated with a thin coating of salts, apparently conveyed by the atmosphere, with deposits of gypsum, occasionally varied by thicker deposits of sulphur. The walk to the mouth of the Jordan was at first through the ooze, ankle-deep in adhesive mud, but it ended in a gravel beach, considerably raised, and covered with quantities of stripped and broken drift-wood. The timber was so saturated with brine

that it would scarcely burn ; and when ignited, it emitted only a pale blue flame. He looked upon these trunks of trees as the wrecks of centuries.

He was there at a different season from all preceding writers, and could make observations on the effects of the winter floods.

"We found the height of the crest of the beach to be 18½ feet above its present level, and the line of drift wood somewhat less. The line of sticks and rubbish left by last week's flood was exactly 5 feet above the water line of to-day, and from all appearance that had been the highest point reached during the present season." (p. 244.)

He speaks of another place in which he walked over a sandy flat which was 15 feet above the sea-level at the time of his visit, but which he pronounces to be "doubtless overflowed every year." (p. 333.) Some days before, speaking of observations which he and his friends had been taking, he considered the sea at that time to have been five feet higher than its ordinary level. (p. 256.)

A trough full 35 miles long by 7 in breadth, with extensive flats to receive its overflow, will account for the changes produced at certain seasons by the swellings of the Jordan ; while the evaporation is so great as, according to some statements, to exceed the inflow, and so to tend towards the gradual contraction of the basin itself.

It has been said by some that birds eschew the Dead Sea. Mr. Tristram shot a raven which came towards him "right across the lake ;" one of his companions shot a kingfisher, when it was sitting on a dead bough in the water, watching for the dying fish which had come down the Jordan to perish in those poisonous waters. Another killed a gull as it was fishing in the lake. Ducks skimmed over the surface ; and other birds added their protest against the truth of the common story. But Mr. Tristram says that "no form of either vertebrate or molluscan life can exist for more than a very short time in the sea itself." (p. 245.)

As he skirted the shores of the lake, Mr. Tristram came upon many sulphur springs, (as pp. 280 and 302,) and the presence of sulphur has already been mentioned as lying on the surface where he descended on his way to the mouth of the Jordan.

Beyond the sands, at the southern extremity of the lake, rises abruptly a hill of rock salt, *Jebel Usdum*, about three miles in length. The attempt to ascend it was made without success. The base of this deposit is far below the present surface, and it may be traced to the shores of the lake, under which it appears to pass. At p. 323, there is a brilliant chromo-lithograph of this remarkable mountain of salt.

As to indications of volcanic action, Mr. Tristram says that none of his party could detect a trace of *M. de Saulcy's* lava

torrents and extinct craters (p. 320), and that it is a mistake to connect the overthrow of the guilty cities with the eruption of an ordinary volcano. He says:—

“There are in reality no grounds for assuming the shower of fire and brimstone to have been poured forth from an ordinary crater, and it will be in vain to search for such in the immediate neighbourhood of the lake.” (p. 329.)

At the same time he says that, apart from the testimony of the Word of God, there is sufficient probability of such a calamity as their destruction having happened. (p. 329.) He explains himself afterwards, as follows:—

“I have a great dread of seeking forced corroborations of Scriptural statements from questionable physical evidence; for the sceptic is apt to imagine that, when he has refuted the wrong argument adduced in support of a Scriptural statement, he has refuted the Scriptural statement itself; but so far as I can understand this deposit, [of bitumen and sulphur, in Wady Mahawat,] if there be any physical evidence left of the catastrophe which destroyed Sodom and Gomorrah, or of similar occurrences, we have it here. The whole appearance points to a shower of hot sulphur, and an irruption of bitumen upon it, which would naturally be calcined and impregnated by its fumes; and this at a geological period quite subsequent to all the diluvial and alluvial action of which we have such abundant evidence. The vestiges remain, exactly as the last relics of a snowdrift remain in spring,—an atmospheric deposit. The catastrophe must have been since the formation of the wady, since the deposition of the marl, and while the water was at its present level; therefore, probably during the historic period. The traces are extremely local, not extending to the neighbouring wadys, nor very far up this one.” (pp. 356, 357.)

The phenomena of this spot are described, pp. 354—356. The account of them is too long to be transferred to our pages; but we must find room for the seasonable observations and cautions which accompany the suggestion of certain means by which possibly the cities of the plain were destroyed.

“We shall find ourselves adrift in a sea of endless perplexities if we endeavour to ascribe every instance, in which the Bible speaks of the interposition of Providence, to the operation of natural causes; and we might as well expect modern scientific knowledge to reveal to us the cause of the miraculous supply of water in the wilderness, the provision of the manna, the passing of the Red Sea, and the crossing of the Jordan, or the overthrow of the walls of Jericho, as the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah. If every occurrence in sacred history is to be thus tested and accounted for, the whole question of miraculous intervention has been surrendered to the enemy, and modern scientific knowledge, not legitimate criticism, is made the test of Scriptural authenticity.

“If we are told in the Bible that any special event was brought about by the ordinary agencies of nature, like the thunderstorm in wheat harvest (1 Sam. xii. 16—18), the extraordinary droughts, or

the rain in answer to Elijah's prayer on Carmel, let us by all means accept the explanation. But when it is declared to us that any visitation like those alluded to above, like that under consideration, or like the fire from heaven which consumed Elijah's sacrifice, was sent direct from God, and we are not told of any ordinary or so-called *natural* agency being employed,—if, in such cases, we are to suspend our belief in the occurrences until we have dug in the earth to find the records of natural causes, we may as well at once refuse all credence to the miraculous as beyond our own experience, and reduce the Word of God to the level of the tales of Egyptian priests, or the traditions of Livy. . . . But setting aside all preconceived notions, and taking the simple record of Genesis xix. as we find it, let us see whether the existing condition of the country throws any light upon the Biblical narrative. Certainly we do observe, by the lake, sulphur and bitumen in abundance. Sulphur springs stud the shore; sulphur is strewn, whether in layers or in fragments, over the desolate plains; and bitumen is ejected in great floating masses from the bottom of the sea, oozes through the fissures of the rocks, is deposited with gravel on the beach, or, as in the Wady Mahawat, appears, with sulphur, to have been precipitated during some convulsion. We know that, at the time of earthquakes in the north, the bitumen seems, even in our own day, to be detached from the bottom of the lake, and that floating islets of that substance have been evolved (see Robinson, Res. i. 518), coincident with the convulsions so frequent in north-eastern Palestine. Everything leads to the conclusion that the agency of fire was at work, though not the overflowing of an ordinary volcano. The materials were at hand, at whichever end of the lake we place the doomed cities, and may probably have been accumulated there to a much greater extent than at present. The kindling of such a mass of combustible material, either by lightning from heaven, or by other electrical agency, combined with an earthquake, ejecting the bitumen or sulphur from the lake, would soon spread devastation over the plain, so that the smoke of the country would go up as the smoke of a furnace." (pp. 356—359.)

Mr. Tristram thinks that the site of the cities was neither at the entrance of the Wady Mahawat, nor anywhere at the southern end of the lake. He gives his reasons against the south, and in favour of the north, derived from his local observations, and a consideration of the expressions used in Holy Scripture. Briefly they are these:—that the cities were in the plain or "circle" of Jordan, an expression appropriate to the north, and not suiting the south; that from Mamre Abraham might see the smoke rising from that plain, owing to the depression of the southern glen; that the history of the invasion of Chedorlaomer (Gen. xiv.), which extended to Engedi, requires that Sodom should not have been in the south; and that the view from Pisgah, granted to Moses, could not have included the south-east of the Dead Sea; whereas, if Lot's Zoar were under Ras Feshkhah, the Scriptural description would be literally and vividly correct. (See pp. 360—362.)

We have now culled from this valuable work (for which we again thank its author, and the *Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge*) the matter which appeared to us most suitable for introduction into our own pages. In doing this, we have necessarily passed over the details of the author's own personal adventures, and those of his friends; his descriptions of the general aspect of the country, its fertility and beauty, and the still existing evidences of its high cultivation in times past; its present desolateness and degradation, and the scantiness of its population—effects of Turkish misrule; the condition of the Christian population, of the Jews abiding in the land (Tiberias being a Jewish city), of the remnant of the Samaritans, and of the Druses of the Lebanon range; the architectural remains of the Romans and of the Crusaders; and, in addition to all this, the geology, botany, and natural history of the country, the very objects of the expedition. But under all these heads we can assure our readers that they will meet with much that is pleasant and instructive, and much that is also nowhere else to be found. And we conclude by observing that no intelligent person will read Mr. Tristram's volume without regarding it as a valuable contribution to our knowledge of the most interesting region in the whole world.

ANGUS'S HANDBOOK OF ENGLISH LITERATURE.

The Handbook of English Literature. By Joseph Angus, M.A., D.D., Examiner in English Language, Literature, and History, to the University of London. The Religious Tract Society. 1865.

DR. ANGUS, though not belonging to our own communion, is well known, we doubt not, to many of our readers as a learned, pious, and truly catholic Christian, who has spent a good portion of his life in promoting sound and useful instruction, designed in an especial manner for those who wish to be in the highest sense *Christian* students. With this object, under the auspices of the Religious Tract Society, he undertook the Bible Handbook, and a new edition of Bishop Butler's works. Of this latter we may say, that it is principally valuable on account of the admirable analysis prefixed to each chapter of the Analogy, which Dr. Angus likewise extends to the Sermons. He now presents us with a handbook to English literature; and the first remark that we will make concerning it is,—what at first sight may seem a very negative kind of praise,—that *not* to have *failed* in such an undertaking is certainly great success.

In a language so voluminous as that of England, extending over so many centuries, embracing so many subjects—history, travels, fiction, theology, philosophy, poetry—it requires a brave man, a man not afraid of hard work, to form anything approaching to a true conception of what is included in the phrase, “our national literature.” Honestly to wade through all this, in order to gather together the pearls, or to tell others where the pearls may be found—to reject that which is vile and refuse, or to tell others what is vile and refuse, and utterly unworthy of being searched into again,—this requires studious days and watchful nights, the quiet undisturbed closet, and the midnight oil, the possession of a noble library, or what is the next best thing, a free and generous access to one. Of course Dr. Angus has availed himself of the labours of predecessors in the same or a somewhat similar path; nor can we suppose that he has really and thoroughly read by any means all the authors whom he brings before us and criticizes; to have done so, amid his other occupations, would be more than the work of a life. So he expresses his great obligations to the lectures of Mr. Marsh on the history of language; and in other departments to the histories of Hallam, Arnold, and Shaw, as well as one or two others.

It is no easy matter to review such a work as Dr. Angus's, so as to interest the generality of our readers. The very nature of the case prevents our being able to dwell long upon any one subject or author. But as, upon the whole, we think the volume decidedly calculated to be useful, we shall endeavour to give some account of its contents, noticing only a few of the principal authors; and likewise clearly stating our disagreement when we feel obliged to differ from Dr. Angus.

Chronologically, Dr. Angus divides the history of English literature into three periods,—the Anglo-Saxon, reaching from the Anglo-Saxon invasion to the Norman Conquest,—the Semi-Saxon and Norman-English, from the Norman Conquest to the accession of Henry VIII.,—and the English period, from the Reformation to the present time. It is this last period alone which we shall notice, as being incomparably the richest, the most interesting, and the most instructive.

Before treating of any authors during the purely English period, Dr. Angus devotes a chapter to the English language, in which he traces its progress from the time of Chaucer to nearly our own day. The chapter is short, and will repay perusal. We only give one extract:—

“In most Protestant countries, the national literature has commenced with the translation of the Scriptures into the tongue of the common people; which tongue the translation has fixed and preserved for all aftertime. This remark is true of Luther's German Bible, of the Danish Bible of 1550, and of the English versions of Wycliffe and

Tyndale. The fact is generally admitted; nor is the explanation difficult to find. Most of these versions were made at a time when the vernacular language in each case was characterised by simplicity, both in the words, and in the combination of them. That language was therefore a better exponent of the original than more modern speech. They were made, moreover, when the mind of the translator and of the reader were in the state of great religious sensibility, and rejoicing in newly acquired freedom and in newly discovered truth. Add to these causes another—the translator himself generally felt the responsibility of his office, and girded up his mind to his task. Hence it is not suprising to be told that Wycliffe's New Testament is far superior in its English to his theological writings, superior in simplicity and purity and dignity, in all the elements, in short, that make a translation popular, and fit it to react upon the vocabulary and language of a nation.

"With Wycliffe the religious dialect of this country may be said to have become fixed. For five hundred years it has continued, through Tyndale and the authorized version of 1611, to be the language of devotion and Scriptural translation. In our own day it remains practically unchanged. Any Englishman of common education will understand Wycliffe's New Testament; and if Wycliffe were now to reappear among us, it is probable that he would understand our authorized version, and need but few explanations."

The man who used the plainest and most vigorous English in the times of the Reformation, was Bishop Latimer. Since in many cases Dr. Angus has given us a short outline of the personal life and character of his authors, we could wish that he had dwelt a little longer on this brave member of the noble army of martyrs. As it is, he only gives us a single specimen of his style in a foot-note, and tells us that he spoke bold truth in plain nervous English, which he enforced by a humour that produced a wonderful impression upon the people. He did this truly; but in our opinion he did much more. His humour and bold language were not the sole causes of the impression that he made. He appealed closely to the conscience of his hearers. He bade them search their own selves. There was but little dogmatic theology certainly, save on great cardinal points; but the revealed will of God in practical matters of every-day life—this was what he pressed home,—God's anger against those who oppressed the poor, who thought the great business of life was to add house to house and field to field, but who regarded not the counsel of the most High. We certainly think Latimer deserved a few more lines on account of his excellence as a man and as a preacher; as many as Baxter, and Owen, and Chillingworth. It is however only fair to add, that this notice of Latimer occurs in the chapter on the "history of the language." So perhaps Dr. Angus could not find more room for him there; but was it impossible to do so, when he treats of the prose-writers of Latimer's age?

For the more lucid handling of his subject, authors are divided by Dr. Angus into four classes,—poets, dramatists, prose-writers, and novelists. To each of these he devotes a chapter. We proceed to take a brief glance at these four kinds of authors, following the order in which they are introduced by Dr. Angus.

I. "What is Poetry?" is the first question that Dr. Angus asks; and then he lays before us the various answers which divers authorities have given, as Horace, Bacon, and Shakespeare; Milton, and Coleridge, and Aytoun; Macaulay, and Whately, and Johnson. Whately's and Johnson's he considers the worst definitions, as having to do more with the form than the essence of poetry. The former says, "Poetry is eloquent and decorated language in metre:" the latter, that it is "metrical composition." Shakespeare, who says,—

"As imagination bodies forth
The forms of things unknown, the poet's pen
Turns them to shapes, and gives to airy nothing
A local habitation and a name":—

Bacon, who defines it as "the power which gives some shadow of satisfaction to the mind of man in those points wherein the nature of things doth deny it;" and again, "the power which has some participation of divineness, because it doth raise and erect the mind by submitting the shows of things to the desires of the mind, whereas reason doth bow the mind to the nature of things:"—and Aytoun, who calls it "the art which has for its object the creation of intellectual pleasures by means of imaginative and passionate language, and language generally, though not necessarily, formed into regular numbers:"—these three, Shakespeare, Bacon, and Aytoun, (so Dr. Angus considers,) approach nearest to the truth.

It was an opinion of Dr. Johnson's, that religious subjects are not suitable for poetry. His remark on Dr. Watts is pretty generally known, that "he has done better than others what no one has done well." This view Dr. Angus most boldly combats, and fortifies himself with fact and with authority. The three principal epics of modern times are taken from religious themes,—the master-pieces of Tasso, Dante, and Milton. The finest philosophical poems in our language, Pope's *Essay on Man*, and Wordsworth's *Excursion*, are largely religious, though both are, in a theological point of view, very defective; and Cowper's writings owe much of their beauty and power to their devotional sentiment, and even their direct religious teaching. In a noble passage in his "*Recreations*," Professor Wilson says,—

"The statement of facts destroys at once all Dr. Johnson's splendid sophistry—splendid at first sight, but on closer inspection a mere haze. How far more truly, and how far more sublimely, does Milton, 'that

mighty orb of song,' speak of his own divine gift. 'These abilities are the inspired gift of God, rarely bestowed, and are of power to inbreed and cherish in a great people the seeds of virtue and public civility; to allay the perturbations of the mind, and set the affections to a right tune; to celebrate in glorious and lofty hymns the throne and equipage of God's almightiness, and what He suffers to be wrought in His high Providence in His Church; to sing victorious agonies of martyrs and saints, the deeds and triumphs of just and pious nations, doing valiantly through faith against the enemies of Christ; to deplore the general relapse of kingdoms and states from virtue and God's true worship. Lastly, whatsoever in religion is holy and sublime, and in virtue amiable and grave; whatsoever hath passion or admiration in all the changes of that which is called fortune from without, or the wily subtleties and reflections of men's thoughts from within; all these things with a solid treatable smoothness to point out and describe."

Pope has said that the history of English poetry is easily traced. "Chaucer, Spenser, Milton, Dryden mark the road." To these Dr. Angus adds Pope himself, Cowper, and Wordsworth. By this joint dictum of Pope and Dr. Angus, we shall in a great measure be guided, but shall not *slavishly* follow it.

With what our author says of Spenser we are disposed entirely to agree. He does him justice, but nothing more. He avoids the extravagance which Charles Kingsley falls into, when comparing him with Bunyan, in his preface to Bennett's illustrated edition of the "Pilgrim's Progress." The "Faery Queen" Kingsley regards as almost the very noblest of Christian poems. Dr. Angus contents himself with endorsing the opinion of Hallam, that "on love and beauty, on holiness and virtue, he reposes with all the sympathy of his soul; and the slow gliding motion of his stanza,—

"With many a bout
Of linked sweetness long drawn out,"—

beautifully corresponds to the dramatic enchantment of his descriptions." On the other hand, his faults are not suffered to lie buried with him. They are distinctly pointed out. These are especially a redundancy of expression and description; and a deficiency in that which is an important attribute in a great poem—a continual reference to the truth of nature. "The ear and the heart of the reader are frequently disappointed by enfeebling expletives, and by the impotent conclusion of lines and stanzas otherwise striking and beautiful.

We have no doubt it will be very pleasing to many of our readers to see how thoroughly Dr. Angus appreciates one of the sweetest and most devout poets of our own Church,—and who, it must be confessed, was a High Churchman if ever there was one,—we mean George Herbert. The well-known lines on virtue—

"Sweet day! so cool, so calm, so bright,
 The bridal of the earth and sky,
 The dew shall weep thy fall to-night,
 For thou must die:"

and those on Sunday,

"O day most calm, most bright,
 The fruit of this, the next world's bud:"

he especially commends. "But," as he says, "in *all* his poems there is a depth of reflection and power of striking sentiment often very suggestive." "The quaintness of his thoughts," says Coleridge, "(not his diction, than which nothing can be more pure, manly, or unaffected) has blinded modern readers to the general merit of his poems." It was a remark of Richard Baxter: "I myself confess, that next to Scripture poems there are none so savoury to me as Mr. George Herbert's. I know that Cowley and others far excel him in wit and accurate composition; but he speaks like a man that believed in God, and whose business in the world is most with God; heart-work and heaven-work make up his books."

The sketch of Milton's life and works is admirably executed. We can well believe that Dr. Angus as thoroughly enjoyed writing this as anything in his book. He considers that Milton may more justly be compared with Dante, than with Homer or Virgil. There was a similarity likewise in their personal history. Both were statesmen, both were lovers; and both had been disappointed in public life, and in love. But is it quite fair to say, as Dr. Angus says, that while in Milton this experience had produced the "peaceable fruits of righteousness," in Dante it had produced only bitterness? However intensely melancholy the "Divine Comedy" may be, we have been inclined to hope and believe, that after long years of suffering Dante had come to know "love and hope and holiness—the love of Christ and the peace of God." But to proceed with Milton. Of the manifold criticisms on the style and metre of our greatest bard, we think that of Cowper one of the best which we have seen. "Was there ever anything so delightful as the music of the *Paradise Lost*? It is like that of a fine organ, has the fullest and deepest tones of majesty, with all the softness and elegance of the Dorian lute; variety without end, and never equalled except perhaps by Virgil." So, too, in our present Laureate's latest volume, the *Alcaics* on Milton we have always considered as one of his happiest attempts, not only in an ancient style of versification, but also in truthful description, whereof one image at least seems to be borrowed from Cowper. The lines occur among the experiments at the end of "*Enoch Arden*." We subjoin only the first stanza:—

"O mighty-mouthed inventor of harmonies,
O skill'd to sing of Time or Eternity,
God-gifted *organ-voice* of England,
Milton, a name to resound for ages!"

We pass over Dryden and his imitators,—what Dr. Angus calls the "artificial school" of poetry,—to hasten to days nearer our own, simply appending, without comment, our author's estimate of the writer of the "Essay on Man":—

"Pope's character, and the character of his poetry, have been warmly assailed and as warmly defended. His character was undoubtedly a collection of contradictions. He appreciated excellence, and has admirably described it; yet he was guilty of meanness which it is impossible to defend. He was a steadfast and even a tender friend, a dutiful and loving son; yet his fierceness and petulance and jealousy were unbounded and inexcusable. As a poet, he is one of six, to scenes from whose works is assigned an honourable place in our new Houses of Parliament,—his compeers Chaucer, Shakespeare, Milton, Spenser, and Dryden. Yet he is not to be compared with Shakespeare or with Milton. He has none of the universality of the first, none of the sublimity of the second. He never describes man or nature; and there is but little of insight or power in his delineations of virtue. The men and women of the eighteenth century are his themes, and his greatest approach to sublimity is in description of malignant passion. Yet for wit, strong sense, taste, the mastery of masculine English, terse and beautiful versification, he is almost unrivalled, and certainly unsurpassed,—a greater poet in this respect than his master Dryden."

The success of Pope's poetry produced a vast number of imitators. His manner was repeated, almost without end, in *Smartiads*, *Hilliads*, &c., which became the rage; till, towards the close of the century, the poetry of nature and passion regained its popularity, and the influence of Pope ceased, except in the admiration it had created of correct language and polished versification. Byron stood almost alone among men of taste in his extravagant enthusiasm.

Cowper is the first of the series of poets who belong to the last stage of our literature. Southey calls him the most popular poet of his generation, and the best of the English letter-writers. His personal history, one of the most affecting in literature, cannot be dwelt upon here. Notwithstanding the richness of his wit and humour, a large portion of his life was spent in sadness. From the hymns which he wrote, and which have given consolation to all classes of Christians, he himself could take no comfort: nay, he was at times apt to regard them as aggravations of his guilt. "But," as Dr. Angus says, "happily all this has now passed away. He bequeathed an inexhaustible treasure to mankind, and he now knows the blessedness he has so touchingly described." The following

piece of criticism will, we have little doubt, commend itself to many of our readers—to those, at all events, who have long learnt to appreciate Cowper.

“Cowper is, practically, the founder of the modern school of poets—an honour he owes chiefly to his reality and naturalness. It is this excellence which gives attractiveness to all he has written. Pope's poems are at least as finished as the best of Cowper's, and more finished than most of his earlier pieces. Young is often apparently as religious, sometimes as merry, and certainly as witty. Thomson's pictures of nature have greater variety and more real beauty than Cowper's. But Pope's poetry is art; Cowper's, nature. Young's religion and mirth seem to belong to two different men. From every line Cowper has written the very man beams forth, always natural, consistent, and unaffected; while his descriptions of nature excite sensations rather than ideas, and the poet lives and moves in every scene. In short, his poetry has the polish and vigour of the 18th century, the warmth and feeling of the 17th, with a naturalness and reality all his own. And this last, the naturalness and reality of a loving, gentle, devout heart, is the secret of his strength.”

Two great helpers in promoting natural poetry were, after Cowper, Robert Burns and George Crabbe—the latter, according to Lord Byron,

“Though Nature's sternest painter, yet the best.”

This estimate, which Lord Byron formed, Dr. Angus endorses.

“The characteristic of Crabbe's poetry,” he says, “is its truthfulness. Previous pictures of rural life he knew to be largely untrue; he made it, therefore, his business to describe the ‘Parish’ as he found it. The whole picture is dark and humiliating, yet in many of his sketches there are scenes as bright and glowing as anything in Scott. His power in painting a landscape is unsurpassed: a long waste of sand, fens covered with rushes and pools, become, in his treatment, objects of interest and even of beauty. With his rough energy of description, his manly style of versification, and the intense interest of many of his stories, there is nothing wanting in his poems, but more humour and more kindly human feeling, to make them universally popular.”

But it is not to the contemplation of external beauty or rural simplicity that the poet of Nature is confined. His province includes passion and sentiment, and all that gives dignity and greatness to human character. Therefore, argues Dr. Angus, Scott and Byron are as really *natural* poets as are Wordsworth and Cowper. With this conclusion, so far at least as Byron is concerned, we do not coincide. There is passion and sentiment in Byron certainly, plenty of it; but it is not *natural* in the higher and better sense of the word *Nature*,—it is not *natural* in the sense that we apply that term to Homer or Shakespeare. In Lord Byron's writings there breaks out over and over again a sort of delight in wickedness, which is unnatural, which is

almost devilish. And a little further on "Dr. Angus as much as admits this. When comparing Byron and Scott, he says,—

"Byron and Scott are not easily compared. Scott is ever trustful, gentle, unselfish, chivalrous: in Byron we have lofty genius and generous impulses in strangest combination with misanthropy, scepticism, and licentiousness. Scott is intensely human, Byron *Satanic*."

In point of fact, there are only two characters in all Byron's writings. The first is an unnatural man, who resembles, or who he would have us suppose resembles, himself, . . . a man proud and moody, with defiance on his brow and misery in his heart, yet capable of deep and strong feeling. "The second is a woman all softness and gentleness, 'loving to caress and be caressed,' but a true oriental in unintelligence, in passionateness, and, if need be, in ferocity." His versatility in versification, and his occasional tenderness—as, for instance, in such poems as "the Dream"—cannot be overrated; nor yet his intense energy, 'the thoughts that breathe and words that burn,' which are the common staple of his poetry. But after all, we hold, as Dr. Angus does, to Lord Jeffrey's judgment:

"The general tendency of Lord Byron's writings we believe to be in the highest degree pernicious; though his poems abound in sentiments of great dignity and tenderness, as well as in passages of infinite sublimity and beauty, their tendency is to destroy all belief in the reality of virtue, and to make all enthusiasm and consistency of affection ridiculous. . . . His sarcasm blasts alike the weeds of hypocrisy and cant, and the flowers of faith and of holiest affections."

Two other poets only we shall notice, and we select these two, because they, more than any others, have left a mighty influence upon the present age; an influence which is perhaps becoming sensibly felt more and more every year—we mean Wordsworth and Coleridge. Let it however be remembered, that we are not in this place discussing the merits of the fruit which this influence has produced. With regard to the former poet, we agree with Dr. Angus, that his sonnets, especially those in praise of liberty and patriotism, are among the finest in our tongue. But we are much surprised to see his ode on the "Intimations of Immortality" passed over with such reserve and coldness. To our mind it is by far the best of all his pieces; one of the most glorious strains that uninspired poet ever chanted. Nor can we at all adhere to the ungenerous criticism of Wilson,—"that in his poems, though we have much fine poetry and some high philosophy, it would puzzle the most ingenious to detect much or any Christian religion. This reminds us of a remark of Archbishop Laud, given in Carlyle's *Life and Letters of Cromwell*. That high-church prelate, after a visit to Scotland, complains that there were no candles, altars, or surplices, in fact "no religion at all that I could see." If

by Christian religion is meant a specific statement of the various orthodox dogmas of Christianity, then truly there is not much Christianity in Wordsworth. To turn these truths into verse, or rather into poetry, is no easy task. But the *spirit* of Christianity pervades nearly all Wordsworth's writings. It is most unfair to brand them with such a charge as the absence of a specific recognition of Christ as Lord and Saviour. We do not wish to overwhelm our readers with quotations, but for our part we do not believe that any one who did not recognize Jesus Christ as Lord and Saviour would write such lines as the following. They are taken from the third of the Ecclesiastical Sonnets, on the "Trepidation of the Druids :"—

"With Roman chains
The tidings come of Jesus crucified,
They come, they spread; the weak, the suffering hear,
Receive the faith and in the hope abide."

Or again, from the 17th sonnet :—

"Oh, come to me,
Ye heavy-laden!" Such the inviting voice
Heard near fresh streams."

Also we would refer those, who have unhappy doubts of Wordsworth's Christianity, to the glorious opening of the Fourth Book of the Excursion, in which occur the lines :—

"Sun of our souls and safeguard of the world!
Sustain—Thou only can'st—the sick of heart,—
Restore their languid spirits, and recall
Their lost affections unto Thee and Thine."

Whether Coleridge showed his wonderful genius more as a poet, a divine, a philosopher, or a critic, it is difficult to decide. At all events, he was, intellectually, one of our greatest men. Dr. Arnold did not know where to find his equal. Archdeacon Hare was equally enthusiastic. But, as Dr. Angus writes,

"The great misfortune is, that everything that he has left is fragmentary. What we have is often beautiful, rich, and gigantic, but it is all incomplete; . . . whereas his rare powers, his exhaustless resources, his colloquial eloquence, his great critical skill, might have made him the best teacher of his times, as many deem him to have been the best thinker."

Some of his best and best-known poems are noticed by Dr. Angus, yet there is one which he entirely passes over, and which is worthy of honourable mention. It is addressed to Wordsworth, on the latter reading to him a poem of his own, "On the growth of an individual mind." We remember an excellent clergyman, himself an author of no mean reputation, telling us that the following lines had always struck him very

powerfully, containing, as they do, the "revelation of a human spirit in a period of utter darkness, yet just emerging into light":—

"And even as light returns upon the drowned,
Life's joy rekindling roused a throng of pains—
Keen pangs of love, awakening as a babe
Turbulent, with an outcry in the heart;
And fears self-willed that shunned the eye of hope;
And hope that scarce would know itself from fear;
Sense of past youth and manhood come in vain,
And genius given and knowledge won in vain."

II. We cannot spend much time on the interesting chapter upon the drama. Dr. Angus handles severely, but not too severely, the comic dramatists of the Restoration, as authors of that part of our literature which is a disgrace to our language and national character. Clever indeed that literature is, but "it is, in the most emphatic sense of the words, earthly, sensual, devilish." Whereas of Shakespeare he writes:—

"The plays of Shakespeare have decidedly a good moral tendency. Human crimes and passions are indeed represented in them, but always in such a way as to render the delineation awful and instructive. There are also occasionally licentious expressions and allusions, which would have been much better omitted; but these never enter into the substance of the play, or even of the scene. They belong to the age more than to the man, and it is always easy to omit them in the reading without injuring the sense. Between the dramatic productions of Shakespeare's own contemporaries, particularly Jonson, Ford, and Beaumont, and still more between those of the period of the Restoration and the dramas of Shakespeare, the contrast is most marked and painful. In fact, Shakespeare is as superior in moral tone to most of the dramatists of the seventeenth century, as he is in creative genius. It may be added, that there is in Shakespeare a reverence for Scripture, which shows at least the tastes of the time, and no less, it may be hoped, his sympathy with them. There are above five hundred passages in his works which are taken apparently from Scripture originals, being either verbally or substantially founded on quotations from Holy Writ. And there are about four hundred passages, besides these, expressive of sentiments taken from the same source. Yet we can go no farther. His genius is unrivalled; but it is the earthly and the natural that he paints. Of the heavenly, and the supernatural—the spiritual in the highest sense—he says little. Perhaps the man felt more than the poet reveals. Perhaps he deemed the place not fit for such utterances. Perhaps he deemed human life alone to be the proper subject for dramatic treatment. Still the fact remains. His characters are all human. For the divine we must turn to another book and to other teachers."

III. To those who have entered, or who purpose entering, the Christian ministry, that portion of Dr. Angus's book, which treats of the theologians and the theological schools of England from the Reformation to the present time, will be found very

interesting and instructive. The rise of the Puritans, their progress through the reign of Elizabeth, the system of theology which became popular with King James I. on the death of Whitgift, and which in the subsequent reign, when Laud was at its head, caused an open outbreak within the Church, are admirably and justly sketched. In consequence of the changes which Laud introduced, multitudes were forced into the ranks of the Puritan clergy. Several were compelled to resign their livings; and some few, to use King James's expression, were "harried out of the land." Then came the temporary downfall of the Church and Monarchy; and subsequently the Restoration, when Presbyterians and Independents would have laid aside their differences, and joined the Church on the basis of Archbishop Usher's reduced episcopacy. But at the Savoy Conference this was haughtily rejected by the prelates and the Court; the Act of Uniformity was passed, and two thousand Puritan clergy ejected from their livings. Again, after the fall of Clarendon, a project of comprehension was renewed by Tillotson, Stillingfleet, and Reynolds, and communicated to Bates, Manton, and Baxter. But it failed through the clamours of the Sheldon party; and thereupon the House of Commons passed a resolution that no act for the comprehension or indulgence of Dissenters should be brought into that House. For twenty years there was great suffering upon all sides; till in 1689 the *Toleration Act* was passed, and thenceforward Non-conformity and Dissent became recognized by the Law. But we will now let Dr. Angus tell his story in his own words:—

"Meanwhile two new parties had come into existence in the Church. The first were men of liberal minds and studious habits, old enough to see the mistakes of their contemporaries, and young enough to strike out a path for themselves. Many of them had been educated under the Puritans at both universities. All wrote and spoke of them with kindness and moderation. They were, moreover, nearly all anti-Calvinistic in their creed. Careful to avoid the errors into which the Puritans had fallen through the extreme use of Scripture language, the introduction of sacred things on trivial occasions, the high doctrinal tone of the Puritan preaching, they fell into more serious error. They ceased to quote Scripture either in their daily talk or in the pulpit. They spoke as philosophers rather than divines; and though they gave an occasional dissertation on the Trinity, and insisted upon the necessity of a holy life, they seldom touched on the great truths of the Gospel. On Church questions they adhered to the Liturgy, but would have allowed great freedom to their conscientious non-conforming brethren. This was the school to which Whichcote, Cudworth, More, and Worthington belonged; and it was to their influence that we owe the characters of Tillotson, Patrick, Stillingfleet, Sherlock, and Tenison, the greatest men of the next generation. The school was called the Philosophic in the person of its founders, the Latitudinarian in the person of its later members. It is instructive

to notice how powerless they became to arrest the decay of piety, or to effect a second reformation. . . .

"The other party consisted of men whose notion of the Divine right of kings led them to believe that nothing could free a people from their allegiance, and who therefore felt bound to adhere to the oath they had taken to King James. They bore the name of Non-jurors; and there were among them Sancroft the archbishop, and a considerable number of the clergy. They retained most of the forms of the English Church, and kept up a separate organization for a century, in the hope of one day seeing a Stuart upon the throne. On the death of the Pretender, they merged into the Scotch Episcopal Church. To this party belonged Bishop Ken, Charles Leslie, and Atterbury. The effect of these struggles, and still more of the profligacy of the Restoration, had brought religion, at the end of the seventeenth century, to a very low ebb. The Church was as much divided as ever."

This we will say: To all good men in those distracted times, to all who sought to be guided by the Spirit of our Lord Jesus Christ—by whatever names they may have been distinguished among men, whether they were of the Baxter school, or the Tillotson school, or of the school of Jeremy Taylor, or of Bishop Ken, Dr. Angus holds out the hand of sympathy and love. Moreover he is never blind to the faults of those with whom we should have thought that he was more closely agreed. Take for instance John Owen:—

"His sentences are often tedious and involved; his diction dry and pointless. . . . Yet for exhaustive thought, logical skill, and extensive learning, all pervaded with a deep and tender spirituality, there is no greater man than Owen. Robert Hall could never read him, yet Cecil deemed him one of our richest writers. . . . It may be added, that theologically Owen is more Calvinistic than Calvin, and that he was one of the first in England to teach the doctrine of a restricted atonement."

On the other hand, to South he is more lenient than perhaps we ourselves should be inclined to be. The comparison between him and Tillotson is excellent. They are especially noticed as the introducers of a sounder system of preaching (not from a theological but a literary point of view) than what their predecessors had practised. Both had been educated by Puritans—South under Owen at Oxford, Tillotson under Clarkson at Cambridge: both joined the Church of England, and both were admirable sermon-writers, though in very different styles. But here the likeness ends. South could never think of his early Puritan associates without rancour. When he spoke of them, it was to call them knaves and hypocrites. Tillotson, on the other hand, loved them, sought to widen the door of the Church that they might be comprehended within it, and did what he could to remove their scruples. South's temper was so fiery, and his tongue so rasping, that his friends were occa-

sionally afraid of him. Tillotson shared the love of all around him—"edited the books of his friends, acted as guardian to their orphan families, or as executor to their wills;" and after he was dead, his name continued in the kingdom a tower of strength to the Church of England. The real power of South is in his strong common sense, his plain forcible language, and his ready wit. His sermons sparkle with sayings that must have lighted up many a smile, and sometimes, on account of their honest feeling, warmed many a heart. One good story of his ready wit Dr. Angus does not tell. Perhaps he thought it too well known. However, it will bear repeating. South was one day preaching before Charles II. and his courtiers. The tenants of the royal pew fell fast asleep. South perceived it, and stopped in his discourse; then calling three times to Lauderdale, whom he succeeded in awaking, he said, "My lord, I am sorry to interrupt your repose, but I must beg that you will not snore quite so loud, lest you awake his majesty." Of tender evangelical feeling there is little trace in his sermons. Yet from a literary point of view they are well worth reading. His discourse on man created in God's image, is one of the best known; and certainly nothing had then appeared more poetical in conception, or more exquisite in language.

Tillotson rarely set himself to practical work. The three evils which he sought to arrest were profligacy, infidelity, and popery, which were beginning to take possession of the nation. Thus his ablest sermons are directed against Transubstantiation, or are in favour of Natural religion, and on the first principles of the Christian faith, concerning which St. Paul argued with Felix, "temperance, righteousness, and judgment to come." This example which Tillotson set, though no doubt contrary to that good man's intentions, introduced a style of preaching which, as Dr. Angus says, "in a few years confounded law and gospel, and which, while teaching many useful lessons, at last forgot to tell sinners the only way to heaven." Yet there was no preacher at the close of the 17th century whose sermons better pleased the sober-minded members of the Church of England, that drew larger congregations of serious hearers, or that left a deeper impression on the public mind. Though he had been Archbishop of Canterbury, his sermons, on his death, were the only property he had to bequeath to his widow. They were sold for the then large sum of 2500 guineas, and long continued popular. If not read now so much as they used to be, they are still models of clearness and practical teaching. Before taking our leave of Tillotson, we will add that king William III. is reported to have said of him (though the king was a very strong Calvinist, and the archbishop as strong an Arminian) that he was "the best friend he ever had, and the best man he ever knew."

To fix the literary position of Richard Baxter, is not easy. We shall not attempt it. Perhaps he was too voluminous an author to be really a *first-rate* author. As Bishop Burnet, who, we believe, really wished to do justice to every body, says, "If he had not meddled in too many things, he would have been esteemed one of the learned men of the age. He wrote near two hundred books. Of these, three are large folios. He had a very moving and pathetic way of writing, and was his whole life long a man of great zeal and much simplicity; but was most unhappily subtle and metaphysical in everything." Dr. Angus, however, looks upon his style as one of the finest specimens of direct masculine English, and a model for all who wish to talk to people instead of talking *at* them. We will let his style alone, and most gladly and cordially add our author's estimate of Baxter as a man. After mentioning his manifold labours, Dr. Angus writes:—

"And all this was done amid great bodily weakness. He entered the ministry with what would now be called the symptoms of a confirmed consumption; he seemed ever living upon the brink of the grave. Great energy or noble achievement was hardly to be looked for from such a sufferer. Had he spent his time in telling his ailments, had he even retired from the field to the hospital, it would be easy to find circumstances to excuse, if not to justify, such a course. But instead of yielding to selfish complaint or valetudinarian indolence, he manfully held on his way, a cheerful traveller to the very close. 'In deaths oft,' he was also 'in labours more abundant.' There is a shorter road to repose amid bodily afflictions than talking of them; and that road Baxter found."

In noticing our author's long chapter on English prose-writers, we have purposely adhered solely to the Puritan age, and to theologians. We thought it as well, perhaps better, executed than any other portion of the subject. We thought, too, it would be interesting to our readers, as certainly it was to ourselves. Did our space permit, we should have been glad to have glanced at the 18th century, containing, as it does, many great names which will be imperishable in our literature. The century of Addison and the Essayists, of Bishops Butler and Berkley, of Samuel Johnson, of Gibbon and Hume and Robertson, of Whitfield and Wesley. But from a theological point of view, until these two last arose, it is a dull and dreary period. Its theology comprises principally apologies for Christianity, and treatises of a similar nature in answer to the Deists. The 16th century was alive, earnest, and in some instances fanatical. The 17th was cold and lifeless, with a fear and dread of enthusiasm as one of the worst evils in the world.

IV. The last branch of literature to which Dr. Angus calls our attention, is the English novel. Whether rightly or wrongly (we cannot disguise the fact), the novel has gained a

most powerful and conspicuous position in all our libraries. It is more and more regarded as a necessity, or perhaps we might more truly say, a *necessary luxury*. Often they who speak very strongly of the evils of novel-reading, are not exempt from the infirmity themselves. They will make excuses if they are found with a novel in their hand. We therefore shall not apologize for taking a short notice of this part of Dr. Angus's work. We think it was unavoidable that he should treat novels as a legitimate part of our national literature. We think likewise that, upon the whole, he has given a fair and wise judgment on the question of reading them. His words are these:—

“On the reading of novels there has been much discussion. The common argument, that they appeal to the imagination, and that as every reader possesses more or less of this faculty, they will be read, is of course true enough, as is the argument that parables are short novels, and have the sanction of the ‘Great Teacher’ Himself. These reasonings are based on human nature, and on the highest example, and tend to prove that we must recognize the existence of imagination, and seek to instruct men *through it*.”

“We may go farther. Men need amusement. The mind cannot always be on the stretch. A character well drawn, an incident well told, a novel without a moral, may be worth study, as are pictures by Wilkie and Webster. Novels of this class Whately praises as more free than some others from risk of mischief. This principle will, of course, restrict the use of them within narrow limits. They are read as a *reaction*, and are as allowable and as useful as other reactions are.

“Further still. When they teach historical truth, sound morality, Evangelical principles, common sense, prudence, they are to be so far commended. Even with lower aims, they have their place. Let them only beguile ‘weary and selfish pain,’ ‘excite a generous sorrow for vicissitudes not our own,’ ‘raise the passions into sympathy with heroic struggles,’ and they may be very helpful. The imaginative element that is in them makes their teaching the more impressive; and if not mischievous, they are really useful. *In fact*, however, many of them teach untrue history, imperfect morality, and an unscriptural religion, while others inspire romantic hopes, and call off attention from actual duty. Even when the novelist is on the side of virtue, he is apt to trick out vice in such a garb as makes her more than a match for virtue. The precise Richardson, for example, has put into the mouth of Lovelace entangling sophistries against virtue, which Sedley, and Villiers, and Rochester want either depth of libertinism or force of mind to invent. All such novels Christian principle condemns as unsuitable for general or indiscriminate reading.

“Even when novels are, on the whole, of unexceptionable tendency, there are considerations in relation to the use of them, that deserve thought. On the one hand, the study of ideal excellence improves the taste, while the contemplation of suffering strengthens sympathy—the spring of benevolence. On the other, Stewart objects, that though the study of excellence does improve the taste, the mere contemplation of excellence, not ending in active habits, blunts sensibility; and the sight of suffering which we are not expected to relieve, really hardens. He

thinks, moreover, that the elegant distresses of fiction make the mind shrink from the homely miseries of life. The 'luxury of woe' is certainly often indulged by cold hearts and seared consciences. This principle would further restrict the reading of novels to such as are fitted to create generous feeling, and are likely to lead readers to act out the feelings they create.

"Taking a wider view, and looking at the number of novels published, and at the fact that many who read them read little else, gaining from them the falsest notions of life and truth, and being enfeebled in mental power by the one-sided training they supply, it may be questioned whether novels have not done more harm than good. *Mentally*, habitual novel-reading is destructive of real vigour; and morally it is destructive of real kindness. The luxury needs to be carefully regulated, if it is to prove a blessing and not a curse."

Prose fiction is in England of a comparatively recent date. For the delineation of manners, its place was previously supplied by the plays of Shakespeare, Ben Jonson, and the dramatists of the restoration, and later by the periodical papers of Addison, Steele, and the Essayists. For the education of the fancy, our ancestors depended on the old metrical romances which abounded in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and on translations. Of fiction, in the modern sense, we have no writer till the days of Daniel de Foe, whose Robinson Crusoe occupies not unworthily the first place in this species of literature. Hallam, indeed, assigns this foremost place to John Bunyan, whom he calls the "father of our novelists." But in the "Pilgrim's Progress," the story is so subordinate to the spiritual teaching, that it is far better to regard it as a work of theology than a work of fiction. The moral teaching of De Foe is generally unexceptionable. The distinction between virtue and vice is carefully marked, although, from taste or circumstances, he preferred low life. "His Robinson Crusoe, it is well-known, has done much to man our navy, and has certainly fostered the shiftiness and skill for which Englishmen are often remarkable." De Foe's success called attention to this kind of literature. The stage had now lost its attractions, partly through the attack of Jeremy Collier, a non-juring clergyman, and partly through the low morality and defective genius of the dramatists of the Restoration. For a time, the popular want was met by Steele, with his "Tatler," Addison with his "Spectator," and the writers of the "Guardian" and the "Freeholder." But they soon wrote themselves out, and their style became wearisome. The public taste required a stronger stimulant, and Richardson, Fielding, Smollett, and Sterne proceeded at once to supply it. Of these novelists, with the single exception of Fielding, we shall say nothing. Two of Fielding's novels we have read, but we really doubt whether Dr. Angus has. Had he done so, we cannot but

think that he would have protested in a tone much more severe against the gross immorality which pervades both. We grant him that, for humour, satire, freshness, vigour, and art in the arrangement of incidents, Fielding stands unrivalled. We grant that he exposes admirably, and we would hope even to some good purpose, the injustice, the ignorance, the self-sufficiency of the squire and magistrate of more than a hundred years ago. But to say merely, 'that even his best novels cannot be read aloud in the family circle, because they contain so many passages of needless and offensive coarseness,' is far too lenient a censure. Fielding seems to have had a genuine delight in depicting scenes which cannot but contaminate the mind, which cannot but in many instances inflame the sensual passions. In this respect, they are almost equally culpable with Byron's *Don Juan*. Nor does he seem, much more than Lord Byron, to believe in the reality of woman's virtue. In many instances, the woman is the tempter. And as for the coarseness, which Dr. Angus calls needless, it is, we fear, this very coarseness which gives a great deal of edge to the wit. The wit is in a great measure *owing* to the coarseness. Destroy one, and in Fielding's case you necessarily destroy a great part of the other. One more word we have to add. "The Parson Adams of *Joseph Andrews*," says Dr. Angus, "is one of Fielding's happiest characters." There is, indeed, much that is good and noble and generous about Parson Adams. Upon the whole, we think him a very worthy sort of man. But happy as an intelligent divine, he certainly is not. One discourse of his we remember, upon Justification by Faith alone, wherein he shows the most astounding ignorance of what the doctrine is, and what he is combating. He seems to think that "justification by faith alone" means "justification by an intellectual consent to all the commandments of God, without any trouble of keeping them." But perhaps Parson Adams was not the only divine of that age who thus imagined. We pass over Dr. Angus's comments on Scott and his successors, giving merely, in conclusion, his estimate of that large class of novels professedly of a moral and religious tendency,—novels by such writers as Miss Mulock and Miss Sinclair.

"So far as these novels are professedly moral, they must all be tested by a Christian standard. Admitting as we do the claims of the religion of the Bible, we must censure the false principles it condemns, must judge of human nature and human improvement, of the proper motives of action, of good and evil, of the true consolations in misery, old age, and death, as it judges. So tested, it must be confessed that many of the class of moral novels are lamentably deficient. They omit or exclude from their moral teaching the leavening influences of Christian truth. The *good* man whose character they sketch, is not a Christian. . . . The evils of poverty and dread of

dying are assuaged by consolations very different from those that constitute so much of the value of inspired truth. Unchristian motives are not uncommon; and a heroic fortitude, or a peaceful assurance, is assigned to men in dying, neither true to facts, nor just to Christianity. . . . To many of the novels of this class these remarks do not apply; but they are applicable to some of the most successful of them. . . . The remedy is not easy to find. The evils pervade our *literature*, not our novels only: they meet us in daily life. All perhaps that can be done, is to urge on the reader of taste the very serious duty of continually recalling to his mind, and, if he is a parent or preceptor, of cogently representing to his pupils, the real character of the religion of the New Testament, and the reasons which command an inviolable adherence to it."

We have now attempted to set before our readers a fair account of Dr. Angus's work. Several times we have given examples, and let him speak for himself. Our differences with him are few, and, upon the whole, not very unfriendly. His coldness towards Wordsworth, his mildness towards Fielding, are the principal matters of our disagreement. We wish his work all success. As a book of reference, it will undoubtedly be useful, and will be found fairly accurate. One or two minor inaccuracies in dates we have found, but do not care to dwell on them. Finally, we could wish that, for the benefit of the young student, Dr. Angus had given a little more advice. It would have been well if he had told us more particularly what authors should be most industriously read to elucidate any given subject or period of history; also what works most fairly represent the powers of each author. So might the inexperienced be guided and helped in gaining a more profitable knowledge of what is most precious in our national literature.

THE SOVEREIGNTY OF GOD.

FOLLOWING up some admirable remarks in the Christian Observer for October, I would observe, without further delay upon the threshold, that the first thought which arises in our minds on the name of Jehovah, the eternal, self-existent God, is the absolute, unquestionable sovereignty of Him "by whom all things were made." The Creator of all things must also be their Lord and Ruler, governing and directing all things according to His own Will. All things came from Him, and owe their existence altogether to Him. Surely He, then, "may do what He will with His own." His own Will respecting them, whatever it be, must be His only law, unquestioned and supreme. Whether in their bodily faculties, or their mental gifts,—or

the circumstances of their births, or of their lives,—or the time and manner of their deaths,—they are all in His hand. And He has the perfect right to act with them according to His own Will; and “None can say unto Him, What doest thou?” He has, indeed, often condescended to give us, in His Word, the reasons of His dealings with us, in these and other particulars,—of His cutting off, for instance, the idolatrous and sensual Canaanites, that it was in just judgment for their heinous sins, and that they might not continue to be the seducers of His people Israel to sin, subjecting them to His consequent wrath and punishment. But of many of His matters “He gives man no account,”—why oftentimes famines, and desolations by war or pestilence, sweep away whole masses of His creatures? And He only commands us to be assured, that He, “the Judge of all the earth, will do right” to each individual of them; and that to each one of His saints and true children, earth was not given as his lasting portion and possession; and, therefore, his early removal from it was truly a gracious boon, as it took him at once to his eternal rest and crown in heaven.

2. Another reflection arising from the name Jehovah, the self-existing God, is that His own absolute holy Will is the only foundation of His holy laws and word. What He commands is, therefore, right and holy, because He commands it. And we have no other measure of right and wrong than His holy Will. Because He commands or directs it, it must be holy, just, and good; whether it be the destruction of a sinful world; or the burning of cities become abominable; or the extermination of idolatrous and licentious Canaanites; or the killing of the seven descendants of a wicked king, as a public punishment for his despising God’s oath, and the national covenant with the Gibeonites; or His punishing his people with a three years’ famine, because they had wickedly approved of his covenant-breaking slaughter, and perhaps suggested it to him. For Saul evidently did it to please them; 2 Sam. xxi. 2, “Saul sought to slay them in his zeal to the children of Israel and Judah.” God, we must remember, was the King of Israel, as well as its God. And He saw it right and necessary to prove, by these widely experienced national judgments, that oaths and solemn covenants made in His Name must not be broken, but kept even to their own hindrance. Even a covenant so made could not be violated with impunity. And while the guilty people were justly punished, any God-fearing individuals among the sufferers did not regret their early translations to the joys at His right hand. They at least could say, 1 Sam. iii. 10, “It is the Lord; let Him do what seemeth Him best.” However “Yorkshire Incumbents” may profanely declare such defences of His

truth, such just punishment of forgotten oaths and covenants, such protection of a harmless unoffending people as we may believe the Gibeonites at this time to have been, to be unworthy of Him, He is a covenant-keeping God Himself, and He ever shows His just abhorrence of such cruel outrages, and of wrong and covenant-breaking under any circumstances.

3. And all the attributes of such a self-existent, holy, eternal Jehovah must be perfect and spotless, and worthy of Himself, and infinitely higher than our attainments or weak imaginations. For man the finite can neither comprehend nor equal the perfections of God the Infinite. And yet, His boundless almighty power, how often is it not dared by mere worms of the earth ! How often is it not even denied, as if He were no better than one of the deities of old, weak and impotent, counteracted by a brother deity, and bound down together by fixed fate ! How often is not now the power of working miracles altogether refused Him ; and miracles declared to be impossibilities and nonentities ! May we not fearfully dread that God's mysterious forbearance and long-suffering will be wearied out by such insulting provocations ; and that they who so deride and limit His power, will be made to experience the reality of His condemned omnipotence ?

And so, with regard to His infinite wisdom ; how often is it not denied, and set aside altogether, by those who, in their pride of intellect, would be disparaging His holy word, and correcting it, and improving it, and making it something more suitable both for God to give and man to receive,—thus being Gods to themselves, as the master they follow promised they should be. Have we not here again a fulfilment of the old predictions, 1 Cor. i. 18—21,—“The preaching of the Cross is to them that perish foolishness ; but unto us which are saved it is the power of God. For it is written, I will destroy the wisdom of the wise, and will bring to nothing the understanding of the prudent. Where is the wise ? where is the scribe ? where is the disputer of this world ? hath not God made foolish the wisdom of this world ? For after that in the wisdom of God the world by wisdom knew not God, it pleased God by the foolishness of preaching to save them that believe.” But, in spite of all vain boasts and proud blusterings, we may still be sure, with the apostle, that “the foolishness of God is wiser than men, and the weakness of God is stronger than men.”

And so with respect to His unfathomable mysterious love, so far surpassing that of the most tender mother for her sucking child :—how often is it not denied by our would-be more tender and loving philosophers ; affecting to shudder at some of those just inflictions of God's wrath and indignation to which I have before referred ; as if they, poor, proud, selfish,

cold-hearted creatures, were actually more full of love and tenderness and sympathy for human woe and suffering, than He who "so loved the world" as even to give up to death for it His own co-eternal Son? They cannot believe, therefore, that such "cruel narratives" are "worthy of God," or "true;" for their rectifying consciences revolt at such atrocities, and deny that they ever happened, or they would be inconsistent with God's love.

The fact is, that here again they are "gods to themselves;" for they refuse to love or hate as God loves or hates. God ever represents Himself to us in the Bible as altogether hating and abhorring sin and wickedness of every kind, and loving only that which is lawful, and right, and true, and good, and holy, washed clean, even white as snow, by faith in the atoning blood of His blessed Son. But they suffer not their love or hatred to be governed by such inspired directions. But they set up, as objects of their affection, some idol of their own heart, or some ideal model of perfection; while they hate and ridicule God's saints and true servants, and cast all the contempt in their power on His holy Word, and its inspired doctrines and precepts. Their sympathies are with "the poor slaughtered Midianites and Canaanites," not with the holy martyrs, firm and faithful unto death to their God of holiness and truth.

And so also with respect to the truth of the self-existent Jehovah, of which the Psalmist says, (Ps. lvii. 10,) "Thy mercy is great unto the heavens, and Thy truth unto the clouds,"—how sadly is not this also expressly vilified and denied by these modern Socinians and semi-infidels,—asserting that we have no true and reliable history for the first 3000 years of the world—that is, till the time when profane historians arose to confirm the truth of God's Word; that the Old Testament early records are just like the fables of heathen mythology, and the early records of the origin of Rome and of the first states of Greece!—expressly denying, too, the truth of the mysterious words relating our blessed Lord's incarnation, whereby "the Holy Thing born of the Virgin Mary was called the Son of God;" and asserting that there was nothing miraculous about His birth, or different from that of others; and that He was just as ignorant as well-educated young men generally of His own day were, and had the same human prejudices and infirmities; and therefore, when He said, "Moses wrote of me," He was under the common error of His times, that Moses wrote the Pentateuch; whereas, in reality, it was not written by Moses at all, but by Samuel the Prophet, or somebody else! It is needless to add, that these wise men ignore altogether all the assertions Jesus Christ, the incarnate Jehovah, made of His deity,—“I and my Father are one,” &c.,—

and consider them as untruths! But the plainest assertions made by Himself, or the clearest passages declaring His Godhead, or that of the Holy Ghost, proceeding from Him and the Father, which occur throughout the Bible, are either declared to be interpolations and textual errors, without a particle of evidence for the declaration, or twisted in the old way of Socinian interpretation, which explained, it has been well said, that when St. John (ch. i. 1) said, "The Word was God," he meant that "the Word was not God!"

Thus they most awfully deny Him to be "the true light that was to come into the world," and that "grace and truth came by Jesus Christ." On the contrary, fearful as it is to write the words, they make Him only one of the other deceivers and false prophets which have come into the world. The power of deadly hatred and animosity can go no further. They feel no need of a Divine atonement, and so they altogether deny it. They believe that man is not a fallen creature, and therefore that he can well do works of righteousness, and is sufficient and able to save himself. Their pride of intellect discards all idea of the weakness of human nature, and of the need of a Divine Strengtheners, Guide, Teacher, or Sanctifier. And thus, one after another, every distinctive doctrine of Christianity, to say nothing of those of our Church (of which so many of these unhappy men profess themselves members and ministers), is thrown overboard.

Alas! we must ask, of what spirit are such men? Are they led by Him of whom St. Paul says (Eph. v. 8, 9),—"Now are ye light in the Lord: walk as children of light, (for the fruit of the Spirit is in all goodness and righteousness and truth,) proving what is acceptable unto the Lord"? Or are they of that only other company, of whom He in whom we believe has so solemnly declared (John viii. 42—47),—"If God were your Father, ye would love me, for I proceeded forth and came from God; neither came I of myself, but He sent me. Why do ye not understand my speech? even because ye cannot hear my word. Ye are of your father the devil, and the lusts of your father ye will do. He was a murderer from the beginning, and abode not in the truth, because there is no truth in him. When he speaketh a lie, he speaketh of his own; for he is a liar, and the father of it. And because I tell you the truth, ye believe me not. Which of you convinceth me of sin? And if I say the truth, why do ye not believe me? He that is of God heareth God's words: ye therefore hear them not, because ye are not of God"?

R. H. T.

CORRESPONDENCE.

A NEW VERSION, AND A TRUE VERSION, OF THE FIRST PART OF
PSALM XIX.*To the Editor of the Christian Observer.*

DEAR SIR,—In your November number you have made an appeal to your “poetical contributors,” as you are pleased to term them, for a “far better version of the Psalms of David than has yet appeared.” It seems to me something like presumption to attempt such a thing. A more difficult accomplishment could hardly be imagined. The seeming easiness of the task is the very thing that makes it difficult. For we are all so familiar with the language of the Psalms, and with the received poetical versions of them, that we feel ourselves in a mental strait-waistcoat directly we make the attempt to give them a new turn. It is far easier to write purely original poetry, than to improve upon the stereotyped forms of verse that already exist. The public too, however good the new may be, being familiar with its sounds, will always say that the old is better. Take, for example, Addison’s celebrated version of the first part of Psalm xix.; who can ever expect to displace that, though it is a paraphrase rather than a version, and is full of *tawdry tautology*, the same idea being repeated over in other words three times within the first three lines, with the epithets “spacious,” “ethereal,” “spangled,” “shining,” added to eke them out to the proper length. Yet, such is the force of custom, a version that has become *stereotyped*, as this has, in the public approbation, will hold its place against all new comers.

It will be said, then, “Why do you attempt a new version?” My reason for this is *special*. The true idea of the Psalmist (and it is a very grand idea) appears to me never to have been caught in one place by any of our translators, whether in prose or verse. I never could attach any definite idea to the word “line,” in the fourth verse of our common version, as applied to the heavens; nor see what connection “*their line*” had with “*their words*” immediately following, till I looked into the original Hebrew, and then I discovered that the word translated “*line*” meant a *musical chord*. This is the meaning given to the word by Gesenius in this very place. Our Prayer-book version renders it “*their sound*,” without defining what kind of sound; whether that produced by the *voice*, or by a *musical instrument*. When, further, I looked into the Septuagint to see how its Jewish translators rendered the Hebrew word in Greek, (they must be assumed to have known its proper sense,) I found that they translated it not by the Greek term which signifies simply a *voice* or *sound*, but by one which signifies a *twang* or *musical sound*, such as that produced by the *vibration of a harp-string*. I also discovered that the other term, rendered “*their words*,” meant, strictly “*their significant*

signs ;" which admits of an easy application to the notes in music, which, as set to any words, always signify something beyond the mere sounds. Here, then, a new and highly poetical idea flashed across my mind, as having been in the mind of the Psalmist when he composed this psalm. Having his harp, as we may suppose, in his hand, on whose strings he was accustomed to strike out the praises of God and His works, it seems (which was natural enough to a poetic mind like his) that he contemplated the outstretched heavens, with their orbs for fixed points, as connected altogether by an invisible line or string, and forming one vast instrument of music, whose notes, when its strings were struck by its Almighty Maker, sounded through the wide world, making what is called by poets "the music of the spheres," and that what these notes or unheard sounds signified was His "eternal power and Godhead." This is the fine idea which I have endeavoured to embody in my version, keeping as close, both in thought and expression, to the original text, as the requirements of verse would allow. Whether I have succeeded in giving a better version than any that exists, it is not for me to judge. There will always be many to whom it is easy to censure, where it is hard for one to excel.—I am, yours faithfully,

STEPHEN JENNER.

PSALM XIX.

THE heav'ns with orbs of glory shine,
The handywork of Power Divine,
To tell by day, to shew by night,
The marvels of His wondrous might,
Who spread the blue expanse on high,
And gemm'd with stars the vaulted sky,
A tabernacle whence the sun,
In radiance clad, his course should run.

Like bridegroom issuing from his bow'r,
Or giant glorying in his pow'r,
Swiftly he speeds his azure way,
Pouring on all the beams of day ;
And when at eve he sinks to rest
Behind the curtains of the west,
The moon and stars, with mystic voice,
Uprise, and bid the earth rejoice.

Though speech nor sound salutes man's ears,
Yet there is music in the spheres ;
Their chord extends to every land,
And, struck by an Almighty Hand,
It fills with deep harmonious chime
The boundless realms of space sublime,
And speaks to all on earth's wide sod
The glory of their Maker—God.

The Vicarage, Camberwell ; Nov. 4, 1865.

ON VERBAL INSPIRATION.

To the Editor of the Christian Observer.

SIR,—As a subscriber and reader of the *Christian Observer* for more than thirty years, I venture to ask your observation of two things; but first will you permit an *illustration* of the necessity of verbal inspiration?

St. Peter, an apostle to the Circumcision (Gal. ii. 6—9), reported, *vivâ voce*, a verbal expression of the Lord's will concerning his fellow apostle St. John, (John xxi. 19—24). This—the only apostolical tradition, certainly known as such, that is not contained *verbatim* in the Holy Bible—became so verbally corrupted, even among the disciples, and during the life of John, as to propagate a falsehood concerning both the persons and the period of which it was originally spoken.

Peter probably adverted to his own knowledge and experience of this departure from the truth of “the Word,” when he so absolutely declared that the *written* words of Moses and the Prophets, and the Apostles and Evangelists, and of Jesus, would remain “more sure” than would his own vocal report of the voice he heard from Heaven on the holy mount.

Verbal exactitude—so necessary to a pure stream of tradition, but found to be a nonentity when man uses his own interpretations and expressions—is absolutely necessary at the fountain-source of inspiration; and there only it is so possible and certain, that we slander the *Holy Spirit* if we question its purity.* St. Peter affirms two things:—

First. The inspired writers did not—because they could not—fully understand the matter and meaning of the inspired communications; and consequently could not, and would not, be left to their own judgment to determine the best words by which to express the Divine meaning. They could not paint in words even a shadow, much less an accurate image, of what there existed no substantial idea in their minds. *Ergo*, verbal inspiration *was necessary*. (1 Pet. i. 10—12.)

Second. Not at any time was *the writer* moved by his own will or judgment in interpreting and expressing the inspired ideas; but holy men wrote as they were moved by the Holy Ghost. *Ergo*, verbal inspiration *is a fact*. (2 Pet. i. 20, 21.)

“All Scripture is given by inspiration of God,” &c. (2 Tim. iii. 16.) Tradition is a whirling wind, that takes up chaff rather than wheat, and carries it any whither.

As there is no other authority than tradition for the assumed origin of any one of our European Gentile Churches from *any one of the twelve Apostles*, as its founder or bishop; those *sacrificing* priests, who profess to derive their apostolical authority *through Rome from St. Peter*, are of all ministers most miserable! What they can say for their Papal Apostolical Succession they had better say quickly, for judgment is already going forth against them.—I am, Sir,

A CHURCH OF ENGLAND PROTESTANT CATHOLIC.

* [This seems to us too strong an expression. With this letter we must close a controversy which has already occupied many of our pages.—EDITOR.]

ON UNIVERSAL REDEMPTION.

To the Editor of the Christian Observer.

SIR,—Can you, or one of your correspondents, recommend me, *for lending*, a book or pamphlet which clearly points out the error of the doctrine of *Universal Redemption*—that the mercy of God will prevail over His justice in the final salvation of sinners? I have reason to fear that some amiable men, who are styled Evangelical preachers, entertain this doctrine, as they make it an easy matter to get to Heaven;—a few words expressive of sorrow for the past—and all will be well.—Yours obediently,

AN OLD FRIEND.

[We join in "An Old Friend's" request. We do not know of such a tract, but we fear with him that it is much wanted.—ED.]

WILKS'S LAW OF MARRIAGE.

We noticed, a few months' since, a valuable as well as interesting little volume, by the *Rev. S. O. Wilks*, on the *Law of Banns*. He has since published two letters on the *Law of Marriage*. It contains some statements of great importance to the clergy, especially to those who reside in large parishes. It is well known that Lord Eldon, in a case in which a ward in Chancery had been clandestinely married, declared that the onus of proving the residence of parties married within their parishes—one of them at least—rested upon the Incumbent of the said parish. It was not enough that he caused inquiry to be made; he must himself ascertain it by personal visitation. We never attached the slightest importance to this preposterous dictum, founded upon no law or canon of the Church, nor upon any ancient custom. Just like a more recent dictum in a well-known case, which threw the Church for a while into a paroxysm of alarm, it was thrown out as it were by the way side (*obiter dictum*) upon a question which was not before the Judge; on which his opinion had not been asked; which had not been argued on either side; and on which he had no more right to give a legal decision than we ourselves. However, Lord Eldon's authority seems to have been taken for law, and it has lately been acted upon in the diocese of Exeter, where it was broadly affirmed, as a point upon which no question could be entertained, that the minister of the parish, who in this case had made inquiry through his clerk, was bound to have made the inquiries *in his own person*! and was guilty of a felony for having married the parties without making these previous inquiries in person. It is the well-known case of Mr. Martin, who was proceeded against in the Bishop's Court, and punished with a fine of ten pounds, as a very mitigated sentence for a transgression so enormous. Now, without meaning the slightest disrespect to the Bishop of Exeter, we maintain that the whole proceeding was utterly illegal. The charge against Mr. Martin was, that he had feloniously married, &c. Imagine a Bishop's Court undertaking to try a felony, and compounding it in a penalty of ten pounds! Further, the Court in this instance decided not by any law or canon; they did not attempt to refer to any; Lord Eldon was their sole authority.

We wish to draw the reader's attention to what Mr. Wilks writes upon these points.

But we have a still graver objection, to which Mr. Wilks has devoted a few lines. This is one of many attempts which have been made, for a series of years past, to secularize the clergy. Let them beware, and resist. There is a large and powerful party jealous of the parochial clergy. High Churchmen would have them the creatures of the bishop; Broad Churchmen, and mere politicians, would have them an ecclesiastical police — anything rather than a spiritual priesthood, devoting themselves incessantly to the proper work of the ministry, and possessing that living power which makes the parish feel and rejoice in its presence. A clergyman is to visit in person every abode in which parties who put up banns, or produce a license for marriage, may live or lodge; he is to satisfy himself in person (how, we are not informed) that they have lodged, or lived, in the house so visited during the whole period required by law. He may have, as some of our friends have, a parish containing ten, twenty, or even thirty thousand inhabitants; still this toil, or slavery rather, he must undergo, and some clergymen are actually making the attempt. Another oracle, great in its way, maintains that the clergy ought to spend an hour every day in their schools, and lectures them at the same time on the insipidity of their sermons. Let the clergy once allow themselves, on whatever pretext, to be brought down from their high position, and thus made to "serve tables," and as ministers of the Gospel they are betrayed and lost. But it is time our readers should listen to Mr. Wilks. We have only to premise, that he would have a Banns Book provided, properly ruled and headed, in which the person who brings the banns, or the license of marriage, should be obliged to subscribe a solemn declaration, that the statements therein made are true, thus taking all the responsibility upon himself:—

"It may seem strange that the cases against clergymen for encouraging clandestine marriages have turned upon comparatively small questions; but the reason is, that the really important questions are interdicted. Take, for example, the stock case which is always quoted, that of Martin, in the diocese of Exeter. In that case, a father deposed that Martin had '*feloniously*' married his minor son without his consent or knowledge. If it was, as he deposed, a case of felony, the Bishop had no right to try a case of felony under the Church Discipline Act, or any other Act; and the whole proceeding was, from first to last, illegal. But, passing this by, why did not the Bishop try him for marrying a minor without consent? for that was the real offence. He could not do it, for the father had deposed that the banns were without his knowledge; therefore he could not have expressed his *dissent* to the clergyman. Now, what says the Act? A clergyman 'shall not be punishable by ecclesiastical censure for solemnizing such marriage without consent of parents or guardians, unless they shall have given him notice of *dissent*.' And what said Sir Herbert Jenner, the Judge of the Court of Arches, in the case of Wynn? 'The Act of Parliament certainly repeals that part of the sixty-second Canon [which the bishop relied upon in his pastoral letter upon banns] which prohibited marriages between minors before the parents or governors of the minor, either personally or by sufficient testimony, signified their consent to the marriage.' And what says Dr. Lushington, the present judge of the same Court Christian? I have his opinion lying upon my table, in his own handwriting, in reference to a similar case, respecting which he says:—'The charges respecting *minority* and *want of consent* must be struck out, upon the ground that such prosecutions are forbidden by the *Marriage Act*, which declares

that unless the father or guardians forbid the banns there shall be no ecclesiastical censure. If the banns are forbidden, the clergyman is guilty of felony.'

"The Bishop was thus driven back to the small matter, whether Martin had taken due pains to ascertain if the minor had resided seven days in his parish. Here, also, I have an opinion lying upon my table in the hand-writing of that eminent civilian, Dr. Addams, who says, 'I am not aware that the law imposes on ministers the duty of ascertaining that persons who put up banns are really resident in their parishes.' The assessors whom the Bishop had appointed, when they came to hear the particulars, palliated Martin's proceeding so efficaciously, that the Bishop inflicted only a fine of 10*l.*, which every lawyer will say was legally ten sovereigns too much for anything he had done or left undone. I request my readers to re-peruse the words of Dr. Lushington printed in italics.

"If I were not intruding too far upon your columns, I would quote some of the passages which I have cited in point, to show that it was predicted, at the time of Lord Hardwicke's Marriage Act, that this all-heal discretionary seven days, even if it were imperative, would heal nothing, especially in our locomotive era, and with our dense population; for a boy and girl may go to any place where they are not known, and, as there is no law to oblige them to sign any deposition about age, consent, affinity, or anything but their names and present residence, it is at his peril that a clergyman refuses to publish their banns.

"But the seven-day convenient scrutiny, even if it were made imperative, would be impracticable. A statement has appeared in the newspapers that at Manchester Cathedral there are sometimes a hundred pair of banns. But suppose a much smaller number. The Bishop of Exeter charged Martin with having neglected his duty by taking the word of his parish clerk and a lodging-house keeper that the young man had resided as they declared. Well, then, suppose only six cases, that is, twelve persons, whom the clergyman must, in person, visit every morning for seven days to know that they have 'dwelt, inhabited, and lodged' there the nights before, and so on, week after week, and year after year, for every new couple. Some clergymen would continue the duty during the asking. The legislature has imposed no such impracticable duty; nor, if it had, would the finding the parties at their lodging prove who or what they were. They have only to be silent, and the clergyman is non-plussed.

"Permit me to quote the declaration of Dr. Joseph Phillimore in March 1822, on moving for leave to bring in a Bill to amend the Marriage Act: 'Banns have, of late years, furnished the most effectual cover for evasion, deceit, and fraud that the ingenuity of man could have devised.'"

"S. C. WILKS."

NOTICES OF NEW BOOKS.

The End of all Things; or, the Coming and Kingdom of Christ. By the Author of "God is Love;" "Our Heavenly Home," &c. London: Darton and Co. 1865.—The popular author of this volume has undertaken, and performed, a task from which many other eminent writers have shrunk. He has compiled a history of the Millenarian Controversy, from the days of the Apostles to the present time, Nearly two hundred pages, forming one-half of the present work, are thus occupied. After this, two leading errors, as the writer deems them, of the Millenarian School, are discussed:—the strictly literal interpretation of the prophetic Scriptures, and "the secret coming of Christ." But here the allotted space has been filled; and for the remaining portions of the subject—"the Second Coming of Christ;"

"the First Resurrection;" "the state of the Millennial Earth," &c.,—we are of necessity referred to a second volume, which is shortly to follow the present one. This delay is disappointing; for most of the readers will be more anxious for the *positive* than for the *negative* part of the question—more desirous to learn what they ought to believe, than what they ought not. Still they must not forget that much research and labour has been expended on this historical sketch, and that they have here what no other writer has found the time or the patience to provide for them. The amount of careful study bestowed on this portion of the subject deserves the highest praise. As to the errors combatted in the latter half of this volume, we assuredly shall not take up the cudgels in their defence. We leave them in the hands of their able assailant, who certainly shows them little mercy. We prefer to turn to another part of the subject. The writer of this volume adverts to the advantage he expects to derive from published criticisms on his first volume, which may aid him in the preparation of the second. We will try to render him what assistance we can in this respect, by pointing out to him at once the nature of the task which he undertakes, when he promises to discuss, in the forthcoming volume, such questions as Christ's Second Coming, the First Resurrection, and the state of the Millennial Earth. We will indicate to him certain guide-posts or land-marks, which he will do well to keep in his eye while traversing this difficult country. These propositions, for greater distinctness, we shall distinguish by numerals.

1. The Word of God, and not the opinions of this or that Father, Doctor, or Commentator, must be our guide.

2. The Word of God must be approached "with reverence and godly fear." No light or careless or free handling of a thing so sacred can be safe.

3. Figurative language is, and always has been, much used in the East. When Mr. Jowett the missionary said in Arabic to his moonshee, "I am writing to my wife," and added, "Is that right?" he was told, "No, you should say, 'I am writing to my house.'" The first expression was the simple truth; the second was the cloak, or figure, in which Eastern custom wrapped it up.

4. In the same manner Christ used to say, "I am the vine: I am the door: Ye are my sheep: This is my body." All through His discourses we find such figures, but they present no difficulty when once the mind becomes accustomed to this sort of phraseology.

5. The prophecies of Scripture are often both poetical and figurative. Thus, when we are told, "I saw an angel standing in the sun, and he cried with a loud voice to all the fowls that fly in the midst of heaven," we know that we are reading poetic and figurative language. And when we read, "I saw an angel come down from heaven, having the key of the bottomless pit, and a great chain in his hand," we again feel that we are dealing with figure and poetry. But this poetry and these figures represent real facts. When Christ said, "I am the door," "I am the vine," He spoke of solemn realities. And equally real will be the chain and the key for Satan's binding, though neither of them will be made of brass or of iron.

6. One great danger in these discussions always is, that we may reject the literal meaning of passages so persistently and so often,

that the youthful and unsettled hearer comes at last to the conclusion that nothing in Scripture is plain, real, and simple truth, but that all is more or less figurative or symbolical; and that of the symbolical language of Scripture there is no authoritative interpretation, but that every man may understand it in any sense he chooses. And thus the Bible, as a lamp to our feet and a light to our path, is lost. Everything flickers, nothing is distinct or clear.

7. To take an instance. In the 20th of Revelation, we have some very plain declarations about a thousand years' reign. But an objector sees, in v. 8, an army or armies, "the number of whom is as the sand of the sea." This, he says, cannot be taken literally; it is figurative language. *Therefore*, the whole prophecy is figurative; and the plain declaration, v. 4, that the saints "lived and reigned with Christ one thousand years," may, perhaps, not mean what it appears to mean, but something else, and nobody can positively say what.

But this way of depriving a prophecy of its meaning will leave us no one distinct prediction in the Bible. In Matthew xxv. we have one of the plainest of all predictions, uttered by Christ Himself, as His last warning to His disciples. He told them that, "when the Son of man shall come in His glory, and all the holy angels with Him, then shall He sit upon the throne of His glory, and before Him shall be gathered all nations." Words can hardly be plainer, or their meaning more unequivocal. Yet an objector might say, "I read, a few lines further, that 'He shall set the sheep on His right hand, and the goats on His left.' Surely no one can interpret this literally; it is figurative language. It is also said, that to the nations on one hand he shall say, 'I was an hungered, and ye gave me no meat,' &c. Now among 'all nations' there will be many who never heard the name of Christ. This language cannot be addressed to them; we cannot take these words in a literal sense. Thus we see that the whole prophecy is figurative, and that no such judgment may be meant, as the words would naturally seem to imply."

All the great prophecies of Scripture might thus be stripped of meaning. "Behold, a virgin shall conceive and bear a son," is a prediction which occurs in a chapter filled with figurative language. The 53rd of Isaiah, the greatest of all prophecies, is chiefly couched in figurative language; yet the Passion of Christ, which it describes, was a solemn and visible fact. Do we not believe the Romish apostasy to be depicted in the Apocalypse? Yet only in figurative language is it spoken of.

8. St. Peter, after describing the Transfiguration, of which he was an eye-witness, goes on to say, "We have also a *more sure* word of prophecy, whereunto ye do well that ye take heed." More sure than ocular demonstration, or than the evidence of eye-witnesses. But can this be said, if, on the production of a plain, distinct prediction, such as "they lived and reigned with Christ a thousand years," or, "a virgin shall conceive and bear a son," it be open to any one to reply, "That is figurative language, and may mean any thing that the reader fancies it to mean."

9. And, after all, figurative language is easily distinguishable from plain unsymbolical instruction. When Christ says, "I am the Vine, ye are the branches," even the poor cottager knows that he is using

figures; and through those figures discerns His meaning. And when, a few verses after, Christ adds, "These things I command ye, that ye love one another," the same poor cottager knows that the words mean precisely what they appear to mean. And if any one was to object, "But verse 5 was figurative, and therefore verse 17 is probably figurative also," the cottager would reply, "Either verse 17 means just what it says, or else it may mean anything or nothing, and then I may close up the Bible; for it is useless to study such a book."

10. Hooker forcibly says, "I hold it for a most infallible rule in expositions of Sacred Scripture, that where a literal construction will stand, the farthest from the letter is commonly the worst." We trust that the excellent writer now before us will keep this rule fixedly in view in his next volume; and will in that spirit handle the following plain Bible statements.

St. Paul, in Phil. iii. 11, earnestly longs "to attain unto the resurrection of the dead." Now the general resurrection and judgment of the just and unjust, is a thing inevitable; it is not a thing to be "attained unto." Clearly, therefore, St. Paul looked forward to, and longed for, some other resurrection than the general resurrection for judgment.

In two other places, also, does St. Paul give the same idea. To the Corinthians he writes, (1 Cor. xv. 23,) that the resurrection shall proceed "in order: Christ the firstfruits; afterward they that are Christ's at His coming." To the Thessalonians he says,—*"The dead in Christ shall rise first."* (1 Thess. iv. 16.) Thus to three different Churches does he convey the same idea, that there was to be a resurrection apart from, and preceding in time, the general resurrection of all the dead, and that this earlier resurrection was to be earnestly longed for.

Taking all this plain, unfigurative language with us, we pass on to St. John, who received his Revelation, to shew unto Christ's servants "things which must shortly come to pass." One of the most plain and explicit passages in that Revelation, is towards the close, called in our Bibles chapter *xx*. We there find what that "first resurrection" was, unto which Saint Paul so earnestly desired to attain. Satan is to be bound for a thousand years; and during that thousand years the saints are to reign with Christ on earth. That this is not a figure of speech, expressing merely a spiritual revival of the Church, is made clear by the words, "But the rest of the dead lived not again until the thousand years were finished." So that some of the dead (the righteous) will live again upon the earth, being raised from their graves; while others (the unrighteous) are not so raised. This last and final explanation, at the very close of the Bible, makes all clear that St. Paul had said, and enables us fully to understand why he so earnestly hoped "to attain unto the resurrection of the dead." Are we at liberty to doubt that he will attain unto it—will rise from the grave at the commencement of the thousand years, and will "reign with Christ upon the earth"? (Rev. v. 10, *xx*. 4.)

Such are the plain statements of the word of God; and we doubt not that the esteemed author now before us will reverently and submissively treat them in his promised volume; remembering that "where a literal construction will stand, the farthest from the letter is commonly the worst." (Hooker, book v. c. 59.)

The Gardener's Magazine. London: E. W. Allen.—The Gardener's Magazine for November not only contains much that will be useful to the Florist and the Fruit-grower, but even the most humble aspirant after horticultural pleasures, the happy cultivator of a few flowers in pots on the window-sill, will glean many a hint of value, and avoid some disappointments. Neither will the general reader peruse its pages without interest. For who is there that is not concerned about the frequent ravages of the disease among potatoes? The Gardener's Magazine contains more than one valuable paper on the disease itself; and in an extract from a paper contributed to the Royal Agricultural Society's Journal for 1858, by Jeffrey Lang, M.D., we learn that the author considers it an established fact that the disease never attacks potatoes that are buried more than four inches beneath the surface of the soil. The truth of this statement is supported by examples and experiments. But perhaps the most striking experiment is that of Professor Liebig, who last year prepared three fields for experimenting on: the first composed of mould (pulverized peat): the second, of the same soil, mixed with ammoniacal salts; and the third, of the same mould, to which was added the fixed elements constituting the ashes of the potato. An equal number of the same kind of potato were planted in each field. The result was as follows: That the yield from the land manured with the ammoniacal salts was 20 per cent. larger than that of field No. 1, which had received no addition; but that of the third field (which had the manure of phosphate of lime and of potash, the two principal component parts of the phospho-guano) was nearly triple. The proportion of the three crops ran thus:—100, 120, and 285. From these observations the conclusion is drawn:—

“That the conditions favourable to the normal development of plants are also those which prevent disease, and that, in consequence, the first cause of the disastrous disease should be sought in the land. If the land present in sufficient quantity the elements indispensable to organic life, or the growth of the plant, the latter receives the power of opposing resistance great enough to paralyse completely all hurtful influence which can affect it from outside.

“These facts throw the greatest light on the diseases of vegetables in general, and on the vine in particular.

“Oh that man would remember that the land, which furnished him with the most important elements of his body, expects to be cared for by him with discernment and solicitude.”

Who shall say how far this fearful visitation has owed its origin to forgetfulness of the sentence, “In the sweat of thy face shall thou eat bread,” and the willing idleness to believe that this succulent root required no care in order to insure a prolific return?

Eclectic Notes, edited by Archdeacon Pratt. London: Nisbet, Berners Street. 1865.—This is a second edition of notes and discussions at Meetings of the Eclectic Society, connected with St. John's Chapel, Bedford Row, made by the late Rev. Josiah Pratt, who, with his usual diligence and accuracy, recorded them in ten manuscript volumes. We are indebted for this publication to his son, the Archdeacon of Calcutta. The late excellent archbishop esteemed them highly, and cheered the Editor with a few lines of encouragement; the more valuable from its having been entirely spontaneous. No means had been taken to bring the volume to his Grace's notice. It

was not the only occasion on which the archbishop, unsolicited, wrote cheering letters of encouragement to authors, whose writings even Evangelical reviewers had not the courage to introduce to their readers. His Grace's letter we must quote :—

"Addington, October 2, 1856.

"MY DEAR ARCHDEACON PRATT,—I am glad to have the opportunity, before you leave England, of congratulating you on having been able to bequeath to us so valuable a legacy as your *Eclectic Notes*. To use an expression of recent date, they are truly *suggestive*, and suggestive of ideas and sentiments which cannot be too widely disseminated, or be too generally adopted by the clergy of every age.

"It is an additional obligation, on the part of the Church, to your excellent Father, who 'yet speaketh' in this interesting volume. . . ."

"J. B. CANTUAR."

Among the leading members of the Eclectic Society were Cecil, Newton, William Goode, Basil Woodd, J. Venn, Tower Scott, Josiah Pratt, and afterwards Daniel Wilson ; except the last, a sketch is given us of each of these as preachers. But we hasten to another subject. We refer to a discussion on typical explanations. We think these venerable men would have stopped short of Dr. Wordsworth, who, as will be seen, seems to have taken Origen, Augustine, and others of the fathers, for his guide. The most important speakers we shall notice ; but the discussion is continued through several pages.

A paper was read on July 9th, 1798 :—" *To what extent does Scripture authorize typical explanations ?*"—Strangely enough, the discussion was opened by Bacon the sculptor. The discussion that followed is long, but remarkable for plain good sense and sound reasoning. The Rev. W. Goode said :—

"We may allegorize when—

"1. There is a resemblance between the events of the old and the new dispensations.

"2. There is reason to think it is designed by the Holy Spirit.

"3. When we take care not to stretch the clue till it breaks. Some follow, as Leighton says, allegory so far, after the monkish way, as to run it out of breath.

"Attend to the distinguishing properties of each thing.

"Pushing allegory too far tends to play into the hands of infidels, and to carnalize spiritual things."

Others followed, but on the whole Mr. Goode's views were adopted.

For ourselves we would add, that the use of the word *τύπος* in the New Testament does not always justify us in asserting the existence of a type. It may mean nothing more than what we generally express by a figure—something bespeaking a resemblance. On the other hand, the Old Testament may be full of types, of which those quoted in the New are only a few of the most important, quoted as specimens. Where the New is silent, we cannot be certain. Let us take the following illustration :—We have a lock, of which the key is lost, and we cannot open it. We find a key which opens it. It is probable this key was made for the lock. The more difficult the lock, the greater the probability that the key was made for it. If it be a Bramah lock, which only one key will open, we have a moral certainty that the key was made for the lock. Here we may presume that we have the type and the anti-type.

For a type is a pictured or acted prophecy, not a mere resemblance. It is the intended likeness of unlike things. We may have fifty cases of close resemblance in which there is not one type. The resemblance may have been intentional without being at all prophetic. The Old and New Testament proceeding from the same hand, it was to be expected that in many points there should be strong resemblances.

We think it scarcely less than providential, that just when the infidel storm beats high against the historical books of the Old Testament, *Dr. Wordsworth* should, in the course of publication, have arrived at the *second volume of his Holy Bible, with Notes and Introduction, containing Joshua, Judges, and Ruth. Rivingtons, London and Cambridge. 1865.*—Differing, as it is known we do, on some not unimportant points, from the learned Archdeacon of Westminster, we are not blind to the value of his writings. His Notes are full of matter of the highest importance, so closely packed that it is impossible, we think, that more information could be given in less compass. He is also a spiritual writer; he sees Christ in everything, and we are not sure that he does not discover types of spiritual things sometimes where none exist. On this point we would refer our readers, as well as the Archdeacon himself, to what is said in our Notes on the last page by some of the fathers of the present Evangelical school. But to illustrate what we mean by his skilful compression of important matter into small compass, we will just add his proofs that Jael, in her betrayal and execution of Sisera, was an instrument in the Lord's hands. If we should be told that there is nothing remarkable in this kind of writing, we, who have to wade through many a wearisome book, ask why we do not more frequently meet with it.

"8. *If thou wilt go with me.*] Such was Barak's faith in Deborah's divine mission; he would go with her, but not without her. This was not fear, but faith. (Hengst., Auth. ii. 123.)

"9. *Not be for thine honour*] but for the Lord's; who will not win the victory by thy army, lest men should boast of their might; but by a weak woman. The Lord chooses the weak things of this world to confound the mighty (1 Cor. i. 27); that it may be seen and confessed by all, that the triumph is the Lord's, and 'no flesh should glory in His presence.' Yet men must do their part. Barak must gather his army to Tabor, as the warriors must go round Jericho (Josh. vi. 3), in proof of faith and obedience to God.

"10. *For the Lord shall sell Sisera into the hand of a woman.*] Deborah is enabled by God to foretell the future. She predicts that God would deliver Sisera into the hand of Barak on a certain day (v. 14), and yet that Sisera would not fall by Barak's sword, but by the hand of a woman, and so it came to pass. (v. 17.) Here is a proof of Deborah's inspiration; and hence it is clear that Jael was an instrument in the Lord's hand for executing His judgments on Sisera."

With almost equal pleasure we announce, as most appropriate to the times in which we live, *A translation of Keil and Delitzsch's Commentary on Joshua, Judges, and Ruth, in Messrs. T. and T. Clark's Foreign Theological Library. London, Hamilton and Co.; and Clark, Edinburgh.*—In the hands of these giants in criticism and historical theology, our English copyists of Tom Paine certainly look *very small*. It is astonishing what progress has been made in the last ten years in our critical knowledge of the earlier books of the

Old Testament. For this we are greatly indebted to writers such as these, who first made the fires at which our English critics lit their torches.

Charity Helstone. By Mrs. Carey Brock. London: Seeley, Jackson, and Halliday.—Mrs. Carey Brock is so well known as a writer of tales for the young, that any new work of hers is sure to meet with a wide circulation. The number of novels which are published every month is almost incredible, and we are always glad to see any sensible, rational stories which are likely in any way to counteract their pernicious influence. Mrs. Brock's books are always written in a deeply religious tone, and we think they may often be productive of much good, where more seriously written books might fail to make an impression.

We had occasion, some time ago, to point out what we considered the great fault of "*Margaret's Secret*," by the same author, viz., the unnatural perfection of the heroine; we are glad to see that the error has been remedied in "*Charity Helstone*," and we think the latter a far more pleasing and natural character.

Naaman the Syrian. By C. K. Bingham, M.A. London: Hunt and Co.—The author has succeeded in drawing profitable and instructive lessons from the account we have, in the Bible, of Naaman the great captain of the host of the king of Syria. Very practical and plain are his remarks on the touching story of Naaman's leprosy; how, in the midst of all the pomp and splendour of eastern rank, he was still as unable to enjoy his power as the poorest beggar by the wayside; for he was a leper. The lesson is clearly drawn out, that in vain may we have all the world can give, if we are still suffering from the leprosy of sin; there will be bitterness in every cup, and disappointment in every path. But then we are pointed to the Lamb of God, who taketh away the sins of the world, and shown how all who come to Him with a simple, child-like faith, He will receive and bless.

Naaman would fain have done some great thing; he expected, at least, that the prophet would "come out, and stand, and call on the name of his God, and strike his hand over the place." But when he was bidden only to go and wash in Jordan seven times, "he turned and went away in a rage." His proud heart revolted against so simple a remedy. But at length, by the judicious remonstrances of some of his attendants, he obeyed the prophet's injunctions; and when he had done so, "his flesh came again like unto the flesh of a little child." Human nature is still the same. Men even now refuse to wash in the blood of Jesus and be made clean. They wish to do some great thing, and will not humble themselves to receive the Gospel of Christ as little children. We hope this little work may prove a very useful addition to every Sunday-school and parish library. It is written in an interesting and attractive style, and will be equally interesting to old and young readers.

A pamphlet lies before us bearing the imposing title of *Protestantism and Popery: a few outspoken words of opinion and warning.* By a *Staunch Protestant.* London: Effingham Wilson. 1865.—It is not ill-written, and tells some painful truths as to the stupor which seems to possess England upon the subject of the advance of Popery; and as

to Popery itself, he describes it by facts which Popery will scarcely attempt to deny. The pamphlet might be very useful. But why has not the author given us his name upon the title page? It is not enough to tell us that he is "a staunch Protestant." If he would that his words should have weight, he must come from his obscurity, and bear his cross. He may be assured that a great reformation was never yet accomplished by an anonymous writer. If mischief is to be done, Satan can accomplish his work by secret agency, but never if the removal of a vast evil is contemplated. The foolish plea, that the writer's name will add no weight, and is therefore withheld, has no truth in this case. Every upright man has weight somewhere in society; still more so, if he knows how to handle a pen well. A staunch Protestant, and many others who, like him, but lack the courage, will, we hope, take our remarks in good part, and venture into the field into which they are provoking others.

We conclude with expressing our thanks to the Christian Knowledge Society for its excellent Church Almanack, published in all sizes, and decorated to every taste. It contains a vast deal of useful information on Church matters, and will put an end no doubt to the sale of much worthless trash, such as Moore's Prophetic Almanack, &c., which bordered very closely upon the profane. The Tract Society, too, continue their useful labours in this way; and their Sunday at Home, and the Leisure Hour, which lie before us, form two handsome volumes; which are alone sufficient to form an Annual Library for the working man and his house; his Bible, Prayer-book, and Hymn-book not being forgotten.

PUBLIC AFFAIRS.

WHILE the threatened Fenian insurrection absorbed all our attention, the news of a much more serious rebellion, which had actually broken out in Jamaica, gave a new and painful direction to our anxieties. The negroes were in arms, had assassinated many of the whites, and had bound themselves to bring about a revolution, answering, both as to the means to be pursued and the end to be gained, to that of the Fenians. In each case there was to be a general massacre—in Ireland, of the nobility and gentry; in Jamaica, of all the whites. The women were to be spared, the children were to share the fate of their fathers. The object, in each case, was to establish a republic. The confidence of the authorities in Jamaica in the loyalty of the negroes was such, that there were no troops at hand, and for two or three days the colony seemed to lie at their feet. They committed the most horrible atrocities, not only murdering the whites, but committing the most diabolical cruelties upon them before they were put to death. As soon as a few volunteers could be mustered, their career

was checked. The only man-of-war in the harbour of Kingston was despatched to the scene of the outbreak, with about a hundred troops on board. The fury of the savages was arrested, and, through the wise and energetic conduct of the authorities, the leaders were at once seized, tried by a court-martial, and shot or hanged. Amongst their leaders were a few Antinomian Baptists, fanatics of the worst kind, at once civil and religious. One of these, Gordon, himself a black, left the scene of slaughter, it is said, to hold a meeting for prayer and thanksgiving in a neighbouring chapel. Several others, who are mentioned by name as Baptist ministers, have been seized, and tried as the man Gordon was, and brought to the gallows. We do not believe that any of these so-called Baptists are connected with the Baptist Society at home. But we see that the disposition already begins to show itself to make this an opportunity of assailing Christian missions. Our readers will be upon their guard; they should warn others to be so too. They will remember that, shortly before our Emancipation Act, there was an insurrection of the negroes, (of frequent occurrence in those days,) and that every possible attempt was made to fasten it upon the Baptist missionaries. They were treated with great severity in consequence, and one of them died in prison; but nothing was ever proved against them, nor were they brought to trial. If there be ministers of religion in Jamaica now who have encouraged a plot for the assassination of their unoffending countrymen, we leave them to their just fate.

No doubt the negroes of Jamaica have heard of the emancipation of four millions of Africans in the Confederate States. They have heard too of the disturbed state of Hayti, and are possessed with the mad ambition of forming, in conjunction with Hayti, a republic, in which white men shall appear only as slaves, or dealers, trading with them of course for their own advantage. It seems a strange thing that the Fenian conspiracy should be marked by precisely the same features as that of these African savages. Both have some acquaintance with the great truths of religion, neither have learned what is so expressively termed by the Apostle the whole truth as it is in Jesus. If we may be allowed to judge, from a Catechism sent to us in defiance, before the war began, entitled "a Catechism for people of colour in Virginia," precisely the same thing is true of the four millions of freedmen; and should there be an outbreak there, we may now expect that the same delight in blood would show itself. The passions aroused, religion itself, such religion as they have been taught, would stimulate their passions. We know that the grace of God has carried many, very many we hope, far beyond the Catechism, no thanks however to the teaching of the Southern clergy. We may add the case of the rebels in China. They had some knowledge of their Bibles, and had even translated some portions of it for their own use; but when the opportunity came, the ferocity of savages again displayed itself. So in New Zealand, the Maories, who have not been taught by our missionaries, but still were no longer heathens, in war resumed their ancient character, and upon the field of battle were cannibals once more. Some solemn lesson surely lies close behind these terrible examples. Is it not, that the grace which converts the soul, and creates the man anew in Christ

Jesus, is not promised where the truth is not fully taught, much less when any portion of it is sinfully withheld?

Embarrassments, though we trust not of a very serious character, present themselves in other quarters. The Federal States formally demand compensation from us for the injury they have sustained from Confederate ships of war built in England. Earl Russell answered the American minister, showing at large why it is impossible—contrary to the law of nations, contrary to the example of America herself—that we should comply with the demand; and we trust that an amicable conclusion will result.

A more serious affair is the war which Spain has declared against Chili, and the subsequent blockade of the coast, to the great injury of our trade with a large part of South America. The nation feels that we are deprived of the wise counsels and immovable good temper of Lord Palmerston. But we believe his successors are animated by the same spirit, and that in all these difficult affairs we shall preserve our national honour, and yet avoid the miseries of war.

The brightest prospect just now dawns from Italy: bright for herself and for the world. The Emperor has withdrawn a large proportion of his troops from Rome, and the remainder will follow. Victor Emanuel has suppressed hundreds of convents, and confiscated their revenues. The best of the priesthood go with the movement, and many of them display a good acquaintance with the Bible. There does not appear to be much spiritual life at present. But Rome as a secular power seems at length doomed to fall. The prophecies concerning the spiritual Babylon "have an end," and at length the end surely draws near. The Emperor of France diminishes his army to a considerable extent, thus giving proof of his amity and goodwill towards ourselves, and indeed to the whole of Europe.

And thus we take leave of our readers as we draw to the close of an eventful year—a year to which the language of the prophet well applies: "And it shall come to pass in that day, that the light shall not be clear nor dark: but it shall be one day which shall be known to the Lord, not day, nor night; but it shall come to pass, that at evening time it shall be light."

Many of our elder brethren, some of our younger ones who were rich in promise, have been taken from us; and even now we have to add the venerable names of Hambleton and Maitland. All these have entered into rest. The day in some respects is still dark. It is a painful evidence of something wrong in the Church of Christ, that the Church Missionary Society is in such a state of embarrassment, that unless some large contributions flow into its exchequer before the close of its financial year, some of its missions must be abandoned, or all of them greatly reduced.* Meanwhile the day for action is drawing to a close. "He that shall come will come;" and who can tell us how soon? Be it when it may, it cannot be too soon; for "*at evening time it shall be light.*"

* Suggestions on the Financial Position of the Church Missionary Society. By the Rev. John Venn, Vicar of Hereford. London: Seeley, Hatchard, and Nisbet. 1865.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

OXONIENSIS is much displeased with us for having italicized the last words in the sentence page 871:—"As to Dr. Temple, strong are my feelings of gratitude to him *as a master*." We felt it due to ourselves and our readers to suggest this qualification in an anonymous communication, and we make no apology. It is our custom to make all anonymous contributors speak in harmony with the principles of our magazine. Indeed the cases are very few, in which the writers themselves, when they confidentially favour us with their names, do not request us as a favour to alter or amend according to our own judgment. Has "Oxoniensis" forgotten his own courteous letter to the Editor on these points?

MR. CARE's reply to G. S., on verbal inspiration, is received; but we consider the discussion closed, each side having stated their views with admirable clearness. And during the last two years, we have scarcely published a number without something on the subject of inspiration.

AN OLD SUBSCRIBER would know why the children of excellent parents sometimes become as eminent in sin or in error as their parents were in holiness; and he points especially to one well-known instance. This is not a question for public discussion. Nor can we see that it is capable of any satisfactory answer. The imperfections of a good and wise parent will not account for it; for every parent is imperfect. The surprise which such a contrast creates is a proof that it is most unfrequent. In general, the promise of God standeth sure, and the seed of the righteous is blessed; the rest we must leave. Let pious parents never cease to pray, and if possible to *believe*; and after a long winter of sins, the child who has given the deepest anxiety may become their joy and crown of rejoicing.

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